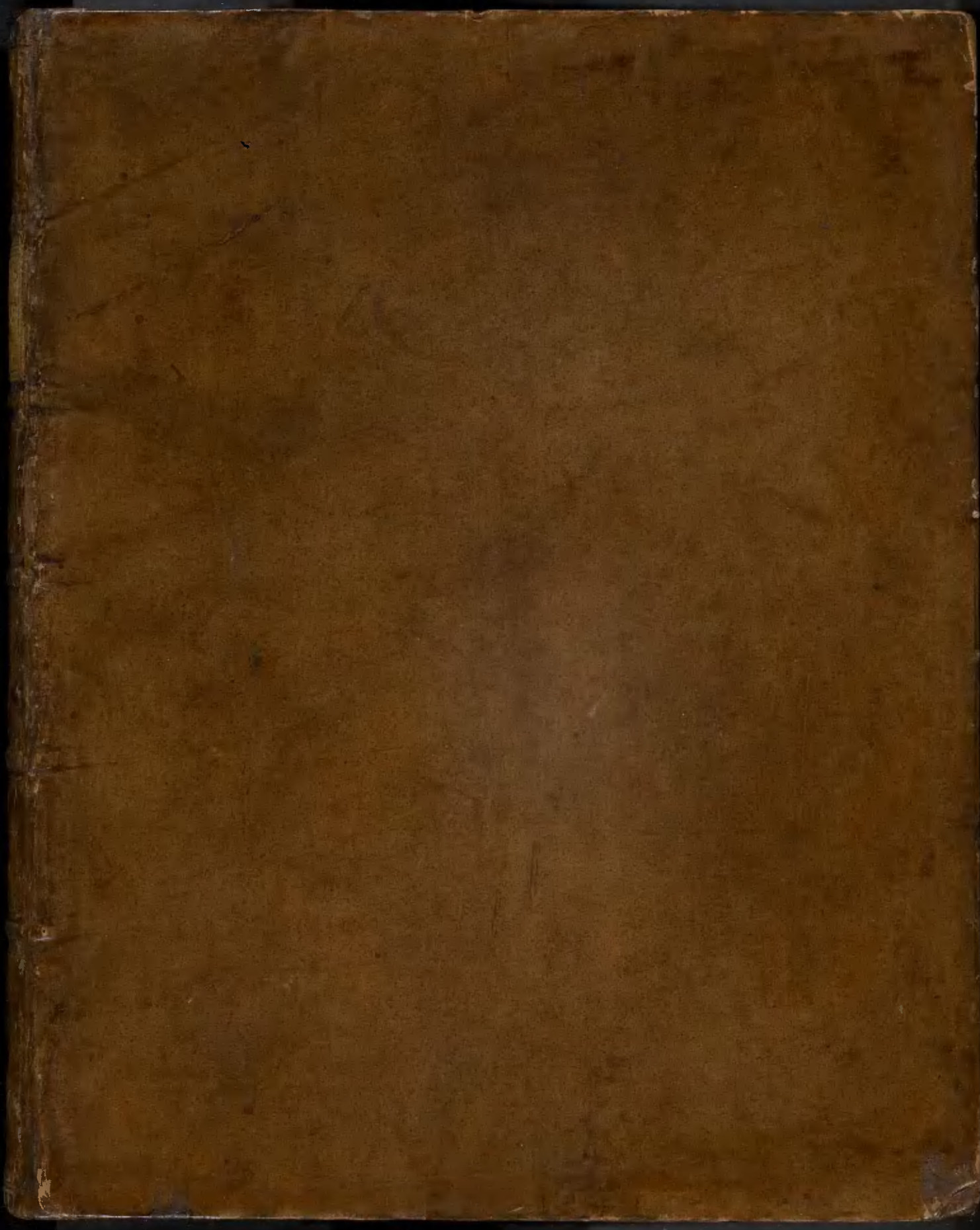


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A  
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*Sketch* OF THE *1773*  
RISE, PROGRESS,  
AND  
PRESENT STATE  
OF THE  
ENGLISH GOVERNMENT  
IN  
B E N G A L:  
INCLUDING A  
REPLY to the MISREPRESENTATIONS of Mr. BOLTS,  
and other WRITERS.

By H A R R Y V E R E L S T, Esq.  
Late GOVERNOR of B E N G A L.

*Difficilius est provincias obtinere, quam facere.  
Viribus parantur, jure retinentur.*

FLORI, Lib. IV. C. 12.

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. NOURSE, Bookfeller to HIS MAJESTY, in the Strand;  
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and T. EVANS, in King street, Covent garden.

MDCCLXXII.



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# G L O S S A R Y.

## A.

*ABDALLA Shab*, king of the Durannies.—*Abdalla*, in Arabic, signifies the slave of God, from *Abd*, a slave, and *Alla*, the name or attribute of God; and *Shab* implies king.

*Afgháns* are those tribes of Mahommedans who inhabit the northern parts of India, called sometimes Pattáns, and esteemed the best soldiers in the country.

*Anna*, the sixteenth part of a rupee.

*Affámmies*, dependents, or any persons on whom a claim is made.

*Atoch*, the name of a river that separates the province of Lahóre from Peishor, the stream of which is mostly so very rapid, that there is but one place where an army can conveniently pass it.

*Auméen*, a Supra-visor, or officer employed by the government to examine and regulate the state of the revenues of any district.

*Aumíl*, } An officer of the revenues, inferior to both an Auméen, and Ze-  
*Aumíldar*, } méendar.

*Aurúngs*, places where goods are manufactured for sale.

## B.

*Banyán*, a Gentoo servant, employed in the management of commercial affairs.

*Barjáut*, an oppressive custom of forcing the natives to buy goods beyond the market price.

*Bátta*, exchange, also diet money, allowed to the troops in the field.

*Bazár*, or market, where all articles of life and luxury are daily sold.

*Bégum*, a princess, a title given to every lady of rank.

*Bégab*, a measure of land;—see note at the bottom of page 221 of the Appendix, for a particular explanation of this measurement.

*Béetele-leaf*, the name of an aromatic leaf, growing like a vine, which the natives of India of all ranks constantly chew, with the nut called beetle-nut, and other ingredients, between their meals.

*Béetele nut*, the nut of a tall slender tree, eat with the beetle-leaf.

*Bercundás*, a match-lock man.

*Board*, in this publication always implies the governor and council at Fort William in Bengal.

*Buxy*, or rather *Buksly*, a pay-master.

## C.

- Callárry*, a salt work.
- Canongoes*, registers of the Subah or province appointed by the sovereign.
- Caron*, properly *Khan*, a lord, a title given to every man of rank.
- Chókiés*, watch-houses; also places appointed in different parts of the country for collecting the public customs and duties upon all branches of foreign and inland trade, passing through those districts, not included in dustuck privileges.
- Chokeydár*, the officer of a guard.
- Chout*, a fourth part. Commonly used for the tribute of the fourth part of the revenues which the Maharattas have endeavoured to impose on the Subah of Bengal.
- Choutárry*, a Bengal corruption of *Chout*.
- Chówdráhs*, land-holders, in the next rank to *Zeméen-dars*.
- Chúklak*, the jurisdiction of a Fouzdar, who receives the rents from the *Zeméen-dars*, and accounts for them with the government.
- Chunár-gur*, a very strong fortress belonging to the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, in the province of Oud, within about 7 cós of Benâres.
- Chunám*, lime.
- Comár lands*, having no native tenants, are lands cultivated by contract.
- Cofs lands*, are lands under the immediate superintendence of government, for want of farmers.
- Cofs* or *Cofe*, a measure they commonly compute distances by in India, and is about two geometrical miles, or 4000 yards.
- Cooley*, a day-labourer.
- Cowries*, shells that pass for money in Bengal, 80 *cowries* are called a *pun*, and from 50 to 60 *puns* are commonly the value of a rupee.
- Cuffore*, an allowance upon the exchange of rupees, in contradistinction to *Batta*.
- Cuchêrry*, a court of justice; also the office into which the rents are delivered.
- Cuteáll*, an inferior officer of the police, whose business is to try and decide petty misdemeanors.

## D.

- Dádney*, money advanced for goods.
- Dándée*, a waterman or rower.
- Dawks*, stationed letter-carriers, at stages of about 10 miles distance, for the conveying of letters exprefs.
- Deloll* or *Dallál*, a broker.—See *Pykar*.
- Dewán*,—for a description of both the original and present idea of this office, see Appendix, pag. 136, paragraphs 13 and 14.
- Dexán-conna*, the Dewan's court or office.
- Dewáry*, see Appendix, pag. 41.
- Dercobúst Purgúnnabs*, whole or entire *purgunnabs*, which depend entirely on a single *Zeméen-dar*.
- Dbee*, the ancient limits of any village or parish; thus *Dbee Calcutta* means only that part which was originally inhabited.
- Droga*, or *Darôga*, an overseer or superintendent.
- Dúster-conna*, the office for keeping the government's accounts.—In common usage, any office or compting-house.
- Durbár*, the court of any great man.

*Dustóre*,

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*Dustóre*, a custom or fee.

*Dústuck*, a passport, or permit; but usually implies the passport given by the governor of Fort William, or the chiefs of the English factories, for the goods of the company or their servants, which exempts them from the payment of duties.—See *Chokies*.

F.

*Firmáun*, literally signifies an order, but is used for a patent or grant from the emperor;—and, among the English, always means the charter which the company obtained from the king Furrukhfeer, by which they hold their privileges.

*Ferd Huckeekút*, a manifest or memorial.

*Ferd Sarwál*, a petition.

*Fowzdár*, the chief magistrate of a large district, called a *Chuklah*.—See *Chuklah*.

G.

*Gaut*, a landing-place where customs are usually collected.

*Gaut-barry*, or *Kat-barra*, a tax levied upon boats at the Gauts, or *Chokies*.

*Ghazi al din Khan*, signifies the illustrious champion of religion.—This great but wicked prince was the vizier who murdered the father of the present emperor of Hindoostan, in 1760.

*Gbee*, clarified butter.

*Golah*, a warehouse, usually constructed with mat or mud walls, and covered with thatch, for keeping grain, salt, &c.

*Gomástab*, a black agent or factor.—See *Pykars*.

*Gunge*, a market principally for grain.

*Gúnnies*, coarse canvases, for bags, wrappers, &c.

*Guzerbáun*, an officer who collects the customs at the ferries.

H.

*Haut*, a market on stated days.

*Hazárry*, a commander of gun-men, literally a commander of a thousand.

*Higera*, or *Hijra*, the flight of Mahommed from Mecca to Medina, from which the Mahommedan æra commences, happened on the 16th July, A. D. 622.

*Hircárra*, a spy.

*Hindoostán*, India is known in the East by the name of *Hindoostan*, which signifies the country of the *Hindoos* or swarthy people; *Hindeo* being swarthy or black, and *Stán* a country. The capital whereof is Dehly, which, since Shah Jehan removed the seat of empire thither from Agra, in the year 1647, is usually known in the East by the name of Shah Jehan-abad, or Shah Jehan's habitation; as Agra is often called Akbar-abad, or Shah Akbar's habitation; and is about 44 measured Cofs from Dehly.

*Huß-ul-bookum*, a patent or order, under the seal of the Vizier, with these initial words signifying "according to the command."

*Huck Awazcerut*, the fees of the Vizier.

*Hustabóods*, rent-rolls, of either a grand division or lesser districts of land.

*Hyder-abád*, the capital of Nizam Ally, Soubah of the Deccan; it was formerly called Bhagnagur, and is about 371 miles distant from Dehly. There is a castle in



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in this province called *Golconda*, by which name the whole province is usually known in Europe. *Hyder-abad* signifies the habitation or residence of *Hyder*, the Arabic appellative for a *lion*, a title often given to men of rank in the East.

I.

*Islám*, which literally signifies safety, usually means the true faith, according to Mahomedans.

*Jagkéeer*, an assignment of any part of the revenues of the state for military service.

*Júngles*, or rather *Junguls*, thickets of wood, high grass, or reeds.

*Júmna*, valuation.

*Júmna bundy*, a rent-roll.

*Jemmáut-dar*, or *Jámadar*, a military commander; also the head or superintendent of the peons in the Sewáury, or train of any great man.

K.

*Kátbarra*, see *Gaut-barry*.

*Kazzee*, or *Kázy*, the chief magistrate appointed to administer justice in all causes to the Mahomedans, according to their written law; he being generally a person of the greatest repute and learning, a copy of any writing attested by him is authentic.

*Kélla*, a fort, or citadel.

*Kelladár*, the governor of a fort.

*Kerria*, a parish or village.

*Khálsa Sheréefa*, whatever accounts belong immediately to the emperor are called *Khálsa*; the word *Sheréefa* added to it, implies noble or magnificent.

*Kísmutt*, a division;—*Kérria Kísmutt*, part of a parish, being such a proportion as is included in the Sunnud.

*Kíft*, the amount of a stated payment.

*Kíftbundee*, an agreement for the stated payments of a sum of money, to be discharged at different times.

*Krore*, a hundred lacks, or ten millions.

L.

*Lack of Rupees*, or one hundred thousand: a rupee is a silver coin, struck in the Moghul mints, with an inscription of his name and titles, the year of his reign, and the place it was coined at. There are various species of rupees annually coined in India, differing a little in both weight and quality. The best are the Siccas of the current year, worth about 2s. 6d. sterling. See *Sún*.

M.

*Makál*, any land, or a public fund, yielding a revenue to the government.

*Mabál Serái*, the women's apartments.

*Mabómmed*, which signifies *praised*, is prefixed (or understood to be so) to almost every Mussulman's name. It is a Tetragrammaton, or word of four letters; namely, *Mím*, *Hba*, *Mím*, *Dal*, which, with the *Tesbáid* over the latter *Mím* to shew it must be doubled, properly make five characters.

*Malguzárry*, the land-revenue.

*Maba Raja*, signifies *the great prince*; *Maba* being *great* or *mighty* in the Sanskerreet or Bramin's language, and *Rajak*, *prince*.

*Manjee*,

G L O S S A R Y,

- Manjee*, the helmsman of a boat.  
*Manghan*, or Mångon, a tax or imposition levied by the officers of the Chokeys and Gauts, as a perquisite for themselves and Zeméendars.  
*Mauud*, a variable weight. In Bengal from 72 to 80 lb.  
*Mobúr*, a seal; also a gold rupee of variable value, worth from 12 to 16 silver rupees.  
*Mohóoree*, any writer, or under clerk, among the natives in Bengal.  
*Molúngbee*, a worker of salt.  
*Mouza*, a parish or village; but properly signifies a *place*.  
*Múkkaudum*, a superiour officer of the revenues in a village, the same as *Chowdry*.  
*Múnsky*, a secretary for the Persian language.  
*Múnsib*, a dignity, or title.  
*Mutbálcak*, a written obligation.  
*Músnud*, an elevated place of distinction in the Durbar, covered with a cloth, or carpet, for the prince to sit on; also a throne.  
*Muttasédee*, a general name for all officers employed in taking the accounts of the government, or of any person of consequence.

N.

- Nabób*, (properly *Naváb*, being the plural of *Naib*) a title given to every person of noble rank. By pre-eminence it is generally used to signify the *Nazím*.  
*Naib*, a deputy.  
*Nancár*, or rather *Nancár*, an allowance in an assignment upon the revenues, or the lands themselves, given as charity for the relief of the poor.  
*Nazím*, the first officer of a province, in whose hands the executive power is lodged; by way of distinction he is styled the Subah-dar, or Nabób.  
*Naic*, a subaltern officer of the Sepoys, of the rank of a corporal.  
*Neabut*, a deputyship.  
*Núzzar*, a present to a superior.  
*Núzzar-ánna*, a sum paid to the government, as an acknowledgment for a grant of lands, or any public office.  
*Nizamút*, the office, or post of a *Nazím*.

O.

- Omrab*, plural of the Arabic *Amèer*, which signifies *prince*, is a title given to all the nobility of the first rank in the Mogul empire.

P.

- Peon*, a footman, or attendant, armed with sword and target.  
*Purgánnah*, or *Pergána*, the largest division of land in a Zeméen-darry.  
*Perwánnah*, a grant, or letter under a great seal, from any man of power to a dependent.  
*Péshcush*, a tribute paid to the crown, as an acknowledgment for any tenure.  
*Podár*, a money-changer, or teller, under a Shroff.  
*Pulwár*, a light boat used for dispatches.  
*Pyke*, a watchman employed as a guard at night.  
*Pconah*, the time for adjusting the estimate of the revenues to be collected the ensuing year.—See Appendix, page 136, paragraph 14.

*Pottabs*,

G L O S S A R Y.

*Póttabs*, leafes containing the quantity of land possessed by each farmer, and the amount of rent with which it is charged.

*Pykárs*, (*Dellóls*, and *Gomástabs*) are a chain of agents through whose hands the articles of merchandize pass from the loom of the manufacturer, or the storehouse of the cultivator, to the public merchant, or exporter.

*Panjáb*, or *Panjáab*, the ancient name of the province of Lahóre; it signifies the five waters or rivers, so many running through that province, and falling into the river Scind, known in Europe by the name of Indus.

R.

*Rájah*, a title given to every Gentoo of rank,—in the Indian language signifying prince:—originally it was appropriated only to the principal Zeméen-dars.

*Ránnee*, princefs.

*Rowána*, a passport or certificate from the collector of the customs.

*Roy-róyan*, the principal officer under the Dewán, who has the immediate charge of the crown lands.

*Rissála*, an independent corps of horse.

*Rissáldar*, the commander of such a corps.

*Rupee*, a silver coin worth about 2s. 6d.—See *Lack of Rupees*. See also *Sun*.

*Ryot*, or *Reiat*, a tenant or farmer.

*Resident at the Durbar*; for a description of the nature and duties of this office, see Appendix, page 137, paragraphs 15 and 16.

*Ryótty lands*, or lands farmed out, tenanted and cultivated by the natives on the spot.

S.

*Seer*, the fortieth part of a Maund.

*Sepóy*, a soldier.—This word is generally used for the Indian infantry, disciplined after the European manner.

*Serái*, a baiting place for travellers.

*Sewáury*, the train of attendants who accompany any principal person on the road.

*Sezarwául*, the same as Tahsildar.—An officer employed at a monthly salary to collect the revenues.

*Shah*, king, or emperor.

*Shah Aalum*, or *Aillum*, (the title of the present emperor of Hindostan,) signifies king of the world.

*Shah-zada*, the king's son, or more properly *royally born*; because it is a title equally applied to both the sons and daughters of kings.

*Sheréef*, noble, magnificent.

*Sbroff*, properly *Seráf*, a banker, or money-changer.

*Sicca*, any new coin; it means *stampt* or *sealed*; but is particularly used for the standard silver rupee of the Bengal mints.

*Sicdár*, the collector of the rents of a village.

*Sircár*, the state or government.—In common usage in Bengal, the under Banyans of European gentlemen are called *Sircárs*.

*Sirdár*, or *Surdár*, a chief, leader, or commander.

*Subáb*, a province; improperly used for the *Subahdar*; and is the same as *Subahship*, *Subahdárerry*, or *Nizamut*.

*Subahdár*, the governor of a province, or literally a holder of a *Súbab*; the same as *Nabób*, or *Nazím*.—Also the black commander of a company of Sepoys.

*Subahdarry*,



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*Subabdarry*, or *Subabship*, the office of a *Subabdar*.  
*Sun*, the year : thus Siccas of the 1st, 2d, or 3d *Sun*, are the standard silver rupees of the 1st, 2d, or 3d year of a prince's reign; which is marked on the coin.  
 See *Lack of Rupees*.

*Sunnud*, a grant.

*Sunót*, properly *Sunwaít*, rupees of old dates, on which a discount is allowed.

### T.

*Talóok*, a small Zeméen-darry.

*Talóok-dár*, the Zeméen-dar of a small district.

*Tahsildar*, or *Sezawaúl*, an officer employed for a monthly salary to collect the revenues.

*Tankáál*, a mint.

*Tánna*, a small fort.

*Tanna-dar*, a commander of a small fort.

*Teep*, a note of hand.

*Telínga*, a Sepoy; so called from a country of that name, from whence the first Sepoys were probably enlisted.

*Toffaúl*, a collection of Callárrys, or salt pans.

*Tentom*, a name vulgarly given to the Indian drums used in proclamations, and rejoicings.

*Tuncáw*, an assignment.

### U.

*Ultungáu*, properly *Altum-ghau*, an allowance paid from the revenues to religious, or learned men.

### V.

*Vakeel*, an attorney, or agent.

*Vizarút*, the post, or office of Vizier.

### W.

*Wadadár*, an officer of the collections.

### Y.

*Yessawául*, a state messenger.

### Z.

*Zeméen*, land.

*Zeméen-dár*, literally a land-holder, accountable to government for the revenue.

*Zeméen-dárry*, the office of a Zeméen-dar, or the lands held by him.

*Zenána*, belonging to women, the woman's apartment, the Seraglio.

The compiler of this Glossary has not hesitated to avail himself of the glossaries of Mr. Vanfittart, Mr. Bolts, and other writers on India affairs; as they have been found, in general, sufficiently explanatory of the articles in question.

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# INTRODUCTION,

CONTAINING

A REFUTATION of such Parts of “ Considerations on INDIA Affairs” as are not referred to any general Division of this Work.

**T**HE power and dominion acquired within a few years by the English East India company, the great importance of their possessions to the wealth and prosperity of Great Britain, the immense revenue derived to the state from their commerce, have at length awakened the public attention. An universal desire seems now to prevail of obtaining information upon this important subject. The materials of knowledge, however, are scarce. Few publications appear which are not dictated by private passion, or interested views. An envy moreover, attending the large fortunes acquired by some individuals, has given an easy credit to the most extravagant assertions of malice, or disappointed ambition. To remove in some degree an impression so injurious to individuals, so ruinous to the public interest, is the object of the following sheets; and without pretending to greater virtue than other writers, I shall add, that neither the time nor occasion will admit a wilful misrepresentation, which must soon be exposed to detection.

The confusion in which "Considerations on India Affairs," published by Mr. Bolts, are studiously involved, affords abundant opportunities to pervert the truth; and is in itself therefore but an indifferent argument in favour of the author's candor. At the same time this laboured disorder effectually precludes me, who wish to inform, from following that writer through all his undigested mass of multifarious and libellous misrepresentation. Should I content myself with giving order and arrangement to the little work, which is now submitted to the public eye, an intelligent reader would find therein a sufficient refutation of what Mr. Bolts has thought fit to advance. The historical deduction, for instance, in the first chapter, must demolish his representation of political transactions, by proving those acts of the select committee to have flowed from a sense of duty, and knowledge of the public interest, which that gentleman has attributed to malignant passions, or to yet meaner motives.

The same observation will apply to every part of his book; and even the last chapter of the present work, which has no appearance of being a direct answer, may yet serve to prove, that many favourite positions, drawn from the laws and manners of Great Britain, are mere words, when applied to a very different situation of things in Bengal. But as many readers will not give themselves the trouble to consider the subject in this view, it will be necessary, before I enter upon the execution of my own plan, to examine that chaos of invective, which is so written by Mr. Bolts as to admit little order in the comment.

To misrepresent the plainest subjects is no very difficult task. "It is a false way of reasoning against religion," says the president Montequieu, "to collect a long detail of all the evils it has produced." History will, undoubtedly, acquaint us with innumerable mischiefs, which seem to have flowed from this source. Yet religion, or a knowledge of those relations, which the Creator has established, is the source of all moral obligation; and the fear of his displeasure, the best sanction of those laws, which the finger of the Deity has thus prescribed to man. In ridicule

dicule of such attempts, an essay was composed some few years since by a very ingenious writer, who produced a long catalogue of mischiefs arising from civil establishments; and affected, with great gravity, to evince, that the abolition of all government would be productive of private happiness. He so far succeeded, that a learned bishop employed much time in refuting this formidable antagonist, without once recollecting, that the experience of mankind had already decided the question, by establishing *some government* in every corner of the earth. To come nearer home, the wits of this island have found so large a field for the exercise of their talents in the practice of Westminster Hall, that there are not wanting persons, who think justice should be administered with us, as it is in Turkey, forgetting that a government *by law* has alone raised Great Britain to preeminence among the kingdoms of Europe, and made her prosperity the admiration and envy of surrounding nations. If subjects the most interesting to mankind, on which they have added experience to theory, are nevertheless so open to misrepresentation, what must be the condition in this respect of a nascent, unsettled state, where all dominion, after the confusion of successive revolutions, is transferred to a few strangers, and where the conquerors, living under their own laws of freedom amidst a nation of slaves, exhibit a situation without parallel in history?

It must be evident that so great a change would extort many acts from the governor and council in Bengal, which were not strictly within the intention of the legislature, when powers were granted to the company with a view to occasions, very different from those which have since arisen. Thus, to counteract the establishment of an Ostend company, the three nations \* possessed of the East India commerce forbade their respective subjects to engage in a foreign service. The exclusive trade of our company had before been secured by penalties to be recovered in England; but upon this occasion the legislature authorized the company to † seize any British subject who shall *sail, go, or repair to*

\* Great Britain, France, and Holland.

† 5 Geo. I. ch. 21.

the East Indies contrary to law. Within four years, two more \* acts passed, by which, among other provisions, it is enacted, that all such persons who go to the East Indies, shall be deemed traders, and, consequently subject to the several penalties inflicted upon persons under that description. The company are moreover authorized to seize, and bring to England, all unlicensed persons who shall *go to or be found in* India. These provisions, derived plainly from a commercial jealousy, the company have since made the means of imposing such conditions upon the free merchant and others in Bengal, as were found from experience to be necessary for the safety of the country, and protection of its inhabitants.

When, for instance, the power of the English nation gave effect to usurpations of the private trader, who decided his own claims, oppressing the natives, and threatening the officers of government, if they presumed to interfere, successive governors of different parties agreed in the necessity of confining the free merchant to the company's † presidency. This regulation, which all approved, and which reiterated orders of the directors confirmed, was made a condition of residence under the company's protection.

Thus also, when frequent complaints were made by Sujah al Dowlah, nabob of Oude, of numberless oppressions committed by English agents, who, contrary to treaty ‡, traded in his dominions, the governor and council issued *general* prohibitions; yet Mr. Bolts represents all these regulations, founded on the most evident necessity, as *expedients* to oppress *particular* individuals; and assuming afterwards his own assertion as

\* 7 Geo. I. ch. 21. 9 Geo. I. ch. 26.

These laws were temporary, and have been prolonged from time to time. It is remarkable that all offences against these are excepted out of the general pardon so late as 20 Geo. II.

† Company's servants were, of course, confined to their several stations.

‡ When peace was concluded, it was intended to have English factories in the dominions of Oude, but Sujah al Dowlah represented, that a private trade in his dominions must necessarily be productive of disputes with the English, and would probably end in his destruction as it had before ruined Meer Cossim. A clause, stipulating a free commerce *for the company* was inserted in the treaty, but Sujah al Dowlah was given to understand, that this right should not be exercised without positive orders from England; and that *no English private traders* should, on any account, be permitted in his dominions.

a truth, he makes this curious reflection \*, “ It is true, that such restrictions have never been laid but upon particular persons whom the company designed to oppress and crush. But how miserable and despicable must that state of the government of the company’s affairs be, wherein the general system of justice is stopped or perverted for the sake of oppressing an individual.” Without denying the inference, it is impossible to admit the fact. “ *It is true,*” that one trader, and only one, who had committed many enormities, for which the severest punishment was justly due; who had been reprimanded by the directors; whose conduct had been equally obnoxious to successive unconnected governors; who had threatened the officers of the country government for attempting to discharge their duty; who had traded contrary to public treaties in the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah; who by repeated promises to withdraw this trade, had obtained letters from the governor to the subah of Oude, requesting that every assistance might be given in collecting his effects; who, disregarding his own voluntary repeated promises, had persevered in this commerce, and by his intrigues endangered the peace of India: *It is true,* that such a man, after a delay of nearly two years, was seized, and sent to Europe. But it will not necessarily follow from the admission of such a fact, that “ the general system of justice is stopped or perverted for the sake of oppressing an individual.” *It is true,* likewise, that several officers who had endeavoured to disband the whole army in Bengal, by a general combination to resign their commissions in one day, were deemed dangerous in India; and refusing voluntarily to depart, were therefore sent by force to Europe. Mr. Bolts labours through more than twenty pages to prove this power of seizing persons illegal. But even the doubts, which have always attended the exercise of this power, prove it not to have been the wanton instrument of oppression. The very few instances to be found regard such † persons as could not interfere with any private interests of the governor and council; and it is utterly incredible, that these gentlemen would risque their own fortunes by an act which must come before an English jury, unless the duty of their stations exacted such conduct at their hands. Then indeed they might justly expect protection from the purse of the company.

\* Considerations, p. 73. † Mostly military men.

Could we even believe these gentlemen to have been actuated by improper motives towards men, of whom they seldom have any personal knowledge, what can we say of the directors? Yet Mr. Bolts informs us, in a note at the bottom of page 147, that the “directors in their general letters since 1764 have been used very injudiciously to authorize their governor and council at Bengal, at their own discretion, to withdraw their protection from, or seize and send to Europe any person or persons, who might be guilty of the smallest contravention of their orders.”

The reader should be informed, that the year 1764 is the period when it was first known in England, that the violence of private traders had overturned the country government, and involved us in a war with Meer Cossim; that the consequent orders of the directors, necessary to the peace of the country and safety of the natives, had been repeatedly contemned; and that all now confess the justice and propriety of the restraints then imposed, although men from interested motives were at that time tempted to disobey.

It was foreseen by Mr. Bolts, that such reasoning would not be conclusive, unless interspersed with flaming paragraphs, round assertions, and some few facts, which, to a careless eye, or mind unacquainted with the subject, may wear the face of proofs. He concludes, therefore, his chapter on “*Transportation*,” in this manner\*. “It is principally owing to this exorbitant power, the exercise of which has been greatly encouraged by the directors in their letters to Bengal, that we must attribute the immense fortunes which have been of late so rapidly squeezed from the natives in those parts, and which will continue to bring those provinces nearer and nearer to destruction, if effectual measures be not speedily taken to prevent such violences, to enable the injured more easily to obtain relief, and to inflict exemplary punishment on such oppressors. If this be not speedily done, neither the company, nor the nation, can

\* Considerations, p. 147.

“ have



“ have a right knowledge of their own true interests in Indian matters,  
 “ and posterity will justly remark of this period of the eighteenth cen-  
 “ tury, that it was then supposed the law of the land for Britons in India  
 “ to be imprisoned, banished, and transported, by the English East-India  
 “ company, unaccused, and unheard in their defence.”

Well calculated as this passage may be to work upon the honest preju-  
 dices of an English reader, it is difficult to conceive why *we are to attri-  
 bute fortunes rapidly squeezed out of the natives*, to the practice of send-  
 ing a dangerous *European* to England; or how the prevention of *such vio-  
 lences*, or punishments of *such oppressors* will save the provinces from that  
 approaching ruin which Mr. Bolts denounces. Was Mr. Bolts (whose  
 whole continuance in Bengal was one scene of complaints, replies, reprim-  
 ands, and contentions,) transported *unaccused or unheard in his defence*?

The mode of reasoning in constant use with Mr. Bolts, is by declaim-  
 ing strongly on *possible* effects to inflame the mind, to mention a *particu-  
 lar* fact, which proves nothing, and then very liberally to deal forth gener-  
 al invectives, leaving the reader to suppose practices thus alluded to  
 have frequently prevailed. Who would not, from the following pas-  
 sage, be lead to imagine, that the practice of sending to Europe had  
 been so common as to destroy all private credit? The reader will, per-  
 haps, be surpris'd to learn, that Mr. Bolts is the single instance of a  
 trader being *so transported*\* during many years. Yet he gravely tells us,  
 in p. 140, “ The effects in India of sudden transportation, with respect  
 “ to destroying of credit and all private security, must appear evident, and  
 “ indeed, have been severely felt by the *generality* of British subjects,  
 “ since those tyrannies have been practis'd in Bengal, for it is well known,  
 “ that any young writer in the company's service will now find it more  
 “ difficult to borrow *five hundred* rupees of a black merchant, than six  
 “ years ago he would have *five thousand*.”

\* This happened twenty months after he had publicly declared to the governor and council  
 that he had relinquish'd all trade. He himself said, in his examination before the committee  
 of the house of commons, that he knew of none besides himself, except military men, that had  
 been sent to Europe.

This last mentioned fact, which is supposed to be a conclusive proof of all these dreadful consequences, may be true, but has no application to the subject. *Six years ago* will nearly carry us back to the treaty concluded with Nudjum al Dowlah. The reader must here be informed, that a trade, free from duties, had been claimed by the company's servants, supported by their forces, and established by the last treaty with Meer Jaffier; and that this article, although condemned by the directors, was afterwards transcribed into the treaty with his son Nudjum al Dowlah. The contention during two years with Meer Cossim, in support of this trade, greatly weakened the country government, which his subsequent overthrow quite annihilated. At this time, many "*black merchants*" found it expedient to purchase the name of "*any young writer in the company's service,*" by loans of money, and under this sanction, harrassed and oppressed, or (as Mr. Bolts elegantly expresses it) "*squeezed the natives.*" So plentiful a supply was derived from this source, that before lord Clive's arrival, many "*young writers*" were enabled to spend 1500 l. and 2000 l. per annum, were clothed in fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day. *This credit* certainly declined, when the orders of the directors were enforced by the select committee. Had these gentlemen thought fit to support *such a credit*, they would, to use the expression of lord Clive in his letter to the directors, have found "the settlement in general their friends, and only the natives of the country their enemies."

Having mentioned the treaty with Nudjum al Dowlah, it is worth remarking, that Mr. Bolts does not hesitate to misquote passages from public letters, whenever, by so doing, he can aid his other arts of misrepresentation. Where every, the minutest, transaction is committed to paper, and canvassed in a correspondence between the directors in England, and the company's servants in Bengal, it is obvious what advantage may be hence derived, if a man can stoop to the meanness of *wilful* misquotation. To follow our author through every instance of this species of deceit, would not only require a careful perusal of all the public correspondence, but would, in itself, be useless, since one instance will suffice to destroy the credit of Mr. Bolts. The directors, enraged with the abovementioned contempt

tempt of their orders, direct the council in their letter of February 1766, to transmit *a renunciation of that part of the treaty* in form to the nabob. A change of circumstances had been made by their servants the plea for an interested disobedience. They therefore add, "whatever government may be established, or whatever unforeseen occurrences may arise, it is our resolution to prohibit, and we do absolutely forbid this trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco,\*" meaning the inland trade carried on by individuals under a forced construction of the firmaun, recognized by these treaties. Yet Mr. Bolts, fully possessed of the truth, applies this prohibition to the society established † in consequence of positive injunctions from the proprietors "to regulate the inland trade," which regulations were not then known in England, and consequently could not be condemned. It is impossible to regard the misrepresentation of this subject by Mr. Bolts as derived from error on his part, because the letter by him mentioned recites the article of the treaty afterwards referred to; because it speaks of the trade of individuals *thereby* stipulated, severely condemning the conduct of governor Spencer and his council in this business; and lastly, because Mr. Bolts in his book, page 180, uses the very phrase of the letter, "transmit such renunciation in form to the nabob in the Persian language," dropping in the midst of the sentence these words "of this part of the treaty."

In the same page with his acute observations on private credit, continuing the invective against *sudden transportation*, Mr. Bolts exhibits a very alarming picture of *possible* abuses. He supposes the absent and innocent to be equally involved, the widow and orphan to fall in one undistinguished ruin with these miserable *exiles*. Having warmed his imagination, he proceeds to describe the governor as a rich tyrant, but without subjects. The governor has banished all the former inhabitants of the settlement, leaving to himself nothing but the houses. Conceiving that a man sent away suddenly, must sell all his effects cheap, Mr. Bolts, being a good merchant, makes transportation the means employed by a purchaser. "In any or all of these cases the governor himself, or he and some of his chief counsellors, might become purchasers of all the

\* Considerations, p. 180.

\* C

† In August 1765.

"houses,

“houses, ships, goods or merchandize in the settlement; which would be no small *stroke* in trade, and of a piece with many such *strokes* as have been often known to be *struck* SUCCESSFULLY under arbitrary or despotic governments\*”. In the first part of the sentence, they *might* become purchasers; but forgetting that the whole was a fiction, Mr. Bolts, in the latter part, strongly insinuates, by the help of *Italics* and large LETTERS, that such practices not uncommonly prevail.

This is not the only imputation *thus* conveyed. If *Italics* mean any thing, those nabobs who “died *suddenly*,” had their departure hastened by management. Lest the *Italics* should escape the reader’s attention, or as he might not know against whom the insinuation was directed, LORD CLIVE and MR. SYKES in large characters catch the eye on the preceding line, p. 47, employed in regulating this same nabob’s income. A few lines lower another youth, who died of the small-pox after an illness of eleven days, “dies *suddenly*,” and “the allowance of the nabob is again reduced †.” Lest all this honest industry should be lost, Mr. Bolts conjectures the fate of the present nabob, shrewdly observing that “considering the late fatality among nabobs, it is reasonable to imagine the race of them in Bengal is nearly at an end.” In a note to page 44, the reader is informed that “upon all these revolutions, large sums of money were obtained by the persons who conducted them from every *new made* nabob.” Then follow some extracts from a letter published by lord Clive and from another by Mr. Johnstone, respecting presents. This note is subjoined as an illustration of a text, which describes the nabob wholly dependent on the English governor and council. Had some little order been given to the facts here mentioned, it would have appeared, that the presents made to lord Clive and others, in the year 1757, were rewards of the most honourable services, at a time when the English company had few forces in Bengal, the nabob Meer Jaffier possessing a large army and the full dominion of his country. That the presents received by Mr. Johnstone and others in the year 1765, were in consequence of no services, the nabob Nudjum al Dowlah being disarmed by treaty, and all power transferred to the English council; given, in short,

\* Considerations, p. 140.

† The nabob’s allowance was not reduced on the death of Seyf al Dowlah, as here asserted by Mr. Bolts.

under such circumstances, that Mr. Verelst did not think it consistent with his honour to accept any part. Lastly, it would have appeared that before the *sudden* deaths mentioned by Mr. Bolts, the source of these presents had been removed by a grant of the revenue to the English East India company; and that therefore it was impossible, consistently with truth, to suggest a motive for the perpetration of so horrid a crime. The subject is here mentioned only to shew the manner in which Mr. Bolts treats the characters of men, who have laboured at least to render some service to their country. Perhaps it may not be improper to point out the dilemma, in which this gentleman has involved himself. By concealing his *suspicion* \* during his residence in Bengal subsequent to 1766, he incurs the guilt of an accomplice, whether the fact be *true* or *false*. If he entertained *no suspicion*, let the reader give a name to his present attempt †.

No subject is safe in the hands of Mr. Bolts. He will not suffer the ashes of king William to rest in peace; nay, the two houses of parliament become the authors of fraud. The confines of legislative and executive power are often so nicely blended, that we must not be surprised if they have sometimes been mistaken. In the reigns of the Tudors, this distinction was little understood, and less regarded. In the reigns of the Stuarts, the possibility of completely separating these powers, without overturning all kingly government, was, with equal warmth, affirmed and denied by contending parties. After the Revolution, a charter was obtained from the crown, erecting a company who were to trade to India.

\* A man who had intimated a suspicion of this kind, would only have made himself ridiculous in Bengal, where the truth was notorious; but these base insinuations may nevertheless have some effect in inflaming the uninformed mind of an English reader.

† Mr. Dow has this passage, p. 89. vol. iii. "The princes whom we raised in Bengal, vanished imperceptibly from their thrones. Light and unsubstantial as the shew of power, with which, as in derision, we invested them, they disappeared, like Romulus, but without a storm. The benefits derived from former revolutions, created a love of change; and the angel of death, if not our friend, was very opportune in his frequent visits to the Musnud. In the course of five years, three nabobs expired; and the unfledged sovereign, who acceded to the nominal government of Bengal, on the March of 1770, has already enjoyed, considering the times, a long reign. Nabobs, to own the truth, are useless; and they are dismissed to their fathers without either ceremony or noise." A man who hopes to obtain credit should exhibit something like a proof in support of so extraordinary a charge.



This charter, copied from some of a more ancient date, contained a clause granting an *exclusive* trade. Such a clause, being restrictive of the rights of other persons, was manifestly a legislative act; and therefore illegal, without the concurrence of parliament. No sooner was the error discovered, than the crown relinquished its claim: but the measure being deemed politically right, an exclusive privilege of trade was immediately granted by parliament, and the two companies were afterwards united in the sixth year of queen Anne. Yet Mr. Bolts represents the first charter as confirmed *by parliament*, to introduce this observation, that it “was almost immediately fet at nought by a self-erected, unchartered company of “adventurers, who traded directly to India in defiance of the king, ministry\*, and parliament.” He then gives a long history of supposed evasions under the terms *in, into, to, and from* †, for the purpose of suggesting his own ingenious doubt, whether *the parliament of Great Britain* can restrain the trade of a *British subject*, or authorize other subjects to seize his person, whenever he contravenes such commands?

The cases of persons seized and sent to Europe, printed by Mr. Bolts in his Appendix, relate to officers, all of whom were engaged in the mutiny, while some superadded the guilt of supporting rival interests to the attempt of destroying the British power in Bengal. These relations are drawn by no friend of the measure; yet, when stripped of their pompous phrase and unmeaning invective, the whole will amount to this, that men, not personally known to the gentlemen in council, of a profession whose interests could not clash, were sent to Europe, because their residence in Bengal was esteemed dangerous to the company. Doubts respecting the legal extent of their power, made the governor and council cautious in the mode of securing the persons of these officers, and enabled them to hold their house as a garrison for some few days. It appears, moreover, that one of them, as soon as he promised to proceed for Europe, was permitted to quit the ship on which he first embarked. From this fact we may judge, how far their own obstinacy, in resisting the order of council, contributed to any hardships they might suffer. The messages which passed between the prisoners and justices of peace are set forth by Mr. Bolts at large ‡. The justices,

\* Page 141. † Page 142. ‡ Appendix to Considerations, p. 93, 94, 95.



no great lawyers, were of opinion, that the complaint was not within their jurisdiction. Common sense must discover, that a power of seizing British subjects for the purpose of sending them to England must fall to the ground, if magistrates, having a merely local authority, should presume to release them. If the crown, in time of danger, are empowered to confine suspected persons, would our sages of the law discharge the prisoners? Yet in this country the course of justice is tolerably free.

Among the arts used by Mr. Bolts to inflame, he never forgets to mention the military as persons employed upon all occasions. The reader therefore should here be informed, that throughout all the nations of India, the orders even of courts of justice are executed by military men. The colour of a man's coat, or the uniform he wears, does not prove him a more noxious creature, than if, an emblem of innocence, he were arrayed in white. The nature of the English constitution makes us jealous of the executive magistrate. A frequent use of the military, who are immediately under his command, in *domestic government* might be dangerous to public liberty; and hence arises that honest prejudice of our countrymen, which the author of *Considerations* perpetually abuses to most unworthy purposes.

In page 144, Mr. Bolts, still declaiming against transportation, has this passage: "But there is a direct, unconstitutional use to be made of such power, which is, *as we have seen*, that of employing it to punish men for doing their duty, even in courts of justice. They may disoblige men in power by refusing to be pliant judges, if in the mayor's court; or pliant jurors, if impanelled as jurymen at sessions; and may be therefore punished with ruin in revenge for their honest discharge of the first social duty." Have such cases ever existed? Has such an unconstitutional use been ever made of this power? There never has, nor ever can, while law or justice has its residence in Great Britain. Supposing the power to be legal, those exercising the authority are answerable for its abuse. To prefer a criminal charge to the proper judges, is the *legal right*, nay the *duty*, of each individual citizen. But should this power be wantonly abused, the experience of every day evinces, that an innocent and injured man would obtain ample compensation.

fation from an English jury. What more could be done to prevent oppression, if parliament should annul this power heretofore given to the company? In this country all public rights, whether in the hands of the magistrate or of private persons, are a sacred trust. To abuse these in the execution, is criminal according to our laws; and a sinister motive will contaminate an act, which could not otherwise be questioned. Governors who should conduct themselves by the principles suggested by Mr. Bolts, would not only be compelled to make full restitution to the injured individual, but would, by their punishment, become severe examples to prevent the commission of like crimes in future.

The reasoning of our author is perpetually in extreme. Here he wishes the abolition of a power because the imagination may suggest *possible* abuses, which abuses are effectually corrected as the law now stands. Two pages further he would destroy the same power as *unnecessary*, because it is the interest of all men to be honest \*. “No inhabitants of their settlements can commit any crime to endanger the security of the company but what must equally endanger the safety of each individual member of the community, they being inseparably connected together.” Is not this equally true of every other state and its subjects? Wherefore then is high treason punished? Why are murderers proscribed in every country? Why have we regarded great legislators as benefactors to mankind? Such is the moral harmony established by the Creator, that public duty will ever continue to be the same with private interest well understood. But do men never err? Shall we proceed upon such a foundation to abolish all laws and all magistrates? I know not which most to admire, the head or heart of our author.

Mr. Bolts himself observes upon another occasion, p. 144, “not disputing here what the constitutional rights of Englishmen formerly were, or now are, within or without the immediate settlements of the company, that there is always supposed to be a mutual convenience or advantage in all such engagements, and that honour should regulate either party in their conduct.” Let honour be the criterion. Let each in his several station abide by its judgments. Should any private man, taking ad-

\* Page 147, Considerations.

vantage of an unsettled government, oppresses and harrasses the harmless natives of Bengal, and endeavour to shelter himself under the letter of laws, calculated for a very different state of society; let the miscreant be punished as his crimes deserve, by a removal from the scene of his ravages, by the contempt and detestation of every honest mind. Should, on the contrary, power be wantonly abused, to serve the purposes of malignant passion, or governors, forgetful of Mr. Bolts's precepts, neglect their public duty for a *supposed* private interest, an English jury will eagerly redress their fellow-citizen, and vindicate the rights of human kind.

It were endless to pursue Mr. Bolts through all his chaos of invective. To do justice to his performance, would be to comment on every line. Some passages, however, may be selected, without swelling this Introduction to an unreasonable size, sufficient, perhaps, to convince the reader, that the Book called "Considerations on India Affairs," will convey as much real information respecting the affairs of China, as those of Bengal.

The author is as well versed in the law of nations as qualified for the domestic government of a particular state. What concern has Great Britain in the claims of a Mogul? Englishmen should adhere to engagements taken on the part of their own nation; but it is ridiculous to suppose they must enter into the disputes between prince Ally Gohar, and the subahdar of Bengal, or between them again and their respective subjects. Yet the misrepresentations of two chapters are chiefly founded on this absurd opinion; and the high sounding titles of eastern grandeur are introduced to give the whole a greater air of burlesque.

What contradiction is there in resisting prince Ally Gohar, when invading the dominions of our ally; and supporting the same man with our arms, when new treaties had been formed with him? Mr. Bolts, p. 25, quotes two passages from Mr. Scrafton to prove that, upon the invasion of Bengal by our present Mogul, colonel Clive, at the request of Meer Jaffier, marched to punish those rajahs "who had dared to join him\*." It appears from these extracts, that the colonel strictly adhered to his engagements,

\* Mr. Bolts has mis-quoted this passage from Mr. Scrafton, whose words are, in p. 117. "All our affairs being so happily circumstanced, colonel Clive, at the subah's request, marched to punish those rajahs *who had joined the Shabzada.*"

communicating the letters received to the nabob's son and ministers, who judged that "it would be dangerous to have a prince of the blood in any of the provinces." Mr. Bolts seems better pleased with the conduct of Mr. \* Holwell, who, in the same war, corresponded with the enemy, concealing the letters ("offering a carte blanche to the company") from our ally Meer Jaffier. It seems that these engagements with the subahdar were not, in our author's opinion, to be regarded; for he affirms, that Sujah Cawn was the last † lawful nabob of Bengal.

Mr. Bolts then relates the revolutions preceding the capture of Calcutta by Surajah al Dowlah, to retake which place colonel Clive was sent from the coast of Coromandel in the year 1756. But in doing this he conveys a very unjust imputation. He tells us that the treaty with Serajah al Dowlah was "solemnly ‡ ratified in the strongest manner, the nabob swearing on the Koran by God and Mahomed, and the colonel pledging the names of God and our Saviour, faithfully to observe the same. Necessity, which, in *politics*, usually supercedes all oaths, treaties, or forms whatsoever, induced the English East India company's representatives, about *three months* after the execution of the former treaty, to determine, "by the blessing of God," upon dispossessing the nabob Serajah al Dowlah of his Nizamut, and giving it to another." In the next paragraph, to throw a greater odium upon the measure, Mr. Bolts speaks of "the traffick in nabobships,"—"the bold and traitorous disposition of Meer Jaffier,"—"and of another rebel candidate." Who would imagine, from this relation, that the conduct of the English was perfectly consistent with the law of nations? Yet such it will manifestly appear.

Mr. Bolts forgot to mention, that after the conclusion of the first treaty, Serajah al Dowlah not only evaded fulfilling his engagements §, but me-

\* This gentleman was governor after the departure of colonel Clive, in February 1768. See History, in first chapter.

† Considerations, p. 38. where Mr. Vansittart's Narrative is referred to, Vol. I. p. 5. as if that gentleman had said, "that Sujah Cawn was the last lawful nabob of Bengal," whereas Mr. Vansittart expresses no such opinion.

‡ Considerations, fol. 39.

§ To restore the English effects, and give possession of the twenty-four pergunnahs, or villages, which by the treaty he had ceded. Immediately after the treaty with Serajah al Dow-

dictated our destruction. He negotiated with \* Monsieur Bussy, to introduce into Bengal a body of French troops, (the two nations being then at war) for the express † purpose of acting against the English. A just self-defence, therefore, required, that some measures should be taken on our part, before the ships and forces left the river. Reinforced from the fleet, our army, amounting to 1000 Europeans, and 2000 sepoy, stood opposed to 20,000 horse, and 50,000 foot. In this situation, it was judged expedient to secure some of those chiefs in our interest, whom the nabob's violence had disgusted; and Meer Jaffier, being the most powerful, was chosen as a proper ally.

The malice of Mr. Bolts does not rest here. He represents this revolution as an enterprize of no difficulty. Speaking of the battle of Plassey ‡, he says, "Happy it was for the company that this numerous army made so little resistance, that, according to Mr. Scrafton, there were only *seventy men killed and wounded.*" The nabob not only had a numerous army, but likewise the assistance of French officers, and one hundred European soldiers. The advice, received from Meer Jaffier, contained nothing but excuses for not acting, and to the last hour we obtained no support from this leader, who commanded ten thousand men. At the same time intelligence was received through another channel "that the whole affair had been discovered by the nabob, and that he and Meer Jaffier were one." This embarrassing situation gave rise to a council of war, at which a large majority declared against an immediate attack.

In Feb. 1757, Mr. Verelst was appointed to take charge of the company's factory at Luckypore, and receive from the officers of the government the effects that had been taken from that place. On his passage from Calcutta to Luckypore with Mr. Middleton (a gentleman now in the council at Bengal) in the month of April 1757; they were attacked and taken prisoners by a body of the nabob's troops. The commanding officer produced the nabob's orders not to suffer, on any account whatever, any Europeans to pass and repass in the country, particularly the English. He also produced letters, pointing out the gentlemen, nominated to take charge of the factories, to be particularly within such orders. He moreover declared, that the treaty would not be regarded on the part of the nabob, and that we should soon again experience the strength of his arm. The battle of Plassey happened on the 20th of June following.

\* Commander of the French army in the Deccan.

† This appeared not only from unquestionable information received at the time, but was further confirmed by the nabob's papers.

‡ Considerations, fol. 40.

\* D

After



After a deliberation of twenty-four hours, colonel Clive resolved to persevere, and the army, contrary to the determination of the council of war, was ordered to march. The event shewed his judgment to have been well founded. Our negotiations in the nabob's camp had already decided the contest. We learn from Mr. Scrafton, that on the day of the battle "a body of about fifty French advanced in front of the rest, their officer calling out in vain for some of the Subahdar's troops to follow him; for such was their mistrust of each other, that no commander dared to venture on singly, for fear some other commander, suspected of attachment to us, should fall on him." Among many other fortunate accidents, Meer Modun, the best and most faithful of the Subahdar's officers, was killed in the beginning of the action, and his death greatly contributed to the easy victory gained by the English army.

The subsequent events are sufficiently explained in the first chapter of this work. During Meer Jaffier's government, prince Ally Gohar (the present Mogul) invading the provinces of Bengal, was repulsed by the English under colonel Clive, acting as allies to the Subahdar. At this time were written the letters, mentioned by Mr. Bolts, to those rebellious rajahs "*who had dared to join him* \*," the open enemy of Meer Jaffier. The supposed contradiction is, that when lord Clive, upon his last arrival in India, found other engagements taken respecting *other* countries, he concurred with the select committee in adhering likewise to these new engagements. The Mogul did not indeed obtain the whole dominions of Oude, which a former council had † agreed to give him before they had conquered the country. But he did obtain the countries of Korah and Illahabad, his possession being † guaranteed by the English. To these likewise was added an annual payment of twenty-six lacks from Bengal. The expediency of restoring to Sujah al Dowlah the other territories of Oude, will be evinced in the historical part of this book. Mr. Bolts, speaking of this restoration, says, p. 30. "against the wealth of this nabob, as Mr. Dow very justly observes, the virtue of some of our re-

\* Considerations, fol. 25. Mr. Bolts has made a false quotation from Mr. Scrafton.

† Appendix, p. 163. No. 51. B.

‡ Appendix, p. 171. No. 58.

“ revolutionists



“voluntarily was by no means proof.” Within three pages he represents the *same* men upon the *same* occasion, as taking bribes from this Mogul, whose interests they are supposed to have sacrificed to Sujah al Dowlah. “Amidst all his misfortunes, this prince has given several instances of great generosity, particularly to the members of the secret committee, for their distinguished merit and disinterested services. One instance may be seen in lord Clive’s letter to the court of directors, of the 30th of September 1765, where it appears his imperial majesty had presented general Carnac with two lacks of rupees.” This last mentioned fact, which is supposed to be conclusive evidence of corruption, candidly told, will afford an opposite inference. General Carnac, who had commanded the company’s forces with great reputation, and withstood many temptations of pecuniary emolument, had an offer of two lacks from the Mogul. The Mogul wrote to the council upon the subject, and lord Clive mentioned his letter, with its occasion, to the court of directors for their judgment. When a man wantonly stabs the characters of those whose actions engage the public attention, it will require more understanding than Mr. Bolts possesses, to make false assertions wear the face of probability\*.

\* “Another instance of the generosity of the Mogul, Mr. Bolts says, was given in the year 1767, when his majesty likewise presented colonel Richard Smith with two lacks more; as appears from the following minute of the council at Calcutta.

“At a consultation held the 14th of September 1767, present, Harry Verelst, esq. president, John Cartier, Richard Becher, James Alexander, William Aldersey, Charles Ffloyer, and Alexander Campbell, esqrs.

“Received a letter from Col. Richard Smith at Illah-abad, dated the 20th of July, on the subject of the two lacks of rupees, he requested their permission to receive as a gratuity from the king; offering several arguments to our consideration, and acquainting us with his majesty’s absolute refusal to take back the teep † he had granted; therefore enclosing it for us to dispose of as might seem most equitable.”

Mr. Bolts has suppressed the resolution of the president and council, which immediately follows his quotation, “Agreed, we acknowledge the receipt of the colonel’s letter, with the teep enclosed, informing him that, as his majesty has so absolutely refused to take back the note for the two lacks, we shall keep it in our hands till the pleasure of the court of directors can be known.” At the same time observing, “that our sentiments on the occasion are still the same as mentioned in our former letter to him on the subject.” These sentiments condemning all presents “as manifestly contrary to the will of their employers,” were expressed in the above-mentioned letter to colonel Smith, but more fully in one to the king; “That we,” (the pre-

† A promissory note, here an order of payment for money.

Is it necessary here to enter on the subject of the Dewanny, "a hard name, well \* calculated for a blind to amuse the British legislature?" Mr. Bolts does not chuse "to investigate in this place all the private reasons which occasioned this Dewanny being assumed by lord Clive and his select committee †." Why not? If Mr. Bolts knows any *private* reasons, should this virtuous zealot suppress them? If he knows none, how base the imputation! A plain ‡ narrative will suggest the public reasons for this measure, and shew the necessity of uniting to the military power the means of supporting it. Indeed the frequent distresses of our army, from the irregular payment of the monthly sums stipulated for its subsistence, must have opened the eyes of the blind; but a former council thought it more expedient to leave two millions of annual revenue in the hands of a disarmed and defenceless nabob. The idea of Mr. Bolts, that the hard word Dewanny was intended to amuse the British legislature, is too ridiculous to deserve a refutation; but it may be worth remarking, that the system called in derision the DOUBLE GOVERNMENT, had been established by the same council in their treaty of February, 1765 §. This, in truth, was necessarily derived from that train of events which led an associated dependent body of British subjects to the acquisition of empire. And Bengal being, through this medium, united with England, the legislature of this country can alone establish a government different from that which at present exists.

It is impossible to dismiss the present subject without some observations on the comparative advantages of the two treaties, as stated by Mr. Bolts, p. 52. He first assumes, as a permanent revenue, the five lacks per month from the nabob, which, by the terms of the treaty, were to be

fident and council) "earnestly wished our attachment might appear to the world more connected " by *honour*, than by any *interested eye*; that it was most glorious for him, and most reputable " for ourselves, to have a friendship founded on such a basis; that we could not consent to the " colonel's acceptance of his present without the approbation of the court of directors; and " that we must request, that he would not, in future, confer such donations on any of the English chiefs." Such was the substance of this letter, as it appears in the public records of 20th July, 1767. The court of directors refused their permission, and the teep was referred to the king. His majesty's receipt was immediately deposited among the records at Bengal.

\* Considerations, p. 33.

† Considerations, p. 35.

‡ See our first Chapter.

§ Appendix, p. 164. No. 52.

only paid during the war with Sujah al Dowlah \*. He estimates likewise the zemindary of Bulwant Sing at forty-five lacks, from which the company received, while in possession, only twenty lacks, as the nabob of Oude had done before them. If this revenue was so extremely improveable, why did not Mr. Bolts, a company's servant resident upon the spot, one intrusted with the management, intimate his opinion to the council?

The estimate of Mr. Bolts is mentioned merely for the purpose of shewing his disposition to mislead. The situation of the zemindary of Bulwant Sing would have made it a burthen, and not an advantage, to the company, as the reader will fully understand in his further progress.

It would fatigue the most patient attention to follow Mr. Bolts through all his misrepresentations, very liberally scattered in every page of his book. From the few instances here given of his candor, the reader will judge of the credit due to his "Considerations on India Affairs." It will nevertheless be proper to take notice of those parts, in which he blends some particular charges with much general invective. After this, the reader would scarcely pardon the omission, were I not to introduce this sturdy champion to his more intimate acquaintance.

Mr. Bolts begins his ninth chapter with a swelling panegyric upon the upright administration of justice, with the consequent increase of industry, population, and commerce. He then very piously proceeds to blacken the characters of all concerned in the government, police, and administration of justice in Bengal. According to his representation, the governor and council are cruel tyrants, the courts of justice are become engines of oppression, and the judges, fervently complaisant to the ruling power, are no longer the guardians of public or of private rights.

Should a discontented man collect facts for the purpose of misrepresentation? Should many circumstances be suppressed to give a false colouring to others? Should a work of this kind be given to the world, when

\* Appendix, p. 162. No. 50.

many persons concerned in these transactions, are at the distance of half the globe; and when many now in England, not conscious of misconduct, had neglected to preserve authentic vouchers, respecting ordinary occurrences, amidst an infinite multiplicity of affairs; it will not be expected that I should follow such a writer through all his filth, industriously collected. Should it however appear, that not the slightest imputation can arise, unless to Mr. Bolts himself, from those relations of "real facts" which make the most formidable appearance in his book, no one will think the request very unreasonable, if he be desired to suspend at least his belief in those particulars, where sufficient documents cannot be immediately procured.

The case of Parfeek Arratoon, an Armenian merchant\*, has been selected for the purpose of proving the entire and submissive dependence of the mayor's court; how ready the judges were to obey the nod of a governor. Had the whole truth appeared, the reader must have drawn an inference directly contrary to the conclusion of Mr. Bolts. To give a colour to his charge, he represents Mr. Verelst and his partners as desirous of engrossing all the salt in that part of the country. The contrary is notoriously true. Hundreds of others dealt in salt, and this very parcel was soon resold at a profit of two thousand pounds. Yet these gentlemen, by an intemperate decision of the mayor's court, hearing only the evidence of one party, are compelled to pay 7000 l. more than they themselves had received.

Mr. Verelst, upon entering into the more immediate charge of public affairs as governor, found it necessary to remit the care of his private affairs to others, and this, in particular, was entirely under the management of Mr. Lewis, who had an equal interest † therein. The agents of Mr. Lewis bought a quantity of salt at Nattoor of some black merchants, whose property it appeared to be. A dispute arose respecting the delivery, in which possibly some violence was used by both parties. The

\* Considerations, p. 91.

† As joint partner with Mr. Sykes and Mr. Verelst.

affair,

affair, however, came before the cutcherry, where, "according to the general practice of the court, when not unduly interrupted, to have every cause determined by arbitrators, or umpires, chosen by the \* parties," this matter was referred to five principal merchants, who gave their award in favour of the purchaser, declaring the contract "a fair and legal bargain." Mr. Bolts asserts, that "the Armenian, sensible that the price of salt would rise, ordered his gomastah to fasten up the warehouse, and not to sell †." The Armenian was so far from this disposition, that his gomastah had before been with Mr. Sykes, offering the salt to sale. He engaged to deliver it within a fortnight, and accepted part of the price in the presence of witnesses. A few days after, he applied to Mr. Sykes, and, by intreaties, prevailed upon him to relinquish the bargain. The same salt was then sold to the agents of Mr. Lewis for a larger sum. It is demonstrable that the full market price was here given, because many parcels of salt were bought of European gentlemen, particularly of ‡ Mr. Marriott, then in council, about the same time, at a greater distance from the place of manufacture, and at a price somewhat lower. Thus the transaction stands above all possible imputation, because no injustice could have been committed against European gentlemen, and the Armenian merchant had a yet better bargain. But the value of the commodity still rising in the market, the gomastah of Parfeek Arratoon again desired to evade the delivery, upon which the reference above-mentioned took place, and an award was made in favour of the purchaser.

The award being made, Coja Parfeek Arratoon then appeared, and claiming a property in the salt, which he alledged to have been forcibly taken from his gomastahs, filed his bill in the mayor's court at Calcutta, to which Mr. Lewis § gave a full answer upon oath, denying every part of the charge. But before the witnesses could come from Nattoor, the plaintiff had brought the cause to a hearing upon *ex parte* depositions. Mr. Verelst, thinking his character as well as property affected by this

\* Considerations, p. 80.

† Ibid. p. 185.

‡ This gentleman is now in England.

§ This Gentleman is likewise in England.

proceeding, wrote a note \* to the mayor, praying to be indulged with a proper time to produce his evidence; at the same time acquainting him, that the court would probably be no more troubled with the suit, as Petrus Arratoon (who afterwards became executor to Parfeck Arratoon, and at this time transacted his business) had proposed to refer their dispute to arbitration. So little was Mr. Verelst inclined to take any advantage, that although one award had been already made, Petrus Arratoon did *himself*, at the request of Mr. Verelst, choose the arbitrators, and named Thomas Cooke and Joseph Price for a second reference. In the mean time, bonds were drawn and executed by some of the parties; but Petrus Arratoon, distrusting probably the justice of his cause, wanted to insert as a condition that *his witnesses only* should be heard. To comply with his demand was impossible. It was difficult to conceive the source of such a request, until his subsequent conduct explained the mystery. Thinking he had obtained an advantage by some irregularity in the examiner of the court, who had taken the depositions on the part of the defendant, he relinquished his former engagement, and urged the cause to a decision. A petition was presented on the part of Mr. Verelst and his partners, praying that the error might be corrected, and the witnesses again brought to Calcutta at their expence †. Yet the mayor and aldermen refused to comply with this very reasonable request, and proceeded to a decree upon the evidence solely of the plaintiff. Thus these gentlemen are now compelled to pay 7000l. more than the sum for which they themselves refold the salt. Here, most certainly, no favour was shewn; perhaps the reader may think that the rules of the court were strained even to the verge of injustice.

The author of Considerations, not contented with this happy instance of domineering power, produces another extraordinary case of Mr. Alexander Jephson ‡, where the governor and council *refused to interfere*

\* At the same time Mr. Vereleft's attorney at law (Mr. Whittal) prepared a petition to the court. Appendix, p. 174. No. 61.

† Appendix, p. 175. No. 62. ‡ Appendix to Considerations, p. 43. No. 26.

with



with the courts of justice. Mr. Bolts has given us full proof, viz. the memorial of an angry man to the court of directors. The greater part of this story is such, that I, with Mr. De Grey \*, “ know not how to believe the parties, concerned in transacting it, would admit it to be true.” The attorney-general was certainly right, in thinking that “ several of the decrees *as stated* are erroneous, and might be appealed from †;” but it remained for Mr. ‡ Sayer to discover, that a letter to the governor and council, complaining of an illegal arrest, without stating the proceedings or decree of the court, was an *actual appeal*; or that it could be criminal for the governor and council to acquaint Mr. Jephson, in reply to his letter, that nothing but decrees regularly appealed, are cognizable by them. Perhaps, in this instance, they were better lawyers than Mr. Sayer. Be this as it may, the case is here mentioned only for the purpose of shewing that the governor and council are not forward to interfere irregularly, or arrogate a superiority over the mayor’s court at Calcutta. If Mr. Jephson, instead of appealing, chose to resist or fly from the officers of justice, the governor and council acted with equal propriety in directing the commanders of the company’s ships not to countenance such an attempt, or receive Mr. Jephson on board.

Mr. Bolts, in his Considerations, page 95, says, a tradesman and inhabitant of Calcutta, named Gocul Sonar, “ preferred his complaint” against one Nobekissen, “ at the court of the general quarter sessions held at Calcutta on the 4th of March 1767, in a petition to the grand jury, but without any success; for it was remarkable that the chief justice, Harry Verelst, esq. then on the bench, getting the petition into his own hands from another justice, to whom the former had delivered it, he immediately and suddenly called and dismissed the juries.”

On the 4th of March, Gocul Sonar did present his petition to the grand jury. When the petition was delivered into court, it became the duty of the justices to decide whether they had authority to hear the cause.

\* See his opinion, Appendix to Considerations, p. 54.

† See the same opinion.

‡ See Mr. Sayer’s opinion, Appendix to Considerations, p. 53.

Upon deliberation they were all unanimously of opinion, that a criminal charge between the natives only, did not belong to the jurisdiction of the sessions; and accordingly referred the complaint to the court of zemindar, before whom it was afterwards heard and determined.

Without examining whether it was originally the intention of his majesty to subject the natives, residing within our districts, to the criminal laws of Great Britain, it will be sufficient for the present occasion to shew, that the charter of justice will bear the construction here given to it, and that the justices were led by considerations of duty and humanity to adopt this interpretation.

In civil matters, the charter contains an exception of suits between natives only, unless both parties shall submit the same to the determination of the mayor's court. And although this charter, granted the 26th of George II. at a time when we were wholly dependent upon the country government, is silent respecting criminal matters, it was difficult for the gentlemen to believe that the lives of the natives should be less regarded than their property, or that justice could authorize a trial by laws which the criminal could not possibly understand.

In the year 1762, a native detected one of his women in an act of infidelity. Throughout the East, women are wholly subject to the will of their masters, and every husband is the avenger of his own wrongs. The man therefore, satisfied of her guilt, proceeded to punishment, by cutting off her nose. He was arraigned at the Calcutta sessions. He confessed the fact, but urged that he had done nothing to offend the laws and customs in which he had been educated. That the woman was his property; and that, by such customs, he had a right to set a mark upon her for her infamy. That he had never heard of the laws by which they tried him, but desired to put one question to the bench: Did they believe that if he had known the punishment to be death, he would ever have committed what they now called a crime? The man, notwithstanding this defence, was condemned and hanged; for if the court possess jurisdiction, they must proceed according to the English laws.

Thus

Thus an act of parliament, which took its rise from an injury done to an English \* gentleman, may violate the secret recesses of the haram, and a man of the first rank, character, and fortune, may suffer a most ignominious † death, for an act which he is taught to believe undeserving censure. The charge may be supported by the testimony of slaves, or even of the guilty woman. By this rule of evidence, those ties of domestic subjection are broken, which a perfection of civil polity (unknown in Asia) can alone properly relax. Manners here supply the defect of laws. If the latter are not sufficiently perfect to become an object of men's affections, they attach themselves more strongly to the former; nor can we imagine the customs relating to domestic government, least sacred in their eyes, since these the continued habits of the individual, the laws and religion of the nation equally conspire to uphold.

This subject is more largely treated in the last part of the present work. Let it therefore suffice here to observe, that the very few instances of punishment inflicted by our courts, had spread a general alarm, and produced in the year 1765, a petition to the governor and council, signed by the native inhabitants of Calcutta, praying, that they might not be subjected to laws which to them were wholly unknown ‡.

Actuated therefore by honest motives, the justices unanimously referred the complaint of Gocul Sonar to the court of zemindar, and the business of the sessions being finished, the juries were called and dismissed. In this case, it would have been peculiarly improper for the sessions to have proceeded because the accusation related to the exercise of judicial authority in the cast catcherry by Nobekissen, assisted by the ministers of their religion §.

\* Sir John Coventry, in the time of Charles II.

† The ancient moguls and nabobs would not permit any of the professors of Islam to be hanged according to the English custom, esteeming that too ignominious a death for a Mahomedan to suffer. Considerations, p. 81.

‡ See this petition, Appendix, p. 177. No. 63.

§ All nations have their courts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction distinct from the administration of civil justice, in some with a more limited, in others with more extensive authority. The followers of Brama in Bengal have their cast-catcheries, or courts to take cognizance of all matters relative to the several casts, or tribes of the Hindoo religion. Their religious purity de-

It will be now necessary to follow Gocul Sonar, and his patron Mr. Bolts, to the court of the zemindar; but first it may be proper to acquaint the reader who this Nobkissen was, and whence arose the complaint against him.

Nobekissen is a native Hindoo, who had been extremely zealous in the English cause during the troubles preceding Meer Jaffier's elevation to the subahdarry. When the war broke out with Meer Cossim, he attended major Adams, and continued with that commander till the subhadar was driven out of the provinces. His address, and attachment to the English, recommended him to lord Clive, who made him banyan to the committee, in which office he continued the three years likewise of Mr. Verelst's government\*.

This man having charge of the cast cutcherry, one Ram, a goldsmith, complained, that his mother and brother-in-law forcibly withheld his wife from him in their house, and not only refused him admittance to see her, but permitted another man to visit her, which, if known, might endanger the loss of his cast. The persons were sent for, and the affair compromised to the apparent satisfaction of all parties. About twenty days afterwards, this was made the subject of an accusation against Nobekissen; and that the crime might be capital by the English law, the witnesses readily swore † to a fact, of which, if true, they could have no know-

pende on the constant observance of such numberless precepts, that the authority of these courts enters into the concerns of common life, and is, consequently, very extensive. A degradation from the cast, by their sentence, is a species of excommunication, attended with the most dreadful effects, rendering the offender an outcast from society. But as the weight of the punishment depends merely upon the opinion of the people, it is unnecessary to say that it cannot be inflicted by the English governor (as Mr. Bolts asserts, p. 83.) unless the mandate of a governor could instantly change the religious sentiments of a nation. Neither can a man once degraded be restored, but by the general suffrage of his own tribe, the sanction of the Bramins, (who are the head tribe) and the superadded concurrence of the supreme civil power. See the last section of Mr. Verelst's Instructions to the supervisors, an article in the Appendix.

\* Mr. Bolts is mistaken when he asserts that Nobekissen was banyan to the governor. This nomination only implied his being an agent for the committee in political transactions with the country powers.

† They swore that their sister was carried away and violated, although, according to their own relation, they were absent when she is supposed to have been taken away.

ledge,

ledge, the subsequent rape of their sister. The justices in quarter-sessions referred the complaint to the court of the zemindar. Mr. Bolts attending, a paper, which he declared himself to have translated, was produced, and delivered as the deposition of Gocul Sonar. Mr. Bolts was desirous that Kisno Sonar, the brother, should swear generally to the truth of the written paper; but this compendious method of giving testimony, not meeting with the approbation of Mr. Ffloyer \* the zemindar, the witness was compelled to submit to an examination, in which he materially differed from his brother. Several witnesses were likewise examined on the part of the accused, and proved the relation before given of the affair, intirely to the satisfaction of Mr. Ffloyer, "who reported, as his opinion, "that it was an accusation maliciously invented to depreciate the character of Nobekissen, there not being a single circumstance in the depositions that can create a suspicion of his having had "the informant's sister at his house †."

Mr. Bolts must excuse me if I cannot believe that the information, which he has given the public in his Considerations, page 96, dated the 20th of May, 1767, was ever subscribed by Mr. Ffloyer; because Mr. Ffloyer mentioned his error the next day to Mr. Verelst, who was absent from Calcutta some weeks before the 20th of May, and did not return till long after. Mr. Ffloyer, in his minute published by Mr. Bolts ‡, written some months after the transaction, says, "these were "depositions taken before him, sitting as zemindar, in consequence of the "reference from the quarter sessions," and his report of that trial is dated the 17th of March, thirteen days after the petition to the grand jury. For the truth of his assertion he refers § to the records and officers of the court, "who were the only persons made use of by him during the "whole course of the enquiry." Had Mr. Ffloyer asserted a falsehood, the means of detection were abundant. The mistake therefore must have

\* A gentleman now in England.

† See his report, Appendix, p. 182. in which Mr. Ffloyer refers to the depositions, in support of his opinion.

‡ Considerations, p. 98. in a note at the bottom.

§ Mr. Ffloyer was most probably, at this time, no longer zemindar, others succeeding in turn.

been made long before, and it will scarce be thought probable the same should be repeated on the 20th of May. Mr. Bolts, in copying the minute, has not given us the month in which the error is said to have been committed, and would have the reader infer, that the minute relates to his information of the 20th of May, though the contrary (the story being fairly told) is apparent from every line.

This was not the single attempt made against the life of Nobekissen. A bramin was prevailed upon, by promises of money, to charge him with violating his wife, "to add (as the parties express themselves) a link to "the chain." They proceeded even to threaten the life of the woman, who, declaring she never would ruin an innocent person, revealed the design to Nobekissen. The truth of this infamous transaction was evinced by the confessions of the bramin, and one of the seducers, Ramsonar Gose, by the testimony of the wife, and of two other witnesses.

To understand the affair of Ramnaut it will be necessary to direct the reader's attention to what passed previous to this man's complaint, which Mr. Bolts thinks "foreign to his purpose to relate." The oppressions committed by those who took upon themselves the character of English agents, are, in other parts of this work, sufficiently explained. The timidity of the public officers, and incapacity of the country government to repress this growing evil, had compelled the governor and council, on various occasions, to make the abuse of English influence the subject of their enquiries. The necessity of their interference cannot be better evinced, than by informing the reader that it was not uncommon for many, particularly the Armenians, to call themselves the gomastahs or agents of English gentlemen, without any authority from their supposed principal; and such was the dread of our power, that even the neighbouring princes would rarely venture to check the disorders hereby occasioned, without first making application to our government.

The reader who will carry in his mind the distinction arising between the English agent and the native, from the want of a controuling power over the former, will readily conceive the nature of that *fair, open, and*  
un-



*unrestrained* trade, in favour of which Mr. Bolts so vehemently declaims; and also of those numberless oppressions, groaning under which Mr. Bolts accumulated, in the space of six years, a larger fortune \* than many gentlemen who have resided twenty years in India, and filled the highest stations in the company's service.

It was a great point of policy among all concerned in this unrestrained trade, to deter the governor and council from animadverting upon the conduct of their agents, particularly within the province of Bengal, where the debility of the country government opened still fairer prospects of advantage. Mr. Bolts, upon these occasions, distinguished himself as the great leader of sedition; and no sooner was Ramnaut proved to have committed more than ordinary violence, than he became this gentleman's † agent, confidant, and friend.

In the year 1765, complaints were made by the inhabitants of Maulda, and the adjacent country, of cruelties and oppressions committed by this man, of a nature shocking to humanity. Not only depredations on property, but various means of torture were used for the purpose of effecting his interested designs. Many particular crimes being proved by the oaths of witnesses, as likewise by the confession of Ramnaut himself ‡, the council directed him to be imprisoned, until satisfaction should be made to the persons injured. The fruitful brain of this man soon devised the means of his release. He pretended that he was only the agent of an English gentleman; that nothing had been done without the direction of his master, who had received the money; and that he was utterly unable to make satisfaction, unless he first recovered the money from that gentleman. Undertaking to satisfy those he had wronged, Ramnaut was dis-

\* According to his own account 90,000 l. Preface to Considerations, p. 12. Mr. Bolts arrived in Bengal in the summer of the year 1760, and resigned the company's service in November 1766; during which time he was only a junior servant, and far below the rank of council in the presidency.

† The great intimacy subsisting between them appears from Considerations, p. 99, to 104. Mr. Bolts is desired to secure his effects to become responsible for payment of money, &c.

‡ The particulars appear upon the records of the company.

charged from confinement \* to prosecute a suit commenced in the Mayor's court. After much time elapsed, it evidently appeared, that he never had any serious intention to proceed in his action; but while at liberty he had devised another trick, which he hoped would interest the governor in the safety of his fortunes. He purchased, in July 1766, a quantity of salt, which had been consigned to Mr. Barwell, near Maulda, in November 1765, on the account of Mr. Verelst, who was then disposing of his mercantile property in the country; and became afterwards farther indebted on the sale of some boats. The purchase was made in the name of Bogwandafs, and it was not before 25th October, 1766, that Mr. Verelst was informed, in a letter from Mr. Barwell, that Ramnaut had interest therein †; finding these evasions insufficient, in April 1767, he applied by letter to the governor, for leave to "lay his case before the juries at the next sessions," now for the first time accusing Nobekissen of extorting money from him during his former confinement. He received assurances that the strictest justice should be done him; but as the affair of Gocul Sonar, and also the story of the bramin's wife, justified every precaution, he was confined by a guard in his own house "to prevent his being tampered with, and instructed in his evidence, until he could be examined by the committee ‡." This passed on the 15th of April. When he was examined on the 18th, the falsehood of the whole charge became evident beyond a possibility of doubt. The demand of money was made by a man, whom he had never seen before or since; whose name he had heard, but did not remember. He gave Nobekissen a ring, valued at 14,200 rupees, yet could not produce a single witness who had seen this ring in his possession; and the

\* Where an European was concerned, the council thought it necessary to proceed with caution, and remit the affair to the ordinary courts of justice, who had not sufficient power to repress the evil. Had this charge against Mr. Gray been true, the mayor's court could only have obliged him to refund the money, and the penal jurisdiction of the court of sessions extends little beyond the limits of Calcutta.

† Ramnaut had applied to Mr. Verelst, in the month of August, for his interest in procuring leave for his return to Maulda, on account of a share he had in the purchases made of that gentleman by Bogwandafs. This pretence Mr. Verelst then considered as a mere artifice to obtain his release.

‡ See this letter in Considerations, p. 100, 101. This was not a subject of enquiry before that court, to which he wished to submit it; but had the complaint been founded in truth, the committee could have done him ample justice, and punished the offending party.

man, of whom it was bought, equally unknown, was gone to Dehly. The money was given in private. His servant, who carried another sum in gold Mohurs to Nobekissen, was gone to Maulda. He had related this tale to his own servants, and many others; yet not one person could he name. He had been pressed for the payment of his debts, pleaded poverty; yet never mentioned these extortions by which it was occasioned. Afraid to complain at the time, he had ventured to do this at the distance of a year and half, although his enemy continued in his former employment. He had not even mentioned the subject before the 5th of April to his friend Mr. Bolts, who then drew his paper of complaint.

Nobekissen was now called. The examination of Ramnaut being read in the presence of both, Nobekissen remarked the inconsistencies of his accuser, and pointed out the means by which such \* a transaction might be proved, if it had ever existed. He then concludes his defence in these words, "after he had (as he pretends) corrupted me with more than the sum he was ordered to refund, he was still subject to the demand; whereas, by a proper application of his money, he might have served every purpose without my assistance. What probability, gentlemen, is there in this story? You are the judges." Ramnaut having heard the defence, contented himself with declaring, that he could not prove any circumstances, as the whole transaction was carried on with the greatest privacy.

Tired with his artifices, the committee, at length, ordered this man to be delivered over to the country government, that he might be compelled to make satisfaction to the persons he had injured; and the governor gave particular directions not to molest him on account of his own debt, which still remains in part unpaid †. Yet, upon no better evidence than a supposed letter from this Ramnaut, does Mr. Bolts derive a charge against

\* Money transactions in this country are of a nature not to be concealed. All payments are in specie. A man of any consequence has a number of people about him, through whose hands it passes, and by whom his accounts are kept. These Nobekissen desired to have called, as no receipt, or payment, could be made unknown to *them*.

† Appendix, p. 200.

Mr. Verelst; but it is the perpetual misfortune of the two friends, Mr. Bolts and Ramnaut, that no one can give credit to their accusations, without supposing a general combination against them.

Another complaint is of violence done to “certain Armenian merchants, of established credit and reputation, who, like many hundreds of others, had been long established in India, and were at this time peaceably engaged in carrying on their own mercantile business in the dominions of the nabob Sujah al Dowlah\*.” The truth is, that the persons here spoken of, were the † agents of Mr. Bolts, and acknowledged by him as such in his letter to the select committee about this period; although Mr. Bolts having been indulged with time for near two years after his resignation of the service, and assisted in collecting his effects, had repeatedly promised, particularly the year ‡ before, not to engage in any farther concerns in the country. Instances of the like inconsistency are not unfrequent with the author of Considerations. Mr. Bolts, in Bengal, makes an extravagant use of the English influence, and endeavours, by every artifice of fictitious rumours and deceitful correspondence, to increase his own importance, together with that of his agents, for the purpose of private emolument, in a manner injurious to the company, dangerous to our possessions, and destructive of the peace of the country §: nay, in an information delivered at the quarter sessions at Calcutta, upon oath, he there denominates himself “a loyal subject of Great Britain.” Yet, when he is called upon by the English East India Company to answer for an interference with their exclusive trade to India, their zealous and devoted servant is not ashamed to plead, that as an *alien* he is not the object of those laws made for the protection and security of that company in whose service he went first

\* Considerations, p. 106.

† Mr. Bolts, according to his own declaration, before the committee of the house of commons, had one hundred and fifty of these agents; such were “the merchants of established credit and reputation.”

‡ In his letter to the select committee, dated February 11, 1767, entered on the proceedings the third of March following, Mr. Bolts has the following words, “I assure you, gentlemen, upon my honor, that I have not lately, and shall not enter into any new inland concerns; and that I shall hold none, but such as I have already been sometime engaged in.” Appendix, p. 194. No. 100.

§ Appendix, p. 204, &c. particularly No. 115.

to India: A plea which the Court of Exchequer in England treated with the contempt it deserved. In Bengal Mr. Bolts makes his black servant sign the new covenants with his name, hoping thereby to evade the obligation. This being discovered, he applies with abject meanness to the sub-secretary, Mr. Baber, clandestinely to deliver the covenants so executed, out of the public office, for the express purpose, as he then declared, of re-executing the same\*. The reason given by Mr. Bolts for his first default, is curious. It seems he had taken an oath not to sign covenants. Being detected, he was nevertheless eager to violate this sacred, though voluntary, obligation. Yet he now attempts to justify his conduct, because a lawyer has lately corrected his former error, by informing him, that his signature, being made with his consent, must be considered as his own act.

In the same spirit is conceived the account given of the Armenian merchants. He represents the general orders to have been particularly directed against certain individuals, "greatly interfering with the private views of the governor and some of the council †:" yet Mr. Bolts knew these to have been only a repetition of the like orders, ineffectually issued, in consequence of reiterated commands from home ‡; and that the governor, in fact, was neither directly nor indirectly engaged in trade, from which he was restrained by a solemn oath, and by a bond with a large penalty §. The author of *Considerations* affirms, that all Armenians were prohibited from trading or transporting merchandize out of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. He well knew that experience of the turbulent, intriguing spirit of these people || during Meer Cossim's government of Bengal, and the frequent complaints of Sujah al Dowlah,

\* Mr. Baber's affidavit, Appendix, p. 209. No. 126. Vide also No. 152.

† *Considerations*, p. 106.

‡ Vide Appendix from p. 179. If the dates of the several orders of the directors and of the resolutions of the council and committees thereupon be attended to, it will appear that the sentiments of all parties both at home and abroad have been the same upon this subject.

§ The purchase of diamonds for the remittance of the governor's private fortune to Europe, and for that purpose only, is excepted in the oath. This however has no relation to the trade mentioned by Mr. Bolts.

|| The Armenians resemble Europeans in activity and vigour both of mind and body, for this reason, they were employed in the most important offices, civil and military, by Meer Cossim. For the same reasons they were the properest instruments for our traders.

had proved them so capable of embroiling us with the neighbouring powers, by usurping the name of English agents, and abusing the influence thereby obtained, that it became necessary to confine the commerce out of the provinces, to such as, disclaiming the English protection, were contented to be wholly subject to the laws of that country wherein they resided. The conduct of some Armenians would have justified a general prohibition; but the truth is, that those who would traffick upon these terms, were never interrupted. The reader who will recollect the numerous evils produced by the private trade of the company's servants, and abuse of the English power during Meer Cossim's administration, will not be surpris'd to find Sujah al Dowlah expressing the most extreme sollicitude, that the like practices might never prevail in his dominions. At the same time, he was cautious of issuing any orders, which might create the smallest suspicion of a disagreement between him and us; nor would he take any measure which might possibly offend the English gentlemen, but in conjunction with our government\*. He was extremely desirous that whatever was done respecting English agents, should be wholly the act of the governor and council; but when these gentlemen, apprehensive of ill consequences to themselves, where they had no legal authority, declined a direct interposition, he yet insisted that our people should be the immediate instruments in an act which otherwise might wear an hostile appearance. Accordingly, these Armenian gomastahs were seized by our sepoy's under the direction of Sujah al Dowlah's officers.

Soon after the recovery of Calcutta, the subsequent defeat of Serajah al Dowlah, and the establishment of Meer Jaffier, the power of the English traders in Bengal was severely felt by the natives, and greatly contributed to the distresses of Meer Jaffier's government, which, in the year 1760, afforded a pretence for a new revolution in favour of Meer Cossim. This evil continued rapidly to increase, and in the year 1762, Mr. Hastings, in a letter to the governor, exhibits a truly deplorable picture of the country. "I beg leave to lay before you a grievance, which calls loudly for redress. I mean the oppressions committed under the sanction of the English name, and through want of spirit in the nabob's subjects

\* Appendix, p. 186. No. 82.



“ to oppose them. This evil, I am well assured, is not confined to our dependents alone, but is practised all over the country by people assuming the habits of our sepoys, and calling themselves our gomastahs. As, on such occasions, the great power of the English intimidates the people from resistance, so, on the other hand, the indolence of the Bengalees, or the difficulty of gaining access to those who might do them justice, prevents our having knowledge of the oppressions, and encourages their continuance, to the great, though unmerited, scandal of our government.

“ I have been surpris'd to meet with several English flags, flying in places which I have pass'd, and on the river I do not believe that I pass'd a boat without one. By whatever title they have been assumed (for I could only trust to the information of my eyes, without stopping to ask questions) I am sure their frequency can bode no good to the nabob's revenues, the quiet of the country, or honour of our nation, but evidently tends to lessen each of them.

“ A party of sepoys who were on the march before us, afforded sufficient proofs of the rapacious and insolent spirit of those people, when left to their own discretion. Many complaints against them were made to me on the road, and most of the petty towns and serais were deserted at our approach, and the shops shut up, from apprehensions of the same treatment from us.”

The subahdar Meer Coffim, about the same time, complains that the English agents plundered his people, injured and disgraced his servants, and exposed his government to contempt. They had established numerous factories, and setting up the English colours, oppressed the ryots, or husbandmen, the merchants, and people of the country. “ Every Bengal gomastah makes a disturbance at every factory, and thinks himself not inferior to the company. In every purgunnah, every village, and every factory, they buy and sell salt, beetle-nut, ghee, rice, straw, bamboos, fish, gunnills, ginger, sugar, tobacco, opium, and many other things more than I can write, and which I think it needless to mention. They forcibly take away the goods and commodities of the ryots, merchants, &c.

“ for:

“ to

“ for a fourth part of their value, and, by ways of violence and oppression, they oblige the ryots, &c. to give five rupees for goods which are worth but one rupee; and, for the sake of five rupees, they bind and disgrace an affamnee, who pays one hundred rupees mal-guzarree \*, and they allow not any authority to my servants; the officers of every district have desisted from the exercise of their functions; and every one of these gomastahs has such power, that he imprisons the collector, and deprives him of all authority whenever he pleases.”

Such was the state of the country, which proved the immediate cause of our war with Meer Cossim; immediate, for as there could be no choice, but of absolute dominion, or intire subjection, he had certainly resolved, from his first accession, to resist the power of the English, and, in less than three years, had well nigh obtained that independence, to which all the measures of his government were evidently directed.

Mr. Bolts arrived in India in the year 1760, and we soon find him a principal figure amidst the groupe of traders. The extent to which this gentleman engaged, and the moderation with which he conducted himself, will be best known from his fortune of ninety thousand pounds, gained within six years, together with the extreme eagerness with which he endeavoured, upon all occasions, to degrade the authority of the government, and prevent any effectual protection being given to the natives †.

Among the private persons who usurped the office of their superiors, Mr. Bolts was very early distinguished, who wrote in his own name to the fouzdar of Purnea ‡, threatening the nabob's officers with the effect of the English power. Mr. Vansittart § observes, “ of course every merchant will take the same authority;” and very justly adds, “ that this intire

\* The rents, or land-tax.

† Appendix, p. 203. No. 114, and p. 208. No. 124, &c. &c.

‡ In the year 1762. See Mr. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II. p. 209. Appendix, p. 191. N. 94.

§ See Mr. Vansittart's Minute, in his Narrative, p. 250. Vol. II.

“levelling and equality will not be for the good of the company’s affairs \*.”

To level all distinctions, to intimidate the governor and council, and, by clamour, to confine them within the strict letter of laws, calculated for a very different state of society, has ever been the constant object of those, who, from motives of private interest, wished to abuse that influence which the name of Englishman was alone sufficient to confer.

Notwithstanding Mr. Bolts was reprimanded by order of the court of directors in the general letter to Bengal, received in July 1764 †; yet, in the year 1765, we find him exercising ‡ summary jurisdiction in his own cause, and confining a merchant for three days, whom, at length he was compelled to release. He was soon after this, suspended from his appointment at Benâres, but the trade of a country, yet unexhausted, was too lucrative to be easily relinquished.

The November following, Mr. Bolts resigned his station in the service, and was about this time elected an alderman and judge of the mayor’s court in Calcutta. Here therefore commences his furious zeal for reformation, and, in the beginning of the next year, he was actively engaged in the complaint against Nobekissen, which ended with little honour to the authors. The public concerns of Mr. Bolts never intruded upon his private cares, and infinite arts were tried to prevent a dismissal of his agents from the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah. The great distance from Calcutta gave to falsehood the weight of truth. Various rumours were therefore propagated, which Mr. Bolts endeavoured § to support by his correspondence. At one time, Mr. Bolts was returning to Benâres with the most extensive powers. At another time, these people were

\* Mr. Bolts tells us (Considerations p. 82.) that “the governor, by the established rule of the company’s service, is the person to whom all correspondence, by letter or otherwise, with the country powers is committed, and the only person in the service to whom such correspondence of any sort is allowed.” One of the many reasons for Mr. Bolts being sent to England, though very low in the service, was his arrogating to himself this *established authority of a governor*.

† See the extract of this letter, Appendix, p. 192. No. 95.

‡ This appears from his own letters entered in the consultations of the council in February, 1766.

§ Appendix, p. 204. No. 115.

taken into Mr. Rumbold's service, and a letter was on the road from the council, that none should be licensed as English agents but themselves. While such arts were employed to influence the mind of the nabob of Oude, the war upon the Coast had drained the treasury of Bengal, and the most alarming accounts were industriously spread of the instability of the company's affairs. Allured by the tempting occasion, Sujah al Dowlah began to listen to the voice of ambition. Coja \* Rafael, for the sake of intelligence, was taken into his service, through the influence of Meer Mufhallah (formerly physician to Meer Cossim, and, at this time, retained by the nabob of Oude) who likewise corresponded with our patriot at Calcutta †. When the storm blew off, the dread of our power revived. Sujah al Dowlah, again regarding the English agents as a source of contention, applied to our commanding officer at Allah-abad, for their removal; and both parties, being now equally sincere, it was soon effected ‡.

That Mr. Bolts was a party to these practices cannot be doubted, when the reader is informed of a confidential letter written by that gentleman to Monsieur Gentil, a Frenchman, high in Sujah al Dowlah's confidence, in which, he says, "I have written a letter to the nabob, to whom I beg "you will give my humble respects. There is arrived an English Europe "ship, and another French one. The affairs of our company are in "great agitation before the king and parliament of England; and accord- "ing to the letters I have received, there is a great probability that my "partner Mr. Johnstone will come out governor on the part of the king ||."

Such was the conduct of Mr. Bolts and his agents, which produced at length the removal of the latter from the territories of Oude; and after, every other expedient had been tried to reclaim a man, who appeared determined to sacrifice all public duties to his own interested pursuits, and who had actually presented to the grand jury an information against the

\* Mr. Bolts' agent, now in England.

† Appendix, p. 189. No. 88. p. 203. No. 113. and p. 204. No. 115.

‡ Appendix, p. 189. No. 82.

|| Appendix, p. 203. No. 114.

governor, council, and commander in chief, for endeavouring to restrain his pernicious practices, Mr. Bolts himself was sent to England. Instead of punishing Coja Gregory and Johannes Padre Rafael as they deserved, such was the idle lenity of our government, that they immediately received their liberty, and every assistance was offered to collect their effects, an assistance probably unnecessary, as they chose to depart for Europe.

That the measures of our government were sufficiently vigorous and decisive upon this, as upon other occasions, it might be difficult to prove; but, when Mr. Bolts had been indulged with near two years, after his resignation of the service, to collect his effects; when the public authority had been employed, and letters written by the governor to Bulwant Sing, and the nabob of Oude, requesting their assistance for the settlement\* of his affairs; it was surely no very ruinous oppression to send away that gentleman by force, whom the most solemn promises, repeatedly given, could not engage voluntarily to depart for Europe. The governor and council were indeed criminal. It was criminal, for a moment to suffer the residence of a man, who, independent of other demerits, had corresponded with every rival, and every enemy of the company; who had engaged with Mr. Vernet, the Dutch governor, to monopolize the cloth-trade of Dacca †; who had scandalously evaded the execution of covenants, which, as a servant of the company, he was bound to subscribe ‡; who had attempted one, and actually succeeded in seducing another, inferior servant, to betray his trust, in delivering papers out of the office; who had, from his first arrival in India, carried on a trade destructive to the peace of the country; who, in support of this trade, had threatened the officers of the Nabob §, and had issued his proclamation in the stile of a sovereign ¶; whose agents, by their intrigues in the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah, and by false intelligence received from their master, had endangered the peace of India ¶. To suffer such a man in Bengal, was surely

\* See extracts of the president's letter, Appendix, p. 195. No. 103, 104.

† Appendix, p. 196. No. 108.

‡ Appendix, p. 209. No. 125, 126.

§ Appendix, p. 101. No. 94.

¶ Appendix, p. 208. No. 124.

¶ Appendix, p. 7, 186. No. 82, 88, 93, 113, 115.

criminal. But if suits are now commenced in our courts of law, if petitions are presented to the house of commons, and unwarrantable prejudices are industriously fomented, what might we expect, had ample justice been done to the company and to the nation?

Enough has been said to shew that the evils complained of in Bengal, have arisen rather from the inability of the governor and council to restrain the daring and pernicious projects of private interest in others, than from a rapacious spirit in themselves. Had the higher servants of the company, as the author of Considerations would wish us to believe, been alone the oppressors of Bengal, the evil could not have extended far. But when the rapacity of all who assume the English name, is let loose upon a harmless and inoffensive race of men; when every attempt of the governor and council to restrain these lawless traders, is represented as a violation of property, and infringement of those laws by which only Europeans can be governed; and when this spirit, supported by interested men, proceeds so far, that the governor, council, and commander in chief, are presented to the grand jury as conspirators against the life and fortune of an individual; we must not be surprized if gentlemen relax somewhat in the exercise of new, unknown, and questionable powers, however necessary to the welfare or safety of the province.

THE



## C H A P. I.

A general View of the Affairs of BENGAL from the Capture of CALCUTTA, in 1757, to the Grant of the Dewanny to the INDIA COMPANY, in 1765.

WHEN a portrait is presented to our view, those acquainted with the original readily pronounce upon the degree of similitude in the copy. They easily perceive the whole to be unlike, and can even discover where the smaller traits of truth, in particular parts, are made subservient to the purposes of falshood; yet would it be difficult to make a by-stander comprehend the manner in which each feature was perverted. I have nevertheless endeavoured to prove, in the introductory discourse prefixed, that the picture which Mr. Bolts has exhibited of Bengal manners bears no resemblance to the real state of affairs, or to the conduct of those concerned. After all, perhaps, the best means of detecting misrepresentation, is to contrast it with a faithful likeness. To delineate justly the subject, shall therefore be my next attempt.

The reader must not, however, expect a laborious detail. It is more consistent with the design of this work, to give a general map of the country, leaving to others the task of tracing the more minute divisions. To afford a compendious view of the British affairs in Bengal, the first chapter will contain a short historical deduction; because in this flux of events, the reader will discover those situations to which the conduct of men must refer, and by which alone their merits can justly be tried.

The necessity of an exclusive company, the expediency of uniting the commerce, the political power, and the revenues in the same hands, are so evident from considering the distance of the countries, the genius of

the inhabitants, and the nature of the trade, and are so fully evinced by the experience of other European nations, that he who wants conviction upon these first principles, may relinquish all farther enquiry. To such men this work cannot be addressed. Yet even these may be informed, that the exchequer receives annually four fifths of the profits gained by the company; the proprietors of East India stock one fifth; while the property of the latter has been employed in sustaining the power of Great Britain, and wresting all dominion from her enemies in Asia: that if the company has occasionally obtained the protection due to every subject from the state, it has likewise given an assistance which no other subjects could afford, has lavished its own wealth, and risked its own security in \* national contests, in which the company's interests were by no means involved.

The ambition of the French first drew the English into the field. The struggles maintained for many years upon the coast of Coromandel, prepared a force, in the conduct of which colonel Clive had been eminently distinguished †. Upon the capture of Calcutta, in the year 1757, he was, without regard to his rank, unanimously chosen for the command of that expedition, which, to restore the company's affairs in Bengal, was immediately undertaken. The transactions of this period have been already related by ‡ others. Let it suffice here to observe, that Calcutta was retaken, and Serajah al Dowlah concluded a peace with the English, which, through the timid irresolution of the Nabob, and the ability of our commanders, Admiral Watson and colonel Clive, was happily improved to the destruction of the French settlement at Chandernagore. Certain intelligence was afterwards received of Serajah al Dowlah's design to extirpate the English, whenever our forces should return to the Coast §. Hostilities therefore

\* The war which ensued when the proffered neutrality upon the coast of Coromandel was rejected, the expedition to Manilla, &c.

† See Mr. Orme's History. Before this period colonel Clive had received many honourable testimonies of his eminent services, particularly in 1754, the directors voted that a sword set with diamonds of the value of five hundred pounds should be presented to him.

‡ Mr. Scrafton's Reflections on the Government of India, &c.

§ See Introduction, p. 16, 17.

again commenced. The nature of the government, the character of the prince, and the universal distrust which from these causes prevailed, afforded abundant occasions of intrigue; and enabled Mr. Watts and colonel Clive, to whom the whole conduct of this business was committed, to cherish a disaffection, which prevented any effectual measures for defence on the part of the Nabob. Our army advanced within thirty miles of the capital, unassured of assistance, but a want of confidence in the enemy's camp, with the advantageous situation of the English, afforded an easy victory to a handful of troops; and Meer Jaffier, in pursuance of a previous treaty, was immediately proclaimed Subahdar of Bengal\*.

Thus a train of events led us into a delicate situation, replete with the seeds of jealousy. Meer Jaffier, educated in the habits of a Moorish court, distrusted a moderation to which he had never been accustomed, and which, probably, was little consonant to the dictates of his own mind. Various schemes of independence were occasionally adopted, all of very difficult execution. To balance European powers against each other was a dangerous expedient; yet, by inviting the Dutch, he seems at one period to have embraced it. In the mean time the English, contented with their present advantages, interfered not in the affairs of government; but the difficulties in which the nabob was involved, soon obliged him to call for their assistance.

Every thing in these countries depends on personal character. Before this is fully established, rebellions are frequent, in which the death of the rebel can prove only a lesson of caution to succeeding governors, who regard him as the victim of an unfortunate ambition, rather than the proper object of punishment. Upon these occasions negotiations commonly ensued, but the Koran was pledged in vain. Colonel Clive therefore, at the desire of the nabob, guaranteed his engagements with several powerful subjects. A strict observance of treaties amidst all the seductions which both parties could employ, established our credit in the country; and

\* Appendix, p. 143. No. 39.

taught men to regard the English faith as the best security of their lives, their honours, and their fortunes. Subsequent events, in which Meer Jaffier was snatched, by the assistance of colonel Clive, from the verge of destruction, fully secured his confidence; and, sensible of our attachment, he dismissed part of that unwieldy \* army, whose mutinies were formidable to the prince, while they performed little service in the field. When the Dutch arrived, the nabob refused them permission to land. Persisting in their enterprise, they were afterwards defeated by our troops, assisted by some Indian cavalry.

In this situation of affairs colonel Clive returned to Europe, Mr. Holwell succeeded him in the government, and very early complains of a want of confidence, which his own intrigues † had occasioned, proposing a revolution as the best means to obtain a perfect reliance upon English faith. Mr. Vansittart adopted the views of his predecessor, and Meer Jaffier was deposed within a twelvemonth after colonel Clive left the country. The disputes on this subject I shall forbear to revive.

By this revolution ‡ the company obtained an accession of revenue. The number of their troops gradually increased. The influence of individuals grew with the national power, producing numberless disorders throughout the provinces. A trade was carried on without payment of duties, in the prosecution of which infinite oppressions were committed. English agents or Gomastahs, not contented with injuring the people, trampled on the authority of government, binding and punishing the na-

\* Amounting to eighty thousand men.

† A packet from this gentleman to the Shaw Zadah, who was then in arms against Meer Jaffier, was intercepted by the latter, after Mr. Holwell had entertained the project of a revolution. If we may judge of this from a former letter, in which the Shaw Zadah offered a "carte blanche if we would withdraw our assistance from this *doer of evil*," the support of Meer Jaffier's government was not the subject of this correspondence. Vide Mr. Holwell's letter to colonel Caillaud, dated April 7th, 1760. That Mr. Holwell entertained the project of a revolution from his first accession to the government, has been evinced by Mr. Scrafton in his "Observations on Mr. Vansittart's Narrative." The proofs adduced by Mr. Scrafton are *extracts* from the correspondence of Mr. Holwell, as published by himself in his "Address to the Proprietors of India Stock," published for Becket. The letter here mentioned is contained in page 28, 29. of Mr. Holwell's Address, which was printed in 1764.

‡ A. D. 1760.

bob's officers, whenever they presumed to interfere. This was the immediate cause of the ensuing war with Meer Cossim, but the real source of this contest for power remains yet to be explained. It was impossible that Meer Cossim should rest the foundation of his government upon our support. Self-defence taught him to look for independence, and he fought it in the blood of all who had enjoyed the English protection. Ramnarain, the Naib of Patna, was among the number of those for whose safety our faith had been pledged, whose destruction was therefore resolved on. After bribes had been tried in vain, with the gentlemen who commanded at Patna, after every art of intrigue had been employed during several months to no purpose, the misrepresentations of the nabob, supported by the influence of Mr. Vansittart, at length prevailed in council, and the English support was withdrawn from this unfortunate man. Meer Cossim's views now became evident; for Ramnarain, having lost our protection, was soon after put to death. From that hour, no person of rank would venture to correspond with the English, and we no longer had a friend in the country. Meer Cossim withdrew to Mongheer, where, by disciplining his troops, he prepared for a struggle, which he most certainly meditated from his first accession; while in his correspondence with the governor, he constantly used the language of a man whose existence depended on the breath of the English.

On the other hand, a majority of the council viewed with jealous eyes every act of government. They considered all resistance to the privilege they claimed, as a settled determination to subvert the power of the company; and passion thus uniting with interest, they urged a measure of national policy with the little peevish petulance of a personal quarrel\*. In truth it very early became such. Meer Cossim, in the orders issued to his officers, distinguished between the trade of his friends and of those who opposed him, treating individuals with indecent reproach. Whilst the leading members of the council, regarding him as a public enemy, had resolved to annihi-

\* The minutes of some gentlemen in council, immediately preceding the rupture with Meer Cossim, abundantly justify this observation. Mr. Verelst himself, in the years 1762 and 1763 being absent from Calcutta, can speak only from public papers.



late his power. With such dispositions on both sides war was inevitable, but the moderation of Mr. Amyatt and some few others for a time suspended its commencement.

This gentleman, who amidst the violence of party rage was universally beloved, offered himself as a deputy on the part of the English, to negotiate what he thought a peace. Respected for his integrity by Meer Cossim, whose elevation he disapproved, and whose independence he opposed, it was hoped that his character might give weight to the embassy, and convince the Nabob of our sincere inclination to settle amicably the subjects in dispute. Meer Cossim, able, vigilant, and enterprising in the cabinet, was a coward by nature. While the deputies were with him at Mongheer, he might probably fluctuate in his councils, and hesitate to draw the sword\*. But the situation to which he had deliberately advanced, rendered a retreat at this time impossible. During the course of nearly two years, he had industriously involved every officer of his government in contests with the English, and laboured to make his own quarrel the common cause of his subjects. Such was the effects of this policy in inflaming the minds of the natives, that to the last hour of the war, not a man of any consequence deserted his standard.

Had the army marched three months sooner, Meer Cossim must have implicitly submitted; but an unfortunate delay, when negotiation could no longer be of use, occasioned the loss of Patna, together with one third of our troops †. The Nabob about this period put the two Seets to death for their supposed attachment to the English; and such was his implacable fury, that an hundred and fifty English prisoners were inhumanly butchered by his express command ‡. After a more vigorous resistance, than

\* See various letters of the deputies in Mr. Vansittart's Narrative, among other papers, from p. 214 to 325. Vol. III.

† Three hundred Europeans and five hundred Sepoys.

‡ Two brothers, rich bankers; at the same time he destroyed every considerable man who had the slightest communication with the English.



we had ever before experienced, he was at length completely defeated, and Meer Jaffier again possessed the subahdarry of the three provinces.

Meer Jaffier, however, did not obtain that plenitude of power which his predecessor enjoyed. Limited by treaty in the number of his troops, he was not permitted to remove his court without advising the council; and they at first intended to make him a mere pageant in captivity, by stipulating the constant attendance of a body guard from the \* English army. Ample provision was made upon this occasion for the interest of private traders, and Meer Cossim's edict, abolishing all imposts upon commerce, was rescinded, that our gentlemen might remain the only merchants in Bengal. These essential points being thus atchieved, the much talked of regulations to repress the violence of English agents were in terms declared the subject of future deliberation †.

If the country government had been oppressed before, it was now annihilated. Meer Jaffier was proclaimed in July, 1763. In January, 1764, Mr. Gray, resident at Maulda, wrote to the president, "since my arrival here, I have had an opportunity of seeing the villainous practices used by the Calcutta gomastahs in carrying on their business. The government have certainly too much reason to complain of their want of influence in their country, which is torn to pieces by a set of rascals, who in Calcutta walk in rags, but when they are sent out on gomastahships, lord it over the country, imprisoning the ryots and merchants, and writing and talking in the most insolent domineering manner to the fouzders and officers." Nor was the mischief confined to a particular spot; for Mr. Senior, chief at Cossimbazar, wrote the March following to the governor, "It would amaze you, the number of complaints that daily come before me of the extravagancies committed by our agents and gomastahs, all over the country." Such were the effects of this trade. Yet the article in the treaty with Meer Jaffier, which established

\* This article was in the treaty first presented to Meer Jaffier, but changed at his desire to a stipulation that the English troops should attend him when wanted. Appendix 159. No. 48. Art. 5. and the treaty concluded, p. 160. No. 49. Art. 7.

† See Appendix, p. 160. No. 49.

the exemption from duties, although condemned by the directors, was afterwards transcribed into the treaty with Nudjum al Dowlah, in February, 1765 †.

When Meer Jaffier was dying, he declared his son, Nudjum al Dowlah, his successor; but such a declaration could have little effect, until an acknowledgment of him as Subahdar was procured from the English. No sooner was the death of the father known in Calcutta, than the accession of the son became a subject of treaty. The uneasiness expressed by the former determined the council to remove all possibility of future contention. To effectuate this purpose, after confirming all former treaties, Nudjum al Dowlah by the fourth article is disarmed, stipulating that he will rely upon the company's forces, and maintain no troops but such as "are immediately necessary for the dignity of his person and government, and the business of his collections through the provinces." Even these troops were not continued under the direction of the Nabob, who, by the second article, "agrees to have a person fixed with him, by the advice of the governor and council, in the station of Naib Subah, who shall have immediately under him the chief management of all affairs." He farther engages that Mahomed Reza Cawn, on whom this trust was conferred, shall not be displaced "without the approbation of these gentlemen." By the third article, under the terms of paying "a proper regard to representations, when improper people are intrusted," a general power of appointing or displacing all officers at pleasure is vested in the governor and council. Having thus provided for the public service, the gentlemen of the deputation were not inattentive to *private* interest; about two hundred and thirty thousand pounds being distributed, under the \* denomination of presents from the nabob, Mahomed Reza Cawn the minister, and a rich banker, Jugget Seet. Mr. Verelst, hearing a report in the country, which led him to suspect that our declaration in favour of the Subahdar was delayed by the negotiation of this last mentioned business, wrote to one of the

† Appendix, p. 164. No. 52. Art. 5.

\* Mahomed Reza Cawn affirms that these sums were not voluntarily given. This the English gentlemen deny. Perhaps the reader, who considers the increased power of the English, may regard this as a verbal dispute.

deputies,

deputies, disclaiming any share for himself, and representing the disgrace which such transaction must necessarily bring upon all concerned\*.

Orders had before arrived for executing the new covenants to prevent a receipt of presents; which orders the servants were bound to observe by their first engagements with the company. Governor Spencer and his council thought these orders "not so † peremptory as to exclude them "from expostulating with the court of directors." This expostulation,

\* *Extract of a letter from Mr. Verelst to Mr. Middleton, one of the deputies on the accession of Nudjum al Dowlah to the Subahdarry of Bengal, dated Islam-abad, the seventh of March, 1765.*

"Some rumours have spread abroad that a present is intended the council on the new accession. I hope there is no truth in it. I should be sorry there was a thought, at so critical a time, of any such thing; for it must entail, on every one concerned, the world's severe censure."

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Verelst, in answer to the above, dated Moradbaug, the eighteenth of March, 1765.*

"I have been told that the nabob intends a present to all the board, but am not quite certain of it. If such a thing be offered, I cannot, my friend, see the least impropriety in accepting of it; custom, and the conduct of one of our worthiest men, justifies it. When Meer Jaffier was first raised to the subahdarry, the board received a present from him, and were not censured; and, it is well known, that the old gentleman has since considered some of his friends\*; and, it must be allowed, that the present nabob receives his government from our hands, as his father did. If any thing of this kind was to be offered in consideration of services to be done, or any kind of bargain made before hand, it would be highly improper to take it, but when it is given for what we think right, I do not, for my own part, see the least harm in it."

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Verelst to Mr. Middleton, in reply, dated Islam-abad, the twenty-eighth of April, 1765.*

"The nabob has an undoubted right to reward such persons as he may think have been serviceable to him, without reproach to him or them, provided it is not a contract first made for such services, and the persons no ways actuated in their proceedings by the expectations of it. The long delay made of our declaration in the nabob's behalf, and a rumor that a present was expected to be made to the board, gave, in my opinion, too much reason to the world to think that it was a preliminary article. If so, I must entirely disapprove it. As a member of the board, and, as such, one intended to be considered, I shall only say, I must decline such a consideration; as I am not sensible of any services I have rendered the present nabob, to merit a pecuniary reward. The old nabob (Meer Jaffier) I know has been sometimes generous to his friends, nor do I think them wrong in accepting his favours; for, as many examples as I have heard, they were really deserving of them. I might, if I had chose, been considered in this number; but I had many reasons that made me decline it."

† See a letter from Messrs. Leycester and Gray to the court of directors, dated the twenty-ninth of September, 1765. Authentic papers concerning India affairs, p. 132.

\* Alluding to the legacy of five lack of rupees left by Meer Jaffier to lord Clive, which was settled by his lordship as a fund for the support of disabled officers and soldiers in the company's service, and of the widows of officers and soldiers.

however, was totally forgotten, no notice being taken of the covenants, either in the council books or general letter. The execution of them was “deferred \* till lord Clive’s arrival, to come under consideration with “the other regulations directed in the letter of the first of June, “1764, when they hoped to be *better informed* of the final resolves of “the directors.” Yet these gentlemen were abundantly alert in concluding treaties, productive of such fruits; although lord Clive was every day expected, and they were † already informed that he had been chosen by the whole body of proprietors to undertake the charge of their affairs, full powers being given to him jointly with a select committee.

We have continued the relation of political transactions with the successive Subahdars of Bengal, that the reader may fully comprehend the progressive increase of the English power to the final establishment of *that government* ‡, which has since prevailed under the influence of our governor and council. It will now be necessary to look back to the measures pursued against foreign enemies, as these were productive of that situation, to which the subsequent treaties refer. Major Adams had driven Meer Cossim out of the provinces, who retired into the neighbouring dominions of Oude, when death deprived the company of this gallant and experienced officer. Upon the alarm of these commotions, Sujah al Dowlah, the Subahdar of Oude, advanced with an army to the borders, where he might probably have been contented with partaking the treasures of Meer Cossim, had not a mutiny among our troops given birth to new hopes. Elated with the prospect of an easy conquest, and impressed perhaps with an apprehension of ambitious designs on our part, he resolved upon hostilities, and took the field. The mutinous disposition of the English army

\* The same letter, p. 133.

† This was by the letter of the first of June, 1764, in which the directors expressly say, that the appointment of a select committee should not prevent the council taking proper measures for the general execution of the covenants.

‡ It is very remarkable that this arrangement, which has been called in derision the double government, was established by the very men who have since reproached lord Clive and the select committee with this measure. In truth it grew out of the situation of affairs; but some gentlemen seem not to have adverted thereto, until they felt it as a restraint upon their own pursuits.

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rendered it imprudent at this time to hazard a general action, but Sujah al Dowlah was nevertheless repulsed in all his attempts. The troops, by a well timed severity, begun by general Carnac, and happily pursued by his successor, being afterwards reduced to obedience, major Hector Munro, in the next campaign, obtained the important victory of Buxar.

This advantage was farther pursued, until the King \*, finding the affairs of his allies declining, deserted their cause, and joined the only power capable of supporting his pretensions to the throne of Dehly. A scheme was now adopted of obtaining for the company a grant of the zemindarry of Bulwant Sing. The other dominions of Oude were to be conquered for the king, and his possession to be supported by the English arms †. A plan more absurd can scarcely be imagined; but the subsequent surrender of Sujah al Dowlah to general Carnac ‡, enabled the select committee, on whom the conduct of affairs devolved, to effect a very different arrangement.

The revenues of a country at the distance of seven hundred ‡ miles from Calcutta, could afford little advantage to a trading company; while such a situation withdrew their forces from the protection of that commerce, which could alone render possessions in India beneficial to Great Britain. Political connections without the provinces misled the attention of our government from national objects, at the same time that it opened a field of private ambition, which might probably have marched an English army to Dehly. To relinquish such prospects was no sacrifice of interest. Yet the restoration of territories to a vanquished enemy removed the apprehensions entertained of our ambition, and convinced the princes of India that we could have no design to enlarge our possessions beyond the pro-

\* So the Mogul has been usually denominated.

§ Appendix, No. 51. A. B. C.

† Who now a second time commanded the army.

‡ These revenues must have been exhausted by perpetual military operations, in which such a situation would have involved the company, or, what is worse, proved a fund of speculation to corrupt their servants. The distance would have rendered the military expences enormous, the detection of frauds impossible.



vinces of Bengal. This point being resolved, the means of accomplishing so desirable an object, without betraying the honour of the company, employed the attention of the select committee. Their instructions\* to lord Clive and general Carnac will fully explain their views. Had the territories of Oude not been restored to Sujah al Dowlah, his great abilities and high character throughout the empire would have made him, when driven to despair, a troublesome, if not a dangerous, enemy. None other could have maintained the possession without our assistance, much less, like him, have formed a secure barrier against the northern nations. The greater part of his dominions were therefore restored; and as our former engagements rendered a desertion of the King inconsistent with the national honour, he was established in the country of Korah, with part of the province of Illah-abad. The payment of twenty-six lacks of rupees annually from Bengal was also stipulated by treaty. Would the King have been contented to accept a territory nearer to us, this drain of specie might have less affected Bengal; but his mind was so intent upon an † expedition to Dehly, which the possession of Illah-abad seemed to favour, that an intimation of other terms was received with disgust. Such was the plan adopted by the select committee, in pursuance of which a peace was at length concluded †. The only article of a temporary nature regards fifty lacks of § rupees, to be paid by Sujah al Dowlah, to the company, as an indemnification of the expences incurred by the war.

In Bengal, Nudjum al Dowlah, after paying the sums stipulated by the treaty in February, 1765, nominally possessed a revenue of two millions. His authority in the country was insufficient even for the collection of the revenues, without our assistance. The actual administration of govern-

\* The substance of these instructions are given in a letter to the directors, Appendix, p. 6.

† After labouring in vain to engage the English, he has at length undertaken this enterprize with an army of Maharattas.

‡ In the summer of 1765. See Appendix, 176. No. 53. to No. 60.

§ This sum was greatly inadequate to our expences, but it was impossible to require more without distressing the country.

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ment had therefore been given to a minister named by the governor and council, and the Nabob became dependent for his daily subsistence on the bounty of his masters. In this situation he relinquished an unascertained demand upon a treasury under the management of others, for a liquidated sum, and fifty-three lacks, eighty-six thousand one hundred and thirty-one † Sicca rupees were settled, as fully sufficient for all the purposes of personal dignity, and the parade of grandeur. This agreement was confirmed by the King, who, subject to the several payments to Nudjum al Dowlah and himself, granted the dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, to the English East-India company.

If we review the history of our transactions in Bengal, it cannot escape the most superficial observer, that there was but one point, in the progressive aggrandizement of the company, at which it was possible to have stopped, before the force, revenues, and government of the country were united in the hands of the English. When Calcutta was taken, self-defence involved us in a war with the Subahdar. Our first successes proving the superiority of European discipline, made us the object of his fears; and nothing but an incapacity of effecting his purpose could deter any successive Subahdar from attempting our destruction. This incapacity was happily effected by engagements taken at the desire of Meer Jaffier, with Ramnarain, the Naib of Patna, and some others. Had these engagements been religiously observed, the English would have stood, like the several nations in Europe, secure, not from their own strength alone, but protected by the irreconcilable interests of all around them. No sooner was this system overthrown by sacrificing our allies, and surrendering the unrestrained dominion of the provinces into the hands of Meer Coffim, than a decided superiority became the only means of safety. The conduct of individuals might accelerate or retard, but never could have prevented the ensuing contest for power. Impelled by necessity, we proceeded to dominion, before the council at Calcutta seemed to have understood the situation to which they had advanced. In what other manner can we account

† This we may safely aver was a larger sum than any Subahdar, in the full possession of his revenues had ever been able to appropriate for his own expence.

for the remissness of those who, upon the death of Meer Jaffer, neglected to establish the foundations of that fabric which our victories had reared; who gave the revenues of a great country into the hands of a boy, without the means of employing them; the revenues of a country protected by our arms, the government of which, by their own treaty, was transferred to themselves\*. Such a situation might gratify individual avarice, but could yield no real benefit to the India company, or to the British nation.

Lord Clive and the select committee judged it necessary to obtain a grant of these revenues to the company, and they were accordingly surrendered by treaty. "By this acquisition of the Dewanny," say the select committee in their letter to the court of directors, "your possessions and influence are rendered permanent and secure, since no future Nabob will either have power or riches sufficient to attempt your overthrow, by means either of force or corruption. All revolutions must henceforward be at an end, as there will be no fund for secret services, for donations, or for restitutions. The Nabob cannot answer the expectations of the venal and mercenary, nor will the company comply with demands injurious to themselves out of their own revenues †."

The impolitic arrangement of affairs was among the least evils of the company's situation, antecedent to lord Clive's arrival. The dissolution of government in Calcutta kept pace with that of the country. A general contempt of superiors, a habit of equality among all orders of men had obliterated every idea of subjection. To reclaim men from dissipation, to revive a general spirit of industry, to lead the minds of all from gaudy dreams of sudden-acquired wealth to a patient expectation of growing fortunes, were no less difficult in execution than necessary to the existence of the company. Large sums of money, obtained by various means, had enabled many gentlemen to return to Europe. This cause, superadded to the massacre of Patna, occasioned a very quick succession in the service, which encouraged

\* Appendix, No. 52.

† Appendix, p. 8.

a forward spirit of independency, and produced a total contempt of public orders, whenever obedience was found incompatible with private interest. To check such impatient hopes, where youths aspired to the government of countries at an age scarcely adequate to the management of private affairs, four gentlemen being called from Madras, were admitted into council. The universal discontent among the civil servants, which had arisen from the late measures, restraining the power of individuals, was hereby greatly increased; and united with the mutinous spirit of the military officers, broke forth the following year into a flame, which threatened destruction to the English empire in Bengal.

This event, though among the transactions of a later period, may not improperly be here explained. The military in Bengal had for several years enjoyed an indulgence beyond those in the other settlements of the company, which first arose from the bounty of the Subahdar, when they were employed in his service. By the advice of an officer, who had long commanded the company's troops upon the coast of Coromandel, with great reputation to himself, and honour to the nation, representing this extraordinary allowance as destructive of discipline, the directors in their public letters had frequently ordered the double batta\* to be withdrawn. Such directions in a settlement, where all idea of subordination was lost, and where the conduct of the superior servants, respecting their own interests, could ill be reconciled with a rigid exaction of obedience to the company's commands in others, produced little effect. One feeble effort was made, but a remonstrance from the military induced a ready submission on the part of the governor and council. The select committee very justly conceiving, that a regard to private interest would not justify a disobedience to the † positive injunction of their superiors, resolved to carry the measure into immediate execution. The reduction of batta, if right in itself,

\* A repetition of this command was among the particular instructions to lord Clive in 1764.

† Under the establishment of this double batta, a captain's commission produced little short of one thousand pounds per annum; when reduced, it was worth from six hundred and fifty to seven hundred pounds, as appeared upon the action of captain Parker against lord Clive.

was peculiarly proper at this time, an ample fund being just provided by the establishment of lord Clive, for the support of invalids, and the widows of officers who died in the service, at the same time that the admittance of field-officers to a share in the salt society opened a reasonable prospect of easy fortunes to those whose rank intitled them to such an expectation. No sooner were the orders issued for effecting this reduction, than frequent meetings were held among the officers, a regular correspondence established between the three brigades, into which the whole army had been divided; and a combination formed to compel a submission to their demands by a general resignation of all their commissions. They bound themselves by the most solemn oath to secrecy, engaging under the same sanction to preserve by force the life of any officer, whom the rigour of a court-martial might condemn to death. Each man entered into a bond to resign his commission under the penalty of five hundred pounds; and that every inducement to a recantation of these engagements might be effectually removed, a sum, said to be eighteen thousand pounds, was subscribed for the unfortunates who should not be restored, each officer contributing according to his respective rank. Desirous of uniting their cause with that of all who opposed the present government, they corresponded with many on the civil establishment in Calcutta, and received large promises of support likewise from this quarter. Such inviolable secrecy did the officers observe, that a letter from sir Robert Fletcher to lord Clive, dated a few days before the resignation, brought the first intelligence of a conspiracy, which had for its object the dissolution of our army, and consequent annihilation of the English power in Bengal. A discovery of this plot on the eve of its execution, affording no time for delay, lord Clive and two other members of the select committee, then at Muxadavad, hastily assembled. Judging it impossible to concede the point in dispute, without surrendering the government into the hands of mutineers, they instantly determined to persevere in such vigorous measures as the situation of affairs demanded.

At Mongheer, where the plan had been formed, the European soldiers actually took to their arms; but by the assistance of some superior officers, who, upon the first intelligence, hastened to join the brigade, and by a prudent

prudent disposition of two companies of black troops, whose fidelity had been previously secured, the mutiny was happily suppressed. By a distribution of honorary rewards to the non-commissioned officers, by an artful commendation of the black commandants, and a small advance of pay for two months, the troops were brought to a proper sense of their duty; and the confederate officers, who encamped at a little distance to await the event, were compelled to depart for Calcutta. The attachment of this brigade being confirmed, and a small supply of officers obtained among such as would accept commissions, lord Clive, with a few others, hastened to give their assistance in the two more distant divisions of the army.

On the part of the mutineers despondence and submission now succeeded to rage. All were ready to solicit what a little time before they had contemptuously rejected; and many of the least guilty, after a proper interval, were re-admitted into the company's service. The most active ringleaders in sedition were put under arrest, in order to take their trials as soon as a restoration of order and discipline would permit the commander in chief to assemble a proper number of officers, untainted with the \* general guilt.

An erroneous interpretation of the act of parliament for punishing mutiny and desertion in India, suggested a doubt respecting the jurisdiction of a court-martial, which probably preserved many delinquents from a sentence of death. The act subjects those to martial law, who have *contracted* to serve the company, and it was conceived that the bare acceptance of a commission formed no *contract*, but that this could only be done by *an express engagement to serve* for a limited time, or *an actual receipt of pay*. Some punishments of an ignominious nature were inflicted;

\* Mr. Bolts asserts that Mr. Parker failed in his action principally, because it did not appear that lord Clive knew of his confinement. The contrary is notoriously true, and was fully proved upon the trial by written evidence, and by the testimony of lord Clive's secretary. But the counsel despairing of success upon the avowed merits, laboured to affect lord Clive with a wilful unnecessary delay of the trial, and prolongation of captain Parker's confinement. This delay was explained in the manner above mentioned. If Mr. Bolts will misrepresent a trial in England, at which many were present, what account may we expect of affairs in a remote country like India?

but the court, distrusting their own authority, would not venture to touch the lives of the offending parties. The sentences passed upon individuals were severally confirmed. Yet the governor and council thought it unsafe to permit the residence of military men in India, who now became desperate by the failure of their enterprize. Such therefore as had not been restored to the service, were directed to depart for Europe. Had these gentlemen been willing to enter into a verbal engagement, no violence would have been used; but obstinately refusing to comply, a military guard surrounded their habitations until they chose to surrender; when they were conducted on board the company's ships under sailing orders for England\*.

The reader may perhaps think that an evasive defence was a real aggravation of guilt. These gentlemen however chose again to agitate the question of jurisdiction; and the support of a party spirit gave every advantage to the cause, which industry, united with eloquence, could afford. Two cases were selected, which from peculiar circumstances of hardships were deemed the most proper subjects of declamation before a jury. Two actions were commenced against lord Clive in the court of king's bench. In both the plaintiffs failed. It was here admitted, that the acceptance of a commission formed an indefinite contract with the company: but the counsel argued that this might be determined at the will of either party, and being determined by the resignation of the officers, no jurisdiction remained to the court martial. They forgot that even civil relations could not be dissolved by one party without a reasonable notice, proportioned to the nature of that service in which he was engaged. That the British legislature had adopted a distinction formed by the common sense of mankind, and had drawn yet closer the ties of military subjection. They overlooked that necessity, which induced the free citizen of Greece and

\* These are the transactions which the narratives, published in Mr. Bolts his Appendix, represent. These narratives, when stripped of their declamation and illiberal invective, only prove that some of the officers were so obstinate as to live several days amidst their own filth rather than surrender; that ten of a grand jury, as absurd as themselves, were disposed to indict the president and council; and that after various expedients had been tried, they were obliged to pursue their voyage to England.



Rome to forego his independence, and submit his life to the arbitrary will of a man, to whom at home he was equal, whom perhaps he himself had commanded in a former campaign. In short, they contended that inferior officers might disband an army, whenever they individually thought fit to retire.

The very idea of military subordination is by a rigid discipline to combine the force of numbers, and create an habitual implicit submission of the strength of many to the instantaneous direction of one mind. This principle, by which the real severity and apparent cruelty of martial law can alone be justified, might perhaps have authorised an opinion, that no officer can ever resign without the express permission of his commander. The four judges of the court of king's bench, unwilling to decide more than the particular cause required, established by their unanimous judgment this position: "That a military officer in the service of the East India company has not a right to resign his commission at all times, and under all circumstances whatsoever, whenever he pleases." The application of this maxim to the particular case, proved, that, if it was not lawful to resign *under all circumstances*, it could not be permitted under a combination with others to distress his employers, which Mr. Justice Yeates declared to be "highly criminal, and that a legal obligation could not be dissolved by "an illegal act."

The reader will, in the relation here given, discover the rise, motives, and temper of that party, who, forgetting their former opinion both of men and things, have laboured to misrepresent the conduct of those, whose greatest crime appears to have been a continual unremitting opposition to the interested designs of others. "Two paths," says lord Clive in his letter to the directors, "were evidently open to me, the one smooth and strewn with abundance of rich advantages, that might easily be picked up, the other untrodden, and every step opposed with obstacles." A passive conduct, he says, might have been "attended with the usual douceur, of sharing largely with the rest of the gentlemen in all donations, perquisites, &c. arising from the absolute government and disposal of all places in the revenues of this opulent kingdom." He

adds,

adds, "the settlement in general would thus have been my friends, and "only the natives of the country my enemies." His lordship and the select committee chose the honourable part, to encounter the odium of a whole settlement in discharge of what they deemed their public duty. And we may safely pronounce, that it must have been at least their intention, exposed as their conduct was to the jealous eyes of disappointed men, to tread warily in the path which they had chosen.

Let us now return to take a view of the measures pursued in supporting that weight of power and influence, which the company had at length obtained. The reader will recollect, that by the treaty concluded before lord Clive's arrival, the government of the Nabob was completely subjected to the English council at Calcutta. To uphold our authority was become the only means of safety. Yet a farther advance to the actual immediate exercise of dominion was little less impracticable. The number of civil servants was scarcely adequate to the necessary accumulation of the company's business, much less could they have filled the various departments of the state. Unacquainted with the genius or manners of the inhabitants, their laws, or the power of their magistrates, the English were little qualified for the task of government. How could we make the fordid interests of the trader consistent with that unbiassed integrity, that candid humane exercise of power, which must reconcile the natives to a new dominion? In whom resided the authority which could effectually controul them? or give a legal existence to so absurd a system? The delegates of a company, possessing no right of legislation, might indeed have overturned the then subsisting government, but never could have substituted any other in its room. This subject will receive a farther discussion when we proceed to consider the impossibility of introducing English laws, and the nature of those regulations, which parliament *may*, and parliament alone *can* establish in Bengal. The select committee found the whole administration vested by treaty in one man, removeable indeed upon the representation, or rather command of the council. No personal objection could be made to Mahomed Reza Cawn, who by his ability and industry well deserved his station. Yet by an uncontrouled exercise of power he became little less than a Subahdar: and had fear, jealousy, or ambition tempted

tempted him to transgress the bounds prescribed, the support, controul, or removal of such a minister might have been a constant source of intrigue, if not of corruption. The select committee therefore associated \* Roy Dulub, and Jugget † Seet with Mahomed Reza Cawn. A resident at the court of the Subahdar was also appointed, one of the higher servants of the company, whose duty consisted in superintending the conduct of the ministers, and reporting their transactions to the governor and council.

\* This man was one of those, to whom the English faith had been pledged for the preservation of his life and honour. During the first government of Meer Jaffier, he was in a considerable command, but being dispossessed by the jealousy of his master, he claimed the English protection, under which he afterwards resided at Calcutta. He was the single man connected with the English, who did not perish during Meer Cossim's short government.

† This Jugget Seet was the son of one of the Seets, two brothers who were destroyed by Cossim for their supposed attachment to the English.

## C H A P. II.

Disorders in the Collection of the Revenues of BENGAL before they belonged to the ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY, and the Causes which impeded a Reformation.

THE subject of revenues in Bengal is from various causes involved in a confusion, which affords little hopes of giving the reader a clear comprehensive knowledge, or indeed of conveying much real information. Different writers agree in nothing, but unmeaning declamation in praise of governments, which they have never known, and general invectives against men, with whose motives and situation they were as little acquainted. It can however with certainty be affirmed, that the disorder and distress, under which the country yet labours, have their origin in the frequent revolutions, which followed the dissolution of the Mogul empire, the chaos in which all rights of magistrates and people were consequently lost, and in the unnatural pressure of insatiable demands from Europe; not in the misconduct of men entrusted with the company's affairs.

The formal arrangement and apparent order of the Mogul empire, beautiful in its simplicity upon paper, is apt to charm the imagination, and mislead the judgment of men, unaccustomed to contemplate their own species, or to trace the operations of the human mind under systems more favourable to its growing improvement. Accordingly this golden age has been painted in such glowing colours, as would almost tempt one to place the suggestions of fancy amidst the materials of history. The authors however sometimes forget their high tone of speculation, and condescend to relate facts, which refute their own deductions. How happens it, amidst the excessive mildness of manners, which under Indian govern-  
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ments\* render laws unnecessary, that the merchant owed his safety to a military force? How exact must be the administration of justice where treason abounds, yet is punished only † in the field? Are men best taught to respect the rights of a citizen amidst the ardours of victory? Or do the emotions of resentment against successful rebellion qualify the prince to punish with moderation the demerits of an offending subject? In truth the condition of a people under despotic power must perpetually vary with the virtues or vices, the talents or debility of those, who successively wield the sceptre. If we look for governments which subsist unaltered by the personal character of the prince, such are only to be found, where each individual possesses an independent station in society, where the contention of different orders has prescribed the terms of national union, and where vigorous minds, the genuine growth of freedom, uphold the authority of laws. Without such advantages there were yet some causes derived from the climate and extent of empire, which rendered despotism more tolerable in India, especially under the Moguls, than it ever before appeared in the history of mankind. The submissive temper of a timid race arrests the sword of conquest; and the people escape a desolation, which not unusually follows a more determined resistance. Secure, without severity, in the indolent temper of his subjects, the victor fears not a revolt from any national spirit, while he views with jealousy the ambition of his servants. Such a situation demands the policy described by Mr. Dow, and renders it unnecessary for the despot to delegate his power entire to the governors of every province.

While the Mogul empire subsisted in its greatest splendor, supported by the extraordinary talents of successive princes, a distribution of authority might in some sort prevent its abuse: but even here we may discover the seeds of our present disease.

The lands were the property of the crown, and were annually let to zemindars, who again parcelled them out to inferior dependents. The

\* Mr. Holwell's Historical Events.

† Mr. Dow's Enquiry, p. 58. He is there speaking of the Mogul government.

ryotts, or immediate cultivators, might in some degree escape oppression, where the demands of government bore a small proportion to the extent of territory, and where each individual in progressive order regarded his share of the produce as a kind of proprium. This situation of things did not however long continue. The Subahdars, or provincial governors, taking advantage of the indolence or debility of succeeding emperors, and uniting every office in their own persons, were afterwards enabled to compromise with the court of Dehly for an annual tribute; which a farther decay of power in their former rulers soon permitted them to withhold. In Bengal, during this progress to independence, burthens multiplied on the people; and while a mode of taxation, so replete with the means of oppression, was preserved, the receipts of the Subahdar bore a small proportion to the payments of the industrious ryott. The violence of Meer Cossim in accumulating treasure, and the relaxation of government in the \* hands of Meer Jaffier, equally contributed to confound all order, and by removing every idea of right, sanctified in some sort the depredations of hungry collectors. The feeble restraint of fear produced little effect; while the encreasing necessities of a master afforded at least a pretence for an uncontrouled exercise of power throughout every department in the state. Inferior officers employed in the collections were permitted to establish a thousand modes of taxation. Fines were levied at pleasure, without regard to justice; and while each felt in his turn the iron rod of oppression, he redoubled these extortions on all beneath him. The war in which Meer Jaffier was engaged against foreign enemies, the struggles of Meer Cossim, which ended with his destruction, and the usurpations of private traders completed the scene of universal confusion.

Such was the condition of Bengal when the politicians, who preceded the select committee, laying prostrate the government of a rich province, were employed in obtaining new territories at a distance of seven hundred miles from Calcutta; and with wonderful self-applause were preparing the occasion of an unprofitable march to Dehly. The reader is already in part

\* Meer Jaffier, during the reign of Aliverdi Cawn, was much beloved by his master as a brave commander; but he wanted industry in the administration of civil government.



acquainted with the measures pursued by the select committee. We must now resume the subject, where they entered on this inextricable labyrinth of confusion, arising from the distracted state of the country, without lights or information from others; while their difficulties were augmented by an interested opposition, and every regulation of the ministers impeded by a complication of concerns between European gomastahs and the zemindars or officers of government\*.

Independent of the political considerations, which weighed in preserving the Moorish government, the experience of five years afforded little expectation of an improved administration of revenues under the more immediate inspection of European gentlemen. Some of the districts ceded by Meer Cossim had yet derived no benefit from a change of masters. On the contrary, if credit be due to the representations of those employed by Mr. Verelst, when a better system was adopted, increasing mischiefs had yielded a plentiful harvest to avaricious men, but had rarely hitherto proved an exercise of humanity in these new guardians of the people. An apprehension of exciting the jealousy of European nations might be another inducement to avoid as much as possible all appearance of dominion. The committee therefore resolved to appoint a resident at the Durbar, who, without interfering in the actual administration himself, might yet controul the ministers. When this gentleman arrived at Muxadavad, he found two of the three ministers busied in collections without public authority or account, under pretence of outstanding ballances due to themselves. The first regulations established were, that no collections should be permitted but such as were contained in what is called the annual statement; and that all monies received should be lodged in a public treasury under three locks. These provisions, however necessary, offended Roy Dulub and Juggut Seet, who declared their intention to retire. The latter particularly represented the establishment of a public treasury as an affront to his house, which had always been entrusted with the receipts and disbursements of government. Mr. Bolts nevertheless affirms him to have been appointed the company's shroff †; but for this assertion, like the

\* The correspondence abounds with complaints of this nature. Vide in particular the letter of Mahomed Reza Cawn, App. p. 181. No. 74. and also No. 79. † Considerations, p. 158.

greater part of his book, we are indebted to the invention of the author.

The pressing necessities of the company in Bengal, and the great demands from our other settlements, rendered it imprudent to remit any part of the revenues. To increase the burthens of the ryott, or cultivator, was at the same time impossible, without ruin to the country. The only fund of improvement was a diminution of the expence in collecting. For this purpose supernumerary officers were dismissed. An exact register was taken of those employed in each district: and by lessening the profits of intermediate agents the people were in some degree relieved from oppression, while the receipts of the treasury increased.

The uncertain imposts upon commerce had proved a plentiful source of abuse, chokeys, or custom-houses, becoming daily more numerous in every part of the provinces. These were now reduced to a stated number, and proper officers appointed to enforce a regular and equal payment of duties.

The situation of the English resident at the Durbar, surrounded by people whose interest led them to deceive, was such as in superintending the collection of the revenues required extreme caution. Every interposition might produce the most important consequences; and the novelty of the scene afforded a large field for error. Much information, however, obtained by tracing many frauds to the source, aided by experience acquired in the management of the company's lands, where European gentlemen had the immediate administration of the revenues, might probably have given a better arrangement in the course of a few years: but orders now arrived from England, which precluded a more minute investigation.

It will be impossible to do justice either to the gentlemen in Bengal, or to the court of directors, without tracing these orders to their real source, in the transactions of the company in England: but not to distract the reader's attention with too great a variety of matter, I shall first explain how the revenues chiefly arise, and the measures pursued by the select committee.

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The revenues are chiefly derived from the lands, which are known by various denominations. Those called ryotty are possessed by tenants resident on the spot, who by their grants ought to be continued as long as they paid their rents. But as larger rents have been frequently exacted, an increase beyond what a tenant can afford, together with other oppressive demands from his superior landlord, or the officers of government, not unfrequently compels him to fly from the estate, on which perhaps his family have subsisted for many generations.

The comar lands have no resident tenants, but are cultivated by contract, which there are many persons in all parts of the country ready to undertake, if the zemindar, who rents the district, will give proper encouragement. The zemindar usually advances a sum of money to the cultivator, who would otherwise be unable to improve and till the land. The crops when gathered in are divided according to the terms of the contract between the two; but as the indigent cultivator has probably subsisted by means of an advance made by the zemindar, the latter, after settling all accounts, will sometimes obtain the lion's share.

When the ryott or farmer forfakes his habitation, and encouragement is wanted to cultivate the comar lands, both fall occasionally under the management of the officers of the government, and are then called cofs lands. These last generally decline much in value in the hands of men, whose tyranny has driven away the former tenants. By a wretched policy oppression becomes the interest of those, who should protect the people; for as it is impossible that the higher officers of government can ever know what part is really cultivated, the cofs is a never ceasing occasion of fraud in the accounts of inferior collectors\*.

The remainder of the lands, excepting such as are held by the immediate officers of government, are divided into talooks, jaghires, and

\* These particulars are more largely explained in the instructions drawn up by the president for the supervisors. Vide App. p. 227.

charitable or religious donations. The talooks have been in general partial grants to individuals; and many privileges are indulged to the owners, particularly in their taxation. Jaghires \* are also grants from the prince, of lands during the life of the grantee, sometimes to his descendants. A small tribute is usually reserved, the jaghiredars being free from every other imposition. The two last divisions, namely charitable and religious donations, have been given for various purposes by successive princes, some through zeal, but most through vanity, and form no inconsiderable part of many districts. These, by the terms of the grant, are usually exempt from all burthens.

Other † lands are possessed by the zemindars or officers, for the immediate support of themselves and families. This mode of payment affords an ample field for the exercise of fraud and oppression. Perpetual encroachments are made, and lands, struck out of the government books as waste, are very commonly thus appropriated. The poor ryott also is here forced to labour for his lordly master without reward, while perhaps his own farm at the same time remains uncultivated.

In the provinces of Burdwan and Midnapore, of which both the property and jurisdiction were ceded to the company by Meer Cossim in the year 1760, those evils, which necessarily flowed from the bad policy of the Moorish government, had in no sort decreased. On the contrary, a plan was adopted in 1762, productive of certain ruin to the province. The lands were let by public auction for the short term of three years. Men without fortune or character became bidders at the sale; and while some of the former farmers, unwilling to relinquish their habitations, exceeded perhaps the real value in their offers, those who had nothing to lose advanced yet farther, wishing at all events to obtain an immediate possession. Thus numberless harpies

\* Jaghires are frequently grants of annual stipends, issuing from the revenues of a particular district.

† These grants much resemble the talooks, and are in some places classed under that denomination.

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were let loose to plunder, whom the spoil of a miserable people enabled to complete their first year's payment. The renter under so precarious a tenure could not venture to encourage inferior farmers by advancing money, which is seldom repaid within three years; and without this advance, even the implements of husbandry were wanting to cultivate the lands. Great part of the renters, incapable of fulfilling their engagements, applied to be discharged within the second year, desirous of abandoning their whole property, if they might be permitted to relinquish their unprofitable farms. A nominal increase of revenue had by these means been obtained; but so defective were the actual receipts, that an unprecedented general tax upon the bazee zemeen or charity lands, was now thought necessary to complete the payments stipulated to the company.

This untoward situation induced the select committee in the autumn of 1765, to appoint Mr. Verelst supervisor of Burdwan. It appeared that on the second sale for three years, bidders had been found for little more than two fifths of the lands, the most beneficial of which were held in different names by the officers of government, and banyans of European gentlemen. The remainder, under the denomination of cofs, fell into the hands of collectors, who oppressed the people, bringing what they pleased to account. These last with a frankness inspired probably by a confidence of not being refused, proposed to lay open all their frauds, and to divide their profits in such proportions as the resident and his agents should approve. The first object was to remove these vermin by finding tenants for the deserted lands; and, although the season was far advanced, many substantial people readily engaged upon an assurance of not being dispossessed. A moderate rent was paid the first year, a larger the second, and on the third the highest which had ever before been given; the tenants nevertheless consenting to pay any general tax that might afterwards be laid upon the whole province. The officers of government were compelled to relinquish either their office or their farm. The burthens of the province were diminished; and, while each individual reaped the fruits  
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of his toil, the lands were highly cultivated and improved. The various regulations established would afford but an unpleasant detail\*; let it suffice therefore to observe, that the revenue to the company increased, while Burdwan in a few years became the most flourishing district of Bengal.

Burdwan province, from the 1st of May, 1760, to the end of April, 1770, in account with the East-India company's treasury, for nett revenues, paid in, clear of all charges.

May to the end of April.		Cur. Rupees.
1760 - 1761	Cash received †	607,482
1761 - 1762	Ditto	3,841,987
1762 - 1763	Ditto	3,949,167
1763 - 1764	Ditto	3,986,101
1764 - 1765	Ditto	3,629,789
1765 - 1766	Ditto ‡	3,567,854
1766 - 1767	Ditto	4,288,171
1767 - 1768	Ditto	4,149,471
1768 - 1769	Ditto	4,158,387
1769 - 1770	Ditto §	3,948,037

The same regulations were established in the other proprietary lands of the company, with nearly the same success.

\* Vide letter of Mr. Verelst, App. p. 212. No. 131.

† This year the company obtained possession, but only a small part of the revenues was brought into the treasury, after reducing the rajah.

‡ Mr. Verelst was appointed to the superintendency of this province in the year 1765, and the effects of his arrangement will be seen in the receipts of the succeeding years, although part of the lands being let by auction, his regulations could only extend to the remainder. It must also be remarked, that the duties upon salt, made within the province, which in former years made a part of these revenues, were, after the establishment of the society in the year 1765, paid into the treasury of Calcutta.

§ This last was the year of the general famine.

Midnapore

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GOVERNMENT IN BENGAL.

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Midnapore province, from May 1760 to April 1770.

May to the end of April.			Cur. Rupees.
1760	- 1761	Cash received	116,925
1761	- 1762	Ditto	857,983
1762	- 1763	Ditto	743,330
1763	- 1764	Ditto	748,777
1764	- 1765	Ditto	590,932
1765	- 1766	Ditto	732,055
1766	- 1767	Ditto *	1,005,882
1767	- 1768	Ditto	884,390
1768	- 1769	Ditto	975,051
1769	- 1770	Ditto	902,149

Calcutta towns, and twenty-four Purgunnahs, from May 1760 to April 1770.

May to the end of April.			Cur. Rupees.
1760	- 1761	Cash received	730,591
1761	- 1762	Ditto	597,355
1762	- 1763	Ditto	486,352
1763	- 1764	Ditto	740,473
1764	- 1765	Ditto	979,349
1765	- 1766	Ditto	602,459
1766	- 1767	Ditto	801,571
1767	- 1768	Ditto †	1,116,395
1768	- 1769	Ditto	1,030,464
1769	- 1770	Ditto	1,022,845

\* Mr. Verelst took charge of this province in the year 1766, and the increase of revenue may be seen in the accounts of the succeeding years. It must be observed, that during the three last years, extraordinary expences were incurred to reduce some rebellious Zemindars upon the borders of the province. These expences being deducted, make the sum paid into the company's treasury less than from 1766 to 1767; but the actual receipts never fell short of the increased rents established during the four last years.

† The arrangement of Mr. Verelst was made in the latter end of the year 1766, and the increased receipts need no other comment than a reference to preceding years. The apparent variation during former years was owing to the irregular payment of the Jagbire, the revenues themselves having undergone no great alterations.

Chittagong province, from January 1761 to April 1770.

				Cur. Rupees.
Jan. 1761 to Apr. 1762	Cash received *	-	-	728,508
May 1762 to Apr. 1763	Ditto	-	-	467,368
1763 — 1764	Ditto	-	-	420,474
1764 — 1765	Ditto	-	-	404,721
1765 — 1766	Ditto	-	-	366,158
1766 — 1767	Ditto	-	-	378,830
1767 — 1768	Ditto	-	-	422,766
1768 — 1769	Ditto	-	-	432,540
1769 — 1770	Ditto	-	-	398,835

When the dewanny was first obtained by the company, a want of knowledge, or even the means of immediate information, rendered it impossible to correct the many abuses incident to the established mode of collecting the revenues. Many causes likewise concurred to make any direct interposition at this time highly impolitic. All power had in effect been transferred from the Subahdar of Bengal to the English East India company; but the lenient hand of time was necessary to soften that disgust, and quiet that alarm, which foreign nations, as well as the natives, might naturally conceive upon so great a change. The select committee considered, that should they attempt innovations upon the precarious foundation of opinion, any failure of success might disarrange the affairs of their employers, disappoint their expectations, and afford a plausible ground of complaint in England; where men, unacquainted with this very extensive and complicated subject, would judge wholly by the event; and where various plans successively adopted by contending parties, might, if the project were too hastily undertaken, remove all probability of future improvement. Impressed with these sentiments, they very wisely determined to assume the slow but certain conviction of experience for their guide, giv-

\* This year includes great part of the revenue due in the preceding year. Mr. Verelst was appointed to the chiefship the beginning of 1761, and quitted it in 1765. This province being exposed to frequent alarms, the revenues must fluctuate more than those in secure situations. But it may deserve to be remarked that the Subahdars of Bengal seldom received more than two hundred thousand rupees revenue.

ing their first attention to those provinces, the revenues of which had been subject to the administration of Europeans from the first cession of these lands by Meer Cossim, in 1760. The event corresponded to their views. In the year 1769, the condition of these last mentioned provinces formed so striking a contrast to the other parts of Bengal, where the oppression of the ancient government was universally felt, that foreigners as well as natives began earnestly to wish for a more extensive reformation. The committee therefore taking advantage of an equivocal permission in a letter from the court of directors, resolved to undertake this very arduous task.

Although the necessity was urgent, yet the difficulties were great. In a country so subject to revolution, infinite varieties prevailed in the government of every separate district. In some hereditary rajahs preserved the appearance rather of tributary princes, than delegates of power; but the jealousy of the Subahdars, and an increased taxation had left them little more than a nominal authority. In other parts again, a forfeiture, or extinction of these families, had established the more immediate jurisdiction of the Subahdar. Yet here perhaps the zemindars retained their hereditary rights. The greater part of the country laboured under an unbounded despotism, where the late disorders had increased the evils incident to this ruinous state. Zemindars and collectors combined together to prevent a detection of their frauds, and, sensible of their own precarious condition, laboured by every oppression to accumulate that species of wealth, which, capable of concealment, seemed alone to deserve the name of property; while a long train likewise of dependents and intermediate agents fattened on the spoils of the industrious ryott. The mildness of European manners, introduced by our influence at the Durbar, perhaps aggravated the mischief, by removing in some sort the restraint of fear.

To attempt a reformation, and at the same time to preserve the revenues entire, required a minute local investigation. Supravisors were accordingly appointed to collect the necessary information in the several divisions of the country. The nature of their office, the object of the undertaking,

and the means of accomplishing the business upon which they were sent, are so fully explained in the instructions drawn up by the president, that a farther discussion of the subject in this place would unnecessarily fatigue \* the reader. It will here be sufficient to add, that should the measure be tolerably executed, the board of revenues, which the directors have since established, will find no materials can be wanting to effect a complete arrangement, and diffuse that prosperity which at present so eminently distinguishes the proprietary lands of the company.

To judge of the conduct of the select committee, and their successors, in the management of our revenues and commerce in Bengal, it will be necessary to take a view of the situation of the directors, which, without any default in them, produced orders the most ruinous to the company's affairs.

When advice of the grant of the dewanny first arrived in England, a party were in possession of the direction, whose greatest error perhaps was an impolitic prosecution of certain gentlemen just arrived from India †. Had they abstained from this act of national justice, their power would have enabled them to resist the interested madness of others; but it was impossible at this time to foresee that the chancellor of the exchequer should conspire with a faction in Leadenhall-street, to sacrifice equally the interest of the company, and that of the state.

The directors, aware of the difficulties to be encountered, endeavoured to increase their own authority by removing every suspicion of private interest in the opinions which they found it necessary to recommend; and very laudably abstained from all ‡ engagements which might lessen their influence in the discharge of their public duty. Every precaution was vain. The torrent soon became irresistible, and men, ignorant of the

\* See the Instructions in the Appendix, p. 224, et seqq.

† For a breach of covenants in the receipt of presents.

‡ These gentlemen had the first intelligence, and by purchasing stock, might easily have made immense gains. Their scrupulous delicacy and strict self-denial appeared afterwards upon an examination at the bar of the house of commons.

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subject, presumed to act, until dear-bought experience evinced the impossibility of separating the interest of the stock-holder from that of the company.

At this time many needy adventurers hoped a golden harvest in the stock, and paying an immense interest for money, were disposed to sacrifice every real advantage as proprietors, to the flattering prospect of present gain. Those servants of the company whose safety depended on the overthrow of the directors, employed their wealth in creating votes; and some candidates for the direction, to gratify their own ambition, readily placed themselves at the head of so respectable a corps.

The faction thus formed, steadily pursued their plan; and having by infinite arts raised the public expectations greatly beyond the size of the object, they fed the common desire of gain with promises, which ignorance inflamed by passion could scarcely hope to accomplish.

A claim to the revenues on the part of the crown produced a negotiation with the minister, when a contested election for directors approaching, this troublesome faction endeavoured to enlist as many as possible by flattering the wishes of all. They produced a plan of accommodation with government, by which nine hundred thousand pounds per annum were promised to the exchequer, and fourteen per cent. dividend to the proprietors *for fifty years*: but so little attention was paid to the means suggested for carrying this plan into execution, that the revenue was separated from the trade; and such a complication of accounts would have ensued, both at home and abroad, as must have caused endless disputes between government and the company, equally injurious to the interest of both. The directors, on the contrary, endeavoured to unite these interests, discordant only to uninformed minds; and, by making the receipts of the treasury depend on those of Leadenhall-street, hoped to remove every ground of future jealousy. They proposed to give four hundred thousand pounds, or twelve and a half per cent. dividend to the proprietors, and apply one half of the remainder to the payment of the company's debts, the other moiety to be received by the exchequer. By securing a dividend to the proprietors

proprietors in the first instance, the price of stock would become as fixt and permanent, as the nature of a trading company would admit: while by appropriating the surplus, all future increase of dividend would be a distant object, and the resolutions of the court of proprietors be no longer governed by the views of stock-jobbers, or interests of the Alley. By participating all advantages with the exchequer a confidence might be established, and ministers no longer receive every proposal of directors with the jealousy of a rival. A sudden change of circumstances required many alterations in revenue laws, many new political arrangements. These would be undertaken without the embarrassment of distrust, and executed as soon as known to be right, without doubting the information received. It is not difficult to prove that had this union been effected, had the necessities of the company not been aggravated by the urgent demand of government and proprietors, and had not the trade from this cause been managed with a view to a present supply, an immense sum might already have been gained to the company and the state.

The directors had always been averse to an increase of dividend, until the debts of the company were reduced within those limits, which the legislature had prescribed, and which their former necessities had compelled them to exceed\*. They represented, that it was indifferent to the proprietor, whether he borrowed to divide, or waited till the money was received in the treasury. They gave it as their opinion that the payment of these extra debts should be the first application of the returns from India, as a voluntary continuance in this excess might afford some pretence to those, who envied their present situation. These arguments were addressed to unwilling ears. A very numerous body of proprietors had little concern beyond the present price of stock. To such, an immediate dividend became necessary: and many others were not displeas'd to see the nominal value of their property so greatly increased. By a vote therefore of the general court an addition of four per cent. was made to the annual dividend.

\* The company are authorized to borrow a certain sum upon bond, and none in any other manner. It may justly be thought that ordinary credit in the course of business is an implied exception. But the company, besides delaying all payments, had been obliged to borrow eight hundred thousand pounds more than the sum allowed, and paid an interest for this money.

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This success served only to quicken the appetite of hungry adventurers. Fresh troops pouring in every day, encouraged their associates by a new accession of strength. Heated by opposition, with understandings perverted by passion, they indulged their imaginations in gaudy dreams of wealth, and already began to talk of fifty per cent. dividend being inadequate to our present possessions. Impatient of delay in the negotiation with government, they anticipated the twelve and a half per cent. which the directors had stipulated in their proposal. Some servants of the crown, thinking this resolution too hasty, introduced into the house of commons, a bill for rescinding their vote, and restraining the proprietors during one year. To remove so sure an obstacle to the views of these adventurers, no compliance was thought too great, and the whole party immediately tendered their service to the minister; an offer which was readily accepted.

Mr. Charles Townsend, who, as chancellor of the exchequer, had the chief conduct of the negotiation on the part of government, was fully sensible of the advantages which might result to the nation and to the company from the plan proposed by the directors. Several meetings had been held, in which the whole was explained, and every objection answered so much to the satisfaction of Mr. Townsend, that he repeatedly declared, this was the single plan, among the many proposed, which could render Bengal truly beneficial to Great Britain. The directors were afterwards astonished to find a sudden change of sentiments; and that nothing could satisfy the chancellor of the exchequer but four hundred thousand pounds to be paid yearly, and a total indemnification of one shilling per pound duty on black teas, which amounted nearly to two hundred thousand pounds more. The directors refusing to comply with this unreasonable demand, soon learnt, that others were more tractable: and many personal arguments were used, which might induce them to yield to a necessity that could not be resisted. The directors nevertheless continued firm in their duty.

Before this last event the negotiation was far advanced, and this single difficulty remained, whether, after the dividend of four hundred thousand pounds to the proprietors, one half or two thirds of the remainder should  
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be paid into the exchequer. Mr. Townsend neglected the strongest remonstrances of our directors, met their opponents at the St. Alban's tavern, and bartered the bill depending in parliament for a vote of the proprietors. So eager were this faction in pursuit of their object, that they overlooked the means of obtaining it. After they had carried the minister's point by an unconditional vote of a general court, they found themselves deceived. A heavy burthen was entailed on the company, while at the same time the restraining bill passed the house, Mr. Townsend, the chancellor of the exchequer, dividing in the minority.

The directors being informed of the minister's alliance, produced an unanimous resolution of their court, condemning the intended motion as dangerous to the company. Their opposition was vain, and the measure was carried in the court of proprietors by a small majority.

The precedent being once established, no minister, whatever might be his own sentiments, could afterwards venture to accept, what might be deemed by country gentlemen in parliament worse terms. The same agreement was therefore extended to seven years, after a long and well contested opposition from the authors of the former plan. These gentlemen, deserted and betrayed, yet maintained the struggle, unseduced by flattery, unawed by threats. By such conduct they lost their own election, as happened once before, in the year 1763, but without the same success in the public cause: for by the first struggle they obtained an alteration in the final articles of peace, which excluded the French from any military establishment in Bengal, and secured our present dominions in the East to the British nation\*.

The first attack upon the company in parliament was led by a gentleman, who talked of forfeiture of charter, and right of conquest in the crown. In short he seemed to think that no consideration of law, justice, or policy, should deter men armed with power from confiscating so rich a prize. Had he spoken merely his own sentiments, these would have deserved little attention. But closely connected as this gentleman was with

\* The French were by the preliminary articles restored to all their conquests.

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the leading person in the cabinet, such a language could not fail to occasion very serious alarms. Frivolous distinctions were also countenanced in parliament to the disgrace of common sense, while the true ground of argument was almost neglected. Few ventured to contend that, independent of that regard which is ever due to the sacred rules of property, the possession of these revenues by the crown might endanger our happy form of internal government, but could never produce any real benefit to the British nation.

Impressed with these terrors, apprehensive of complaints from foreign nations to the British court, which a narrow policy might encourage, every application for powers to govern their servants rejected, the directors saw no safety, but in upholding the Moorish government in Bengal; and sent the most positive orders to the committee to avoid any exercise of dominion. A repetition of these commands was the necessary consequence of their increasing difficulties, while an opposing party called for new men and new measures, vaunting the most magnificent promises; and when a fear of not fulfilling the \* engagements of the company rendered it impracticable to risk a diminution of revenues, which were now become their only remaining fund: for the profits of the China trade had been almost annihilated by the same hasty vote that gave the four hundred thousand pounds to government. From this situation likewise flowed a continual increase of the company's investment †, from three hundred and fifty thousand to eight hundred thousand pounds per annum, which could not be effected without some degree of violence. An annual export of specie from Bengal was likewise necessary, as from the urgent demand of government and proprietors it became impossible to supply the China market with silver from Europe. Thus in five years next succeeding the grant of the Dewany, Bengal was drained in

Supplies of bullion to the other settlements	- - - -	1,284,008
Goods, stores, bills, &c. to ditto	- - - -	620,337
And cargoes on our European ships	- - - -	3,037,266
Total	- - - -	4,941,611

\* Amounting to a million sterling per annum.

† This term signifies the goods purchased for the European markets.

State of Bengal Revenues and Charges, shewing the gross and nett Receipts of the Com-

pany's Land R.

## Revenues.

May 1765 to	April 1766.	Gross Receipts	Charges, collec- tions, stipends, and jaghire.	Nett receipts	Total revenues	Total in pounds ster.
Calcutta and Dhees and twen- ty-four Purgunnahs		Cur. Rupees 10,61,079	Cur. Rupees 4,58,620	Cur. Rupees 6,02,459		
Burdwan		40,78,306	5,10,452	35,67,854		
Midnapore		7,58,258	26,203	7,32,055		
Chittagong		4,36,235	70,077	3,66,158		
Muxadavad districts		118,96,555	35,59,993	83,36,562	Cur. Rupees	Pounds
Bahar province		18,42,700	5,01,764	13,40,936	149,46,024	1,681,427
1766—1767		200,73,133	51,27,109			
Calcutta and Dhees, &c.		11,60,378	3,58,807	8,01,571		
Burdwan		51,01,961	8,13,790	42,88,171		
Midnapore		10,61,149	55,267	10,05,882		
Chittagong		4,83,562	1,04,732	3,78,830		
Muxadavad		181,54,424	79,36,919	102,17,505		
Bahar		78,68,020	19,28,628	59,39,392		
Commission paid		338,29,494	111,98,143	226,31,351		
1767—1768				1,63,851	224,67,500	2,527,594
Calcutta and Dhees, &c.		15,63,953	4,47,558	11,16,395		
Burdwan		50,22,579	8,73,108	41,49,471		
Midnapore		9,50,093	65,703	8,84,390		
Chittagong		5,13,827	91,061	4,22,766		
Muxadavad		183,34,265	86,29,178	97,05,087		
Bahar		56,86,478	7,87,712	48,98,766		
Commission paid		320,71,195	108,94,320	211,76,875	209,68,937	2,359,005
1768—1769				2,07,938		
Calcutta and Dhees, &c.		15,11,649	4,81,185	10,30,464		
Burdwan		51,26,635	9,68,248	41,58,387		
Midnapore		10,32,478	57,427	9,75,051		
Chittagong		5,12,224	79,684	4,32,540		
Muxadavad		101,98,583	90,77,445	101,21,138		
Bahar		62,82,503	7,43,988	55,38,515		
Commission paid		336,04,072	114,07,977	222,56,095	213,52,805	2,402,190
1769—1770				9,03,290		
Calcutta and Dhees, &c.		14,91,039	4,68,194	10,22,845		
Burdwan		48,60,144	9,12,107	39,48,037		
Midnapore		9,59,321	57,172	9,02,149		
Chittagong		4,72,518	73,683	3,98,835		
Muxadavad		170,26,778	84,69,179	85,57,599		
Bahar		48,96,666	8,41,169	40,55,497		
Commission paid		297,06,466	108,21,504	188,84,962	185,72,159	2,089,368
				3,12,803	983,07,425	11,059,584
				Cur. Rupees		

Lord Clive's second government commenced in May, 1765. He resigned to Mr. Verelst in January,

Estimated  
Cur. Rupees

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GOVERNMENT IN BENGAL.

pany's Land Revenues and the Civil and Military Charges, from May 1765, to April 1770.

Charges.

Total in pounds ster.	Civil Charges	Military charges			Buildings and fortifications	Total charges	Total in pounds ster.
		Bengal charges	Expence of the Bengal detachment acting on the Coast.	Total			
Pounds 1,681,427	Cur. Rupees 20,99,822	Cur. Rupees 64,32,489	Cur. Rupees - - -	Cur. Rupees 64,32,489	Cur. Rupees 8,68,237	Cur. Rupees 94,00,548	Pounds 1,057,562
2,527,594	27,13,767	79,69,259	- - -	79,69,259	10,40,144	117,23,170	1,318,856
2,359,005	24,29,413	74,28,168	10,70,052	84,98,220	19,78,081	129,05,714	1,451,892
2,402,190	26,29,108	75,23,277	12,28,518	87,51,795	24,07,765	137,88,668	1,551,225
2,089,368	26,71,986	- - -	- - -	- - -	17,48,229	129,23,502	1,453,894
11,059,584	Estimated Cur. Rupees 125,44,096	75,90,169	9,13,118	85,03,287	- - -		
		369,43,362	32,11,688	401,55,050	80,42,456	607,41,602	6,833,429

1767, who continued in that office to the end of the year 1769.

left in January,

## C H A P. III.

## The Money and Coinage of BENGAL.

**T**HE too eager desire of parliament, and the proprietors of India stock, to derive immoderate advantage from the acquisitions of the Company, gave birth to many evils, which a wiser policy, and more temperate conduct at home, might easily have prevented. It has already been remarked, that this cause precluded all innovation in the management of the revenues, perpetuating those abuses which, derived from a remote antiquity, had grown to an enormous size under the government of successive subahdars. Ruinous as these were to the industry of the natives, the impatient demand upon Bengal, as an inexhaustible mine of wealth, superadded many other causes of decline to those which already oppressed the laborious inhabitants. Each year brought orders from Europe to enlarge the company's investment, while complaints were at the same time received of the increasing price of manufactures, which a competition between the French, Dutch, and English, necessarily occasioned.

It had been the practice of those merchants, with whom the Company's servants made their contracts, to advance money to the manufacturer, without which he would frequently be unable to procure the materials of his work. But as this mode of obtaining merchandize must sometimes prove defective, through the accidental inability of private men to furnish the necessary supplies to the workman, and many hands must consequently remain unemployed; it was thought expedient by the governor and council, when the above-mentioned orders arrived, to make the like advances to such manufacturers as must otherwise have lain idle. Contracts thus in part executed on one side, afforded a temptation to fraud on the other; and the workman, unless strictly watched, often re-fold his goods for their full price to a stranger.

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The gomastahs, or agents of the company, were necessarily therefore entrusted with powers, which they frequently abused to their own emolument; and an authority given to enforce a just performance of engagements, became, notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of the higher servants, a source of new oppression. The influence of these agents proved so destructive of industry, that, before any remedial measures were devised at home, the council determined, at the hazard of not fulfilling the orders of their constituents, to resume the old method of forming the investment, by contracting solely with merchants in different parts of the country.

Within the space of four or five years, the exportation of Bengal manufactures, by the several European companies, had increased to more than 700,000*l.* per annum, beyond the extent of their former investments\*. That by our company alone amounted, in the year 1771, to 768,500*l.* sterling, wholly purchased with the revenue of the country, and without importing a single ounce of silver. Foreign companies likewise bought their goods with money received from private individuals, who took bills for the amount upon the respective companies in Europe. Thus an influx of bullion, which in former times exceeded a million sterling annually, was, by the great change in our situation, effectually obstructed; while large sums were moreover exported from the circulating specie of Bengal. In the five years next succeeding the grant of the Dewanny, the sums exported in silver by the English Company alone amounted to 1,284,008*l.* sterling. Indeed, the practice of sending silver from Bengal to China commenced as early as the year 1757, and continued without remission to the year 1770†. Formerly the commerce of Bengal, with different countries of the East, had yielded a very considerable balance, paid in bullion; but this trade, which was greatly affected by the troubles in Persia, and in the countries bordering on the Red Sea, was now ruined by the over-grown influence of the European Companies,

\* It must be remembered, that in the year 1765 the French Company made their first investment in Bengal, since the reduction of Chandernagore in the year 1757.

† Much the greatest quantity was sent, subsequent to the grant of the Dewanny in the year 1765.

who

who engrossed all the manufactures of Bengal. Such was the rigour exercised to complete the quantity required by our directors, that the Nabob has found it difficult to procure the necessary supply for his household, without making application to the English agents.

From the reduction of Chandernagore in 1757, to the commencement of a gold coinage in 1766, Bengal had lost, by deficiency in the usual imports of bullion, and by exportation of silver, more than eight millions sterling\*. It must here be observed, that money always retained its value in Bengal. The commodities purchased with bullion continued to yield an equal profit to the merchant, which demonstrably proves, that the money circulating in specie never exceeded the demands of industry. Under these circumstances, a rapid diminution of the current coin must necessarily impede the internal commerce of the country, and discourage the exertions of industry in all, whose labour could alone render Bengal a valuable possession to the British nation. Early and repeated representations

\* The foregoing estimate commences at a period when the extraordinary success attending our military operations in India produced such riches to the company, and to individuals, as effected an entire revolution in the mercantile system, hitherto observed by all European nations trading in Bengal. France having lost her settlements, lost also her trade in Bengal, from 1757 to 1765; whence the country was deprived of the supply France was accustomed to send in treasure, amounting, *communibus annis*, to 200,000 *l*.

As the English Company was liberally furnished with money, either stipulated for indemnification, restitution, &c. or borrowed of private individuals on their bonds and bills, they discontinued sending bullion to Bengal, the annual amount of which usually exceeded 250,000 *l*.

The Dutch were the greatest importers of silver, not only for purchasing home investments, but also procuring opium, an article of great consequence to the trade of their Eastern settlements, and also upon account of a considerable profit arising to their servants from coining into sicca rupees, in the nabob's mint, ingots sent from Batavia. They likewise discontinued sending bullion for more than four years, and thereby deprived Bengal of more than 300,000 *l*. per annum.

Even the Danes, finding they could borrow money at a low interest and advantageous exchange, on respondentia bonds and bills, withheld their little assistance, which indeed seldom exceeded 30,000 *l*. a year.

Of more consequence to Bengal was the declining trade with Persia and the Red Sea, the balance of which, in specie, had been reduced since the troubles above alluded to, from 18 or 20 lacks, about 180,000 *l*. sterling annually, to 3 or 4 lacks. If to these drawbacks, from the usual importation of silver, we add the sums actually exported from Bengal to China and other settlements, supplying the army stationed out of the provinces, king's tribute remitted to Illah-abad, and the specie carried off by Cossim Ally Cawn, the whole loss, in the course of 12 years, will appear to exceed 13 millions sterling; a sum so immense as will scarce gain credit with those who have not been at the trouble of examining the particulars.

of

of this growing evil were made by the select committee, who exhorted the directors to consider of some expedient to obviate the alarming consequences of a scarcity of coin †. Unfortunately the directors were so peculiarly situated, that the remonstrances of their servants produced no effect. Influenced, perhaps, by an opinion of the great riches of Bengal, they believed these dangers less immediate than the difficulties they were likely to encounter by an opposition to the public expectations ‡. Large investments from China, and every part of India, became necessary to defray the great demands of the company. Hence the fatal policy of exporting treasure was invariably pursued. To the servants, however, in Bengal, the consequences of this measure were not long a subject of speculation. The select committee saw clearly that difficulties must soon multiply from a scarcity of coin, which might prove equally ruinous to the company's commercial and political interests; and they did not hesitate therefore to attempt what appeared to them the only possible remedy. But before this subject can be understood, it will be necessary to explain the current money of Bengal.

A writer of reputation has here employed his pen, and added the errors of his own speculations to those which misinformation respecting assumed facts has necessarily produced\*. He supposes the *current* rupee, like the pound sterling in England, to be the general money of account in Bengal. A slight attention to the term *current*, evidently derived from the Latin, would have shewn it to be of European extraction; and in fact the expression is wholly unknown to the natives, who make use of the *Sicca* rupee, that being the established coin of the country. This error would scarcely have deserved notice, but that many supposed consequences, which, were the fact true, would by no means follow, have been laboriously deduced from this mistake.

However, "the coins of a country may be changed for convenience," this writer would always have "the denominations given to the new

† Letters from the Committee, 30th of January, 1766, 24th March, 1766, 9th December, 1766, and 6th October, 1767. Vid. Appendix.

‡ Court of Directors to Select Committee, 21st November, 1766, par. 10. Vid. Appen.

\* This gentleman has lately written some Observations for the Use of the Court of Directors.

“ coins constantly preserve an exact proportion of value to this standard “ unit,” or current rupee, “ by which accounts are kept.” If by these expressions be meant, that the unit should express a certain quantity of the precious metals, and that the denominations of all coins should conform to that unit, according to their intrinsic value, it is sufficient to say, that the same thing is effected by giving a certain denomination to a certain quantity of silver, as in the Sicca rupee, which is the sole coin legally current in Bengal. The author plainly intends something more, because the change here spoken of is upon a supposed variation in the relative value of gold and silver, in which case the same denomination of value can no longer express the same quantity of the respective metals as it did before. Let us suppose *pound* to express a value equivalent to one gold coin, or ten silver coins of the same weight and fineness, the price of metals being as one to ten. If the relative value of the metals varies, and becomes as one to fifteen, *pound* can no longer express the ten coins in silver, and one in gold of equal weight and fineness, without expressing different values, when applied to gold, or when applied to silver. In this sense of the unit, *as representing a certain quantity of each metal*, it would be impossible “ to preserve an exact “ proportion of value to the standard unit.” Therefore the unit, in the language of our author, must represent an ideal something permanent in its nature, with which the quantities of gold and silver, and the denominations respectively given to each, may be compared as with a known standard. Indeed the term *standard*, conjoined with *unit*, proves that he uses it in this sense. Here a difficulty occurs. As all our ideas are derived from the impression of material substance, he who uses a term not expressing some such impression, discourses without an idea; and until this difficulty be resolved, it is a vain attempt to reason\*..

\* It is plain we are not here speaking of ideas derived from the operations of our own mind, which having no similarity, cannot be compared with substances existing without us; nor of a generic term in language, which, omitting every circumstance of time, place, &c. peculiar to the individual, expresses a species. *Standard* unit must here be the name of an individual existence, or it means nothing.

Farther,

Farther, it is impossible that the unit, or money of account, should be itself a standard, or have any other signification than to express a certain quantity of *current coin*. The unit, or denomination in account, expresses the extent of a debt. When this debt is paid in any *current coin*, according to the *legal* denomination, the obligation is discharged. The value of the unit (which expresses only a demand of a certain quantity of legal money) must therefore be determined by the value of the coin. Here it will be asked, what is the use of the unit, or money of account? Evidently this. It is merely a number assumed, with relation to the method of account by tens, more easily divisible upon paper than any legal coin. It facilitates to the merchant the calculation of exchanges, being a convenient medium for resolving the legal denomination of money in one country into the money of another. Thus the pound sterling English represents in accounts twenty shillings, or two tens. The Sicca rupee varies in value, in the proportion of 116 to 111. The natives take the 116 as their unit or money of account, being the Sicca rupee, during the first year of circulation. The English, to avoid fractional numbers, take the decimal 100, by relation to which they calculate all debts and credits, and estimate all other coins. This  $\frac{100}{116}$  parts of the Sicca rupee constitutes that money of account, to which the English have given the name of current rupee.

In the farther progress of his reasoning, the author abovementioned contradicts himself. He proves what no man could want to see proved, that debasing the legal coin will lessen the value of the unit, or money of account. But how is this consistent with his former notion of the unit being itself a *standard*? Thus in admeasurement, if the foot be the *standard*, taking away one third part of the yard will make the latter to consist only of two feet, but will not lessen the foot. Whereas, if the yard be the *standard*, and the denomination *foot* expresses a certain proportion of the yard, then the foot will be lessened with the yard, and become shorter by one third part. In the same manner if any alteration in the *coin* affects the *unit*, the *coin* and not the *unit* must be the *standard*.—The error of our author has probably arisen from considering the manner in which some

sovereigns have decreed, that they *will not* pay their debts. Should, for instance, a law pass in this country that ten shillings in future shall be equal to a pound sterling; this law might seem to raise the value of the shilling, and to make the pound the standard of estimation: but no such consequence would follow. The shilling would not purchase a greater quantity of any one commodity. The law would indirectly carry this import, that debtors should discharge their engagements by paying half the sum agreed. By changing the application of a name, it would in effect be said to the public creditor, you advanced twenty shillings, which we then called a *pound*: you shall now receive only ten shillings; but that we may seem to observe the *terms* of our contract, the different sums shall obtain the same *name*.

If the *coin* be the standard respecting the *unit*, by what relation can the value of the coin be itself ascertained? The natural criterion is the price of bullion in the market. But before we can explain how the value of coin will be affected by this *price*, we must enter more deeply into the subject.

All purchase is exchange. Among rude nations, whose wants are few, this exchange is made in the bulky articles of consumption. Others, more refined, adopt a medium of commerce, the precious metals; and as the last improvement, a certain stamp is added to certain quantities of the respective metals, that the value of each piece may be known by inspection. Here a curious question occurs. Can a sovereign, by debasing the current money, raise its actual operative value above the intrinsic worth, depending on the quantity of pure metal contained in the coin? Independent of the effect of habit, which may make a people regard a name when the thing itself is changed, it appears to me that he cannot\*. The sovereign may give to coin a nominal value beyond the price of bullion, but to increase its actual value, would be to fix by law the price of every commodity to be purchased with coin. By varying the denomination of money, the nominal value of bullion, as of every other commodity, might be less-

\* It will afterwards appear that this ought to be understood with a certain limitation, which cannot here be explained.

fened:



fened or increased; but the actual value of coin or bullion to the possessor must be estimated by their effect in purchasing the necessaries of life. In this view their value will depend on the quantities of the precious metals, and of the merchandize with which they are compared, and the respective demand for each. Now, as the quantity of every species of merchandize will increase in proportion to the art and industry employed in the cultivation and manufacture, while perhaps the demand continues the same, it will ever be impossible to fix the value of coin or bullion by any permanent standard. In fact, the precious metals being universally received as the medium of commerce, have an equal relation to every thing which is sold; and from these various relations combined, results their actual value. Here the detail is infinite, and eludes all investigation. Neither is it possible to find a certain standard in any ideal point between the relative value of the two metals gold and silver\*. Compare the two metals to each other at distant periods of time, a variation is observed in their relative value. How can we discover whether the one has risen or the other fallen in value? This can only be known by the investigation above mentioned; an investigation so complex, that no understanding can comprehend it, no experience can furnish the requisite materials. Now, as the value of the unit (pound sterling, current rupee, &c.) is determined by its relation to the two metals, it will ever be impossible to make this denomination represent a fixed and permanent value†.

The precious metals have been received as the common medium of commerce, not because they are absolutely free from all fluctuation in value, but because they are less subject to this inconvenience than any *one* mer-

\* This is very imperfectly expressed, but when we grasp at the mere creature of another man's imagination, our expression must be inadequate. The author we allude to seems to conceive it possible, by adding to the quantity of pure metal in the coin, as gold or silver may happen to sink in price, to preserve some intermediate denomination (as the pound sterling between our guinea and shilling) at a certain fixed and permanent value.

† While certain coins are current by law, the value of the unit must be determined by that of the coin. But it is plain the author intends to fix the value of the unit independent of the coin, and also of the price of bullion, from the proposal he makes of adding to the quantity of pure metal contained in the coin, as the price of bullion decreases. The proposal itself is an admission that the value of the unit depends immediately on that of the coin.

chandize, and therefore form the best representative of *all*. They are divisible in any proportions without loss. They easily take, and long retain an impression. The quantity being small, a great value is contained in a narrow compass. Being removed from the ordinary purposes of life, they are little subject to consumption: and being now received as the universal representative of all things sold, the demand can be little governed by caprice. These qualities make them to answer tolerably well the purposes of coin; and if the man who has money finds his property to fluctuate in value, this is common to him with the possessor of every other species of wealth, and in a less degree.

The author above mentioned observes, "That if no person can coin but one, that one may put a value upon his coining, as any artist may put a value upon an art which he alone possesses, unrivalled by any other." If by this phrase be meant, that he may put an arbitrary value on the coin to any extent, it is not true, unless he could also compel men to become purchasers. The truth seems to be (for on a subject so obscure, it were presumption to affirm any thing) that the precious metals being universally adopted as the medium of commerce, and representative of every thing sold, acquire thence a value. Again, few persons can judge of the quality, or in other words of the pure metal contained in any mass produced to their view; and even the few sufficiently skilled can arrive at this knowledge only by a long and expensive process. In the ordinary dealings therefore of men, the convenience of knowing by inspection the quality of the metal, superadds a value to the coin beyond the price of bullion. If denominations be given to the coin nearly corresponding with this enhanced value, the people readily receive it upon this estimation, and the coin becomes current by general consent. For no positive law can make coin current at a certain value, without fixing the price of every thing which money can purchase.

Ought a sovereign in good policy to take advantage of this enhanced value to defray the expence of coinage, &c. or ought he to make the denomination

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nomination of the coin to correspond exactly with the price of bullion, according to the pure metal contained in the coin? An exact conformity is recommended by the writer above mentioned; nevertheless it appears, that the denomination of the coin ought to exceed in a certain degree the price of bullion, or it will be impossible to preserve the coin in circulation. Suppose the price of silver bullion to rise: no man will exchange his silver coin for gold coin, because by melting it, the bullion sold in the market will produce more gold coin than an exchange according to the legal denominations. Let gold bullion rise in price, the reverse must happen. Every fluctuation in the price of bullion will destroy one species of coin. But if the denomination of money be raised in a moderate degree above the price of bullion, any minute variation will not affect the coin. The general convenience of having a common medium of commerce will uphold its value corresponding with the denomination given, and being long used as the representative of all things sold, it will from habit, acquire a value in some measure independent of bullion.

I have thought it necessary to enlarge more fully upon this subject, because the learned author referred to, has, by fallacious arguments, founded upon erroneous principles, deduced many important consequences respecting the company's revenue, and the measures adopted by their servants.

In Bengal the Sicca rupee has ever been the only legal coin struck and authorized by the prince. Its denomination, like that of money in most countries, exceeds the price of bullion; but this excess is moderated by an annual discount, the denomination sinking gradually in three years in the proportion of one hundred and sixteen to one hundred and eleven. Various other rupees, differing from each other in weight, fineness, and impression, are applied to the purposes of commerce; but before they can be received, it is necessary to estimate the intrinsic value of each piece, and calculate the price of the whole mass by relation to the Sicca rupee. To adjust this variety of exchanges is become a science too intricate for the attention

attention of merchants who are obliged to retain in their service a set of men, called shroffs, bred up in the profession of exchanging money, and assaying metals by the touch. In progress of time, these shroffs are grown up to so numerous and wealthy a body as to hold in their hands almost the whole specie of the country. This situation of monied property has an effect which must now be explained to the reader.

No sooner does bullion, receiving a certain impression, become coin; that is, pass, upon inspection, according to its legal denomination, than a profit may be gained by making and circulating similar coin of a less intrinsic value. To repress this evil in Europe, severe laws are enacted against such offenders. The crime with us is accounted high treason. The care of prosecuting it is committed to a particular \* officer; and the punishment, on conviction, never remitted. If, notwithstanding this rigid exertion of authority, base coin is not uncommon in England, what might be expected in Bengal, where, from the nature of the country, the manners of the inhabitants, and the varieties of government prevailing in the several districts, it is impossible to establish a regular police? The sovereign, therefore, thought it necessary to interest the body of the shroffs in the preservation of the coin, and had, for that purpose, established an annual discount or batta on the ficca rupee. At the expiration of three years, when these ficca rupees, then called sunats, pass at  $\frac{11}{16}$  parts of the original denomination, they are carried to the mint chiefly by the shroffs, who receive them back recoined, and consequently raised in value to 116, the first and highest denomination †, deducting the expence and duties of coinage, amounting to something more than 2 per cent.‡ By this operation, the shroffs gain nearly  $\frac{1}{16}$  parts upon the value of the coin every third year; an advantage confined wholly to the ficca rupee. A

\* Solicitor of the mint.

† The author above mentioned is mistaken in supposing that 5 per cent. is gained by a mere stroke of the hammer and fresh impression. Sunat rupees are cut down, melted, and subjected to the whole process and expence of coinage, in the same manner with bullion, a difference being made in the duties only. — Vide Consultations, January 24th, 1763.

‡  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. nearly.

triennial recoinage is the consequence of this regulation; and such has been its effect, that while all other coins are debased, the ficca rupee seldom loses any thing of its original purity: for the shroffs, who assay metals by the touch, gain the  $\frac{3}{116}$  parts upon *the pure silver*.

Such seems to have been the origin of this custom. Some writers have adopted strange notions respecting the established batta on the ficca rupee, considering it as an abuse introduced wholly "for the benefit of the shroffs and officers of the mint\* and revenue;" as if it were probable, that successive princes, for more than a century, should have uniformly continued the same regulation without a motive. Whatever has been its origin, the effect is certain.

The debasement of other rupees has given rise to a mischief which is now become a great obstruction to commerce, and tends much to the discouragement of industry. As the intrinsic value of such rupees is found perpetually to vary, the shroffs place thereon an *arbitrary* batta, or, in other words, receive them at a discount such as they can settle with the possessor. The profit thus made, being repeated at every payment, is a heavy charge on the circulating silver; and, perhaps, no effectual remedy will be found, unless the company should coin all those rupees into ficas, when received in payment of the revenues.†

Silver being the only measure of commerce in Bengal, the common practice of all European nations naturally suggested a remedy for the growing scarcity of money. Although gold had hitherto been a mere

\* Mr. Bolts, p. 157, says, this custom was introduced by the elder Juggut Seat, in the time of the nabob Jaffier Khawn; but, certain it is the custom prevailed long before the family of the Seats obtained any consequence.

† The writer frequently mentioned has to many other mistakes added one respecting the profits of recoinage, from which, he supposes, the company derives no advantage. In fact, besides 1 per cent on bullion,  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on recoinage, and mint charges, which they must otherwise defray at their own expence, the conversion of *Sunat* rupees, which are paid in at their treasury, into *Sicas*, produces a large sum every year.

article of merchandize, yet it appeared highly probable, that large quantities existed in the country, which, under proper regulations, might be applied to the active demands of industry. Lord Clive, therefore, and the select committee resolved, in the year 1766, to introduce a gold currency; and as the first step in prosecuting this measure, was to discover the relative value of the two metals, gold and silver, the ministers and head shroffs were consulted. According to the best informations which could be obtained, the price of gold seemed to correspond nearly with the proportions established by the mint indenture in England. If this estimation was erroneous, it had already been adopted in the gold currency of Madras. The pagoda coined in the company's mint passes, in their accounts, at eight shillings\*. This pagoda, weighing 2 dwt. 6 grains, of the fineness of 20 carats, contains 45 grains of pure gold, the English guinea 118 grains. If 118 grs. : 21 sh. : : 45 grs. = 8 sh.  $\frac{11}{18}$  parts of a shilling.

At Madras silver is a mere merchandize, fluctuating in price to the extent of more than twenty per cent. It is impossible, therefore, to fix precisely the relative value of the two metals in that market. From some miscellanies quoted by a writer we have frequently mentioned, the proportion of silver to gold appears to have been as 15,49 to 1, in August, 1753. Although when a considerable quantity of gold mohurs were from time to time imported by the company from Bengal, and silver was at the same time purchased for the supply of China, the price of silver rose, in May, 1771, as 13,78 to 1, and afterwards, in July following, to 13,09 to 1; yet, probably, the ordinary proportion of the metals at Madras corresponded with that established by law in England, since the pagoda has been estimated at eight shillings, by the company, during a long course of years.

\* In my experience, the pagoda has always been found equal to 2 dwt. 6 grs. of 20 carats fineness, which makes 45 grains pure gold. In Miscellanies lately collected, it is estimated in one place at  $42\frac{1}{2}$  grains, and in another at  $45\frac{1}{2}$ , pure gold, making a difference of about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Should the former of these accounts be allowed, it will prove the pagoda is valued at more than 4 per cent. higher than the proportion assumed in the mint indenture of England.

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Gold imported from Madras into Bengal always yielded a profit. To assign the cause would be difficult, since it neither passed in circulation, nor was exchanged for the productions of any country within our knowledge. The fact, nevertheless, is certain, and rests upon the most undoubted testimony\*. To attempt, therefore, a gold coinage on a lower estimation than that of Madras appeared improper. Many reasons induced the committee to give it a higher valuation. To whatever purposes gold had hitherto been applied in Bengal, it was probable, that a new demand for this metal as current money would enhance the price. It was besides necessary to obtain the support of the shroffs in this measure, by making it their interest to bring gold to the mint, as the strong prejudices of the natives against innovation would have made the opposition of this body of men extremely troublesome. To these arguments, arising from the state of the country, may be added one drawn from the situation of the company. Had gold and silver been established at the same relative value as in the European markets, the exportation of gold would have been easier than that of silver, which, on account of its bulk, does not admit the same clandestine conveyance; and the gold coin might have been exported to Europe, when other means of remitting the large sums acquired by individuals began to fail. After maturely weighing all these reasons, the council resolved, that gold mohurs should be struck, at a valuation of eight per cent. † above their intrinsic purity, compared with the sicca rupees, according to the proportion of the two metals established by the mint indenture in England †.

Upon

\* Two reasons may, perhaps, be assigned for the high price which gold always maintained in Bengal. Before the Subahdars became independent of the Mogul Empire, great part of the annual tribute might probably be remitted in gold to Dehly. Since that period, the frequent invasions and intestine wars, rendering property insecure, gave an increased value to gold, which is more easily transported from place to place, or more easily concealed than silver. When the Maharattas last entered Bengal, gold bore so high a value, that some merchants sent it from Madras to Bengal, at a profit of 15 per cent.

† Two per cent. are the expence and duties of coinage. The remaining six per cent. was designed as an encouragement to bring gold to the mint. This allowance may appear large to gentlemen in England; but it must be observed, that the company allow their servants to lend money at 12 per cent. as a reasonable interest. Merchants, zemindars, and the natives in general, can seldom borrow at so easy a rate.

‡ That such was the principle on which the regulation was established appears evidently from the following paragraph in the mint-master's letter to the board. "The difficulty lay in fixing upon

Upon this principle the following regulations were formed, viz.

“ That the new gold mohur should weigh 16 annas, or 7 dwts. 11  
“ grs. 65, that is about  $179\frac{1}{2}$  grains, of the fineness of 20 carats.

“ That this gold mohur should pass current, and be received in all  
“ payments, whether of a public or private nature, in exchange for 14  
“ Sicca rupees, each rupee weighing 7 dwts. 11 grs. 65 of the fineness  
“ of 11 oz. 15 dwts. or 13 dwts. better than English standard, &c.”

The following calculations, which are rendered as easy and familiar  
as possible, will demonstrate, that the plan is exactly adjusted to the be-  
fore mentioned relative values, and calculated on the quantities of pure  
metal contained in the respective gold and silver coins, each being com-  
pared with the standard and coinage of England\*.

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“ upon such a rate of exchange as should answer the intention of bringing gold to the treasury  
“ without reducing silver below that natural value which it bears in most kingdoms in Europe,  
“ since this circumstance might be productive of inconvenience at home. Gold being merely  
“ a merchandize in Bengal, and the quantity of it already contained in the country very un-  
“ certain, it was thought proper to make the mean rate of exchange in Europe the principle  
“ upon which the following regulations for a gold currency are calculated. Vide Appendix.”  
M. Master's letter, 3d June, 1766—Yet merely upon the authority of an inaccurate expression  
in Article 4. of this letter, is the plan supposed to have been calculated on the proportion of  
14, instead of  $15\frac{1}{3}$  to 1, which difference constitutes the extraordinary advanced price, stated  
by the writer of the principles of money, not less than  $9\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

\* Abstract of the mint indenture in England.

“ By this indenture the mint master contracts to make five sorts of gold monies, viz. quar-  
“ ter-guineas, half-guineas, guinea, two guinea, and five guinea pieces, to be in fineness 22  
“ carats pure gold, with two carats alloy, and after the rate of  $44\frac{1}{2}$  guineas to the Troy pound  
“ Weight.

“ This will be, in every such pound weight, either  
“ 178 quarter-guineas,  
“ 89 half-guineas,  
“  $44\frac{1}{2}$  guineas,  
“ 22 two guineas, and one half-guinea,  
“ 9 five guineas, wanting the weight of half a guinea.

“ Now as money cannot be made in all things exactly conformable to the standard, but may  
“ differ from it in weight, in fineness, or in both; so it is agreed that one sixth of a carat,  
“ which is equal to 40 Troy grains, be allowed as *remedy* for the master on every pound weight  
“ of gold monies, with an additional remedy of half a Troy Grain in every four quarter-gui-  
“ neas, because these cannot be made so exact as larger pieces.

“ The mint master also contracts to make eight sorts of silver monies, viz.  
“ 12 crowns and two shillings,

“ 24

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A guinea, twenty-two carats fine, containing by statute one hundred and eighteen grains of pure gold, is rated by act of parliament and mint indenture at twenty-one shillings. A gold mohur twenty carats fine, and weighing 7 dwts. 11 grs. 65 contains one hundred and fifty grains of pure gold. †

	grs.	Sh.	grs.					
Q.	118	21	150	-	-	26	$8\frac{1}{4}$	
	And 8 per Cent. increased price,						2	$1\frac{1}{2}$
							<hr style="width: 100%;"/>	
							Sh. 28	$9\frac{1}{4}$

Such will be the produce of the gold mohur, according to the proportions before established by relation to the mint indenture. Let us now see what will be the produce, by the same rule, of the silver allowed in exchange.

The regulation by statute of silver in England is, that a pound, or 12 ounces Troy, of English standard, shall contain 5328 grains of pure silver, and that this pound shall produce 62 shillings of standard money.

The pound Troy of Sicca rupee silver 13 dwts. better than English standard, contains 5640 grains of pure silver.

	grs.	Sh.	grs.
Q.	5328	62	5640
			$65\ 7\frac{1}{2}$

- “ 24 half-crowns and two shillings,
- “ 62 shillings.
- “ 124 half shillings, or six pences, &c. &c. to be in fineness 11 oz. 2 dwts. of fine silver, and
- “ 18 dwts. of alloy, and after the rate of three pounds and two shillings (62 shillings) to the
- “ Troy pound weight.

“ The remedy allowed for the master in silver coin is 2 dwts. or 48 grains Troy, on every pound weight, for the same reasons as before mentioned. The remedy both on gold and silver coins is to include the excess or defect both of weight and fineness, and is only to be allowed where such fault happens from casualty.”—The master is bound to make all gold monies, agreeable in fineness to the standard trial-piece of the 4th of James the Second, and all silver monies by the standard trial-piece of the 1st of George the Second, part of which pieces are lodged in his majesty's exchequer.

† We have purposely omitted fractional numbers, which would occasion perplexity, without producing any material difference in the calculation.

A pound Troy is equal to 32 Sicca rupees in weight † and of Sicca rupee silver, produces 65 sh. 7½ d. according to the last operation:

Sic. Rup. oz. sh. d. Sic. Rup.  
 Q. If  $32 = 12 : 65 \text{ } 7\frac{1}{2} :: 14$  being the value in exchange of a gold mohur?

Anfw. 28 sh. 5½ d.

The comparative values of a gold mohur, and 14 Sicca rupees, will therefore stand in the following manner:

	Sh.	d.
Produce of the gold mohur, -	26	8½
Eight per Cent. added, -	2	1½
	-----	
	Sh. 28	9¼
Produce of 14 Sicca rupees, -	28	5¼
	-----	
		4½

Whence it appears that a ballance of four-pence and one half-penny remains in favour of the gold mohur, which is to that amount better than was proposed in the regulations published by authority.

These gold mohurs having continued in circulation 18 months, without murmur or complaint, to what causes must we ascribe the subsequent miscarriage? Wherever the two metals are admitted into currency, the denomination of the coins must be adapted to a supposed proportion between gold and silver. If their relative value should be changed by a decrease in the quantity of either, a new proportion must be assumed. If, moreover, a competition among many purchasers should arise, this competition, independent of the quantities of either metal in the country,

† 12 oz. Troy weigh exactly 32 S. wt. 0 an. 10 pi. 29 decim. parts.

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Neither deemed by experim which the silver was bills of rupees at This com have been exchange ments be mohurs, the addition was first

\* Experi England, v than its leg merchandiz sole stand a value pro became mo of habit, th comparing was, that v sensible ch had been h App. Diary § Mr. H † Above

will enhance the price of one \*. Both causes here conspired to produce the same effect. Notwithstanding the strongest remonstrances of lord Clive and the select committee, the necessities of the company obliged the directors to order more than thirty lacks annually in silver to China, and their other settlements. If, to this drain, be added an annual tribute of 26 lacks to the king, the expences of a brigade stationed at Illahabad, and silver exported by the French to Pondicherry, the loss of silver coin during two years must be estimated at a very large sum.

Neither had gold been yet tried in procuring investments. It was deemed by private merchants, and even by the company, too delicate an experiment, to make advances for the provision of the year in a coin to which the manufacturer had not been accustomed. For the same reason silver was also preferred by the foreign companies, in exchange for their bills of remittance. Hence a competition ensued, individuals purchasing rupees at an enhanced price, for the purposes of bills and investments. This competition raising the price of silver, will explain many facts which have been invidiously mentioned by others. In Calcutta, gold mohurs were exchanged for rupees, at a loss of 38 per cent †. In China, where all payments being made in silver, gold bears but a low price; the loss upon gold mohurs, nevertheless, did not exceed 10 per cent. or 2 per cent. more than the additional value ‡, avowed by the regulations published when the coin was first issued. At Madras, where the importation of an inconsiderable

\* Experience shews the effect which a scarcity of silver coin produces upon gold, even in England, where the necessities of the trader frequently oblige him to exchange a guinea for less than its legal-value. Yet here gold has long been equally with silver the price and measure of all merchandize and necessaries of life; whereas, in Bengal, silver alone had heretofore been the sole standard price and measure of all things sold, and gold was received in commerce only, at a value proportioned to the silver rupees it would produce in exchange. When gold afterwards became money, and the mohur had a fixt relation to the Sicca rupee *by law*, such was the effect of habit, that the people continued still to regard the gold mohur rather as bullion than coin, comparing it with merchandize, through the medium of the silver rupee. The consequence was, that when the price of silver increased, from the growing scarcity of this metal, a more sensible check was given to the currency of the gold coin, than in countries where the people had been habituated to consider gold and silver equally as standard price or current coin. See App. Diary of the rise and fall of silver in the market, p. 245, and seq.

‡ Mr. Bolts, p. 205.

† Above the proportions of the mint indenture.

quantity

quantity of gold affects the price, and the council were likewise purchasing silver for the supply of China, the gold mohurs were either exchanged for silver, or coined into pagodas, at a loss of 13 per cent. including also the charges and loss upon a recoinage into pagodas. Mr. Bolts was too good a merchant not to perceive the increasing price of silver to be the real cause of this loss, and therefore cautiously uses a phrase, which is literally true. His words are these; "that the loss at Madras, in such remittances of " gold mohurs from Bengal, had been 13 per cent. *as silver rupees would " to that degree have better answered."*

The reader has seen the reasons which induced the council to give a higher valuation to gold than in the mint indenture of England; and eight per cent. above this price was the proportion assumed. A continued exportation of silver afterwards varied this proportion, while a competition in the purchase of the last mentioned metal farther enhanced the relative value of silver. These causes, aided by the intrigues of the shroffs, so effectually obstructed the currency of gold mohurs in Calcutta, that they were there exchanged for rupees, at a price which had no relation to their intrinsic worth. Juggat Seet, the great banker and principal shroff, when first consulted, strongly urged the necessity of allowing a batta or annual discount on the gold mohurs, in the same manner as had ever been usual upon the Sicca rupee; and perhaps a neglect of this advice was the greatest error in the plan of 1766. Yet the directors, having frequently condemned the batta in their letters to Bengal, the council could not adopt it in a new coinage, even to ensure success.

When the gold mohur was first issued, the faith of the company became thereby engaged to the possessor of the coin, for whatever value might be added in denomination beyond the intrinsic worth. The council therefore justly thought themselves obliged to receive the coin at the original denomination, and these mohurs were accordingly recalled.

In compliance with the general desire of the inhabitants of \* Calcutta, the governor and council afterwards determined to establish another gold

\* See petitions in Appendix.

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coinage, avoiding the supposed error of the former plan, and making just allowance for a real variation in the proportion of the two metals, arising from a continued exportation of silver. In March, 1769, it was resolved, that a gold mohur, weighing 7 dwts. 22 grs. 773 decimal parts, of the fineness of 23 cts.  $3\frac{1}{4}$  grs. or  $190\frac{1}{2}$  grains pure gold, should be issued at the denomination of 16 Sicca rupees. This estimation of gold,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. lower than that of 1766, reduced its value more than three per cent. below the proportion of the mint indenture in England, and likewise of the pagoda coined in the company's mint at Madras. Yet has the learned writer before mentioned endeavoured to shew, that gold was here likewise too highly estimated, by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. That the gold was not too highly estimated in the second coinage of 1769 is farther evinced, by the latest advices from Bengal, which say, that this mohur has been readily received in exchange for silver rupees, according to the established denomination.

When the growing scarcity of silver was explained in a former part of this chapter, I had no intention even to insinuate that the price of Bengal manufactures, brought thence to Europe, should be paid in bullion by the India company. This can never be done without sacrificing our own interests, and rendering the revenues of a distant country useless to Great Britain. Bengal, like other subjected provinces, must yield its tribute; but experience will inculcate the necessity of moderating our demands, that the country may be enabled long to continue this payment. If the court of Directors will, for the future, be contented with an annual investment, not exceeding five or six hundred thousand pounds, and discontinue entirely the exportation of silver from Bengal, the foreign trade of that country may again revive. Increasing industry will in time restore its wealth; and should some expedient be required to palliate the present defect of current money, a gold coinage will afford relief. Without dreaming of banks and paper credit, such a measure may be effected; but it will ever be found impossible to preserve a coin in currency, unless we assume the ancient practice of the natives for  
our

our guide, and assimilate our new regulations to those of the Sicca rupee\*.

\* The following is the number of gold mohurs, coined agreeable to the new regulations, made August 1st, 1766, to \_\_\_\_\_, 1768, when they were recalled by an order of the council.

	Mohurs.
In Calcutta, - - - - -	177871
Moorshed-abad, - - - - -	70000
Patna, - - - - -	15274
	<hr/>
Total,	263045
Of the above sent to Madras,	134417
	<hr/>
Returned to the treasury of Calcutta, from circulation,	128628
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Ballance not brought in,	8467

C H A P.

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## C H A P. IV.

## The Society established in the Year 1765, for conducting the Trade in Salt, Beetle-nut, and Tobacco.

**T**HE internal commerce of Bengal is now become so important to the interests of Great Britain, that I could wish to treat of this subject at large; but the misrepresentations which have been industriously propagated compel me to make the society established in 1765, for conducting the trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, the principal object of my present investigation.

Phirmaunds from the emperor had long been possessed by the English East-India company, exempting from the payment of duties "what-ever goods and merchandize their agents may bring or carry, by land or by water, in the ports, quarters, and borders of the provinces." This privilege, while the English were wholly subordinate to the country government in Bengal, was confined to exports and imports, and under this limitation, enjoyed rather from connivance than of right, by the private traders in the company's service.

When Meer Jaffier was raised to the musnud by our arms, the trade of the servants encreased with the authority of the company, and they now engaged, at first sparingly, in the inland traffic of salt. Some even claimed an exemption from duties; but as these pretensions were discountenanced by colonel Clive during his government, such claims were at that time relinquished.

By the treaty with Meer Cossim, the company obtained a cession of lands, yielding about 600,000*l.* per annum. Their troops had continually increased, until the power of the company gave effect to private usurpations.

The inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco was universally carried on by gentlemen in the service, without payment of duties; and knowing the Nabob to be preparing the means of resistance, they treated every complaint of his officers as a fresh indication of enmity to the English. Thus the fears of public policy, conspiring with private interest, soon produced a rupture, which, after risking our existence upon the fate of a battle, ended in the overthrow of Cossim and final establishment of the English power.

Before this last event took place, intelligence was received at home of the confusion in which Bengal was involved, of the defeat at Patna of a detachment amounting nearly to one third of our army, and of the cruel massacre of many English gentlemen. The reputation acquired by lord Clive in India directed all eyes to him; and he was called, by the concurrent voice of the nation and proprietors, to undertake once more the labour of restoring order to our affairs.

The cause of these events naturally became the subject of deliberation. It appeared, that an exemption from duties had thrown the whole trade of the country into the hands of the English. This, however, was the least evil. The country government was destroyed by the violence of their agents; and individual tyranny succeeded to national arrangement. In the general confusion, all, who were disposed to plunder, assumed the authority of our name, usurped the seats of justice, and carried on what they called a trade, by violence and oppression. The Nabob's officers either fled before them, or, joining the invader, divided the spoil. The barrier of the country government once broken down, it became impossible to stop the inundation. Mahomedan, Portuguese, and Armenian alike, nay, every illiterate mariner who could escape from a ship, erected our flag, and acted as lord of the district around him.\*

\* Frequent orders of the council and of the select committee, for recalling free merchants and others dispersed throughout the country are to be found on the company's records, during a course of several years, under different governors. One of the first resolutions of the select committee, upon lord Clive's arrival, (the second day of their sitting) is founded on disobedience to former orders. See Committee Proceedings, May 11, 1765.

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Upon lord Clive's acceptance of the presidency and command of the forces in Bengal, he wrote the letter mentioned by Mr. Bolts to the court of directors, recommending an entire abolition of the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, which, in his opinion, "concurrent," with other causes mentioned in the letter, "to hasten and bring on the late troubles." He adds, that "as a means to alleviate, in some measure, the dissatisfaction which *such restrictions* on the commercial advantages of your servants may occasion in them, it is my full intention not to engage in any trade myself."

The intended restrictions did not take effect; for many active proprietors, when the affair was considered in a general court, strongly urged the continuance of this indulgence, under some limitations, to the servants, who would otherwise be deprived of a decent subsistence abroad; much less could they ever hope to revisit their native country with such independent fortunes as reason and justice equally authorised them to expect. These sentiments being generally embraced, it was proposed, that the directors should give instructions to the president and council to settle such regulations, "as shall prove most advantageous to the company," which regulations were to be transmitted home for the \* court of directors to determine on so important a subject.

This motion, made on the † 18th of May, did not coincide with the sense of the majority, who very justly thought that the state of Bengal rendered it highly improper to interpose a delay of near two years, but that some regulations ought to be immediately adopted. The above-mentioned motion was therefore withdrawn, and it was RESOLVED, "That it be recommended to the court of directors to reconsider the ‡ orders sent to

\* The motion was, verbatim, as follows: "That it be recommended to the court of directors to give instructions to the presidency of Bengal to settle such regulations in carrying on the trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, as shall prove most advantageous to this company, without prejudicing the just rights of the nabob of the provinces; and that such regulations be transmitted home to the court of directors by the first opportunity, with every information which can enable them to determine on so important a subject.

† Lord Clive's letter is dated the 27th of April preceding.

‡ The orders here spoken of are contained in the letter to Bengal, dated 8th of February preceding, a disobedience to which orders by governor Spencer and his council, the directors afterwards reprehend in their letter, dated 24th of December, 1765. Vide p. 109.

“ Bengal, relative to the trade of the COMPANY’S SERVANTS in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco ; and that they do give such directions for *regulating the same*, agreeably to the interest of the company and the subah, as to them may appear most prudent, either by *settling here at home the RESTRICTIONS, under which this trade ought to be carried on*, or by referring it to the governor and council of Fort William *to regulate this important point* in such a manner as may prevent all future disputes between the subah and the company.”

In pursuance of this recommendation from their constituents, the directors finding it impossible to settle an equitable plan, “ destitute of the informations and lights necessary in so important an affair,” expressly order \* the governor and council, after “ consulting the Nabob, to form a proper and equitable plan for carrying on the inland trade †.”

Notwithstanding this express and positive injunction, it has been asserted, that the salt society was formed in opposition to orders received from home. The mistake seems to have arisen from too hasty a perusal of the general letter to Bengal, dated the 26th of April, 1765. This letter, written in answer to one from governor Vanfittart and the council, dated the 27th of September, 1764, condemns the treaty stipulating a trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, on payment of a small † duty ; and refers throughout to the consultations previous to that period, when lord Clive was expected to arrive in India. The separate letter to governor Spencer, dated the 24th of December, 1765, is yet more § explicit, reciting part of a minute by

\* This letter is dated the 1st of June, 1764, and was sent by the same ship which carried lord Clive and Mr. Sumner to India. A duplicate arrived before them in Bengal by another ship.

† This letter requires that these regulations should be transmitted home to the directors ; but to imagine such requisition was intended to suspend the execution of these regulations was impossible with those in whose memory the above-mentioned debates were fresh, and who must consider this letter of the 1st of June, as written in pursuance of the vote of a court of proprietors, in which vote the directors are ordered to adopt one part of this alternative ; “ either to give such directions for regulating the same, *as to them may seem meet*, or to refer it to the governor and council of Fort William to regulate this important point.” That the letter of the 1st of June was not at that time understood even by the directors, in the sense which some people affect now to give it, appears from their letter to governor Spencer, dated December 24th, 1765, hereafter mentioned.

‡ Two and a half per cent.

§ Written in answer to their letter of the 26th of November, 1764.

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Mr. Johnstone, which the directors severely condemn, and then add, “ We shall say nothing farther at present on the inland trade, *till that important subject shall be taken up by lord Clive and the gentlemen of the select committee*, only to observe that the regulation proposed in consultations of the 17th of October, 1764, is a manifest disobedience of our orders of the 8th of February\*, *then under deliberation*, which positively forbid all trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco.”

Mr. Bolts adopts this misrepresentation of the orders. Immediately after he has laboured to irritate the reader against the salt-society established by the committee, he says, “ The court of East India directors *repeatedly*, and in the strongest terms, forbade *this monopoly* in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco; particularly in their general letter per lord Camden, dated the 19th of February, 1766, wherein they positively directed their governor and council to make a *formal renunciation*, by some solemn act to be entered on their records, of all right to trade in those articles; directing their president to transmit such renunciation in form to the Nabob in the Persian language, with adding these express words: ‘ Whatever government may be established, or whatever unforeseen occurrences may arise, it is our resolution to prohibit, and we do absolutely forbid *this trade* in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco.’”

When the letter of the 19th of February, 1766, was written, the court of directors had not † received the plan which the select committee had framed, in pursuance of the resolution taken by the court of proprietors. This letter therefore must be regarded as a continuation of the before-mentioned prohibition to trade, *till that important affair had been taken up by lord Clive and the select committee*. The reader will recollect that the trade to which these orders refer had been claimed by the servants, *duty free*, under the phirmaun from the emperor; had been made an article ‡

\* This date is previous to the resolution of the general court. The regulation here referred to was merely confining the trade to certain markets.

† Until the 19th of April, 1766.

‡ Paying 2  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent.

in the treaty upon Meer Jaffier's restoration; which article, although condemned by the directors, was transcribed into the treaty with his son Nudjum al Dowlah, by governor Spencer and his council. To *this disobedience of orders* the animadversions of the court apply, and throughout the letter of the 19th of February they every where speak of the claim under the phirmaun and this treaty. They then direct the *renunciation* mentioned by Mr. Bolts "of all right, *under the said treaty*, or \* otherwise, "to trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco," "according to the spirit of "the phirmaun." "And that you transmit THIS RENUNCIATION of that "part of the treaty † in form to the Nabob."

Another extract is given by Mr. Bolts, to prove that the orders were uniform to this point. He has candidly suppressed the date, wishing probably the reader to imagine this likewise had been received before the society was established for the second year. This is an extract from a letter, in which the court of directors declare they cannot consent to carrying on that trade in any manner whatsoever. This letter was received in December 1766, and in obedience to this order the plan was abolished. But the directors here add, that they do not condemn the conduct of the select committee.

Admitting for a moment that the directors had authority to annul the orders of a general court, without attempting the execution, it will be impossible to believe such could be their intention, when they had given particular instructions for fulfilling the expectation of the proprietors; when the letter of the 19th of February was written to a different governor and council, being throughout a comment on *their conduct*; and when prior letters, containing the like general disapprobation of the trade, expressly excepted the plan to be framed by lord Clive and the select committee.

\* This plainly refers to the claim under phirmaun, which is recognized by this article of the treaty.

† The words, "of that part of the treaty," are omitted by Mr. Bolts, in order to apply RENUNCIATION to the plan of lord Clive and the select committee, not then known in England.

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A wonderful discovery is now made of a deed, an unheard-of engagement among the company's servants, to support each other in a predetermined disobedience of orders. If those who so readily adopt this opinion, had consulted the company's records for information, and not to serve a *present* purpose, they would probably have read the whole relative to the subject, and might in such case have found every particular entered at large among the proceedings of the council, 16th of September\*, 1765, and transmitted to the directors in the general letter.

The plan being formed, and shares of the society distributed among the company's servants, according to their respective rank, the conduct of this trade was entrusted to a committee, chosen for that purpose, who proceeded to make many contracts for salt. But it was soon found impossible, without the concurrence of the council, "to † establish the credit of the " society, so as to raise the necessary fund for carrying on the trade." The committee of trade therefore request a deed in writing to secure to them this trade during the year, ending 31st of August, 1766.

Had the directors thought fit to send retrospective orders for the abolition of this society, erected with the previous assent of themselves and their constituents, such orders could not arrive in Bengal ‡ before the year was expired. The council therefore unanimously resolved to indemnify the committee of trade, in an engagement undertaken upon the faith of the company; and as the Admiral Stevens was not yet dispatched, "It is agreed " to apply to the company for permission to renew the same for the future concerns, *if the plan meets with their approbation.*" By this deed the committee of trade became *personally* responsible for the duties to the company, the council on the other hand engaging to continue the society during one year. So little idea of guilt was entertained, that none of the gentlemen concerned have ever kept a copy; but the original deed

\* Appendix, p. 249 No. 143.

† Letter of the committee of trade, entered in Consultations, 16th September, 1765.

‡ The Admiral Stevens, which carried the first intelligence, was dispatched on the 18th of October, 1765, and the engagement expired in August, 1766.

was drawn by Mr. Whittal\*, whom Mr. Bolts supposes to have been cruelly oppressed, by the same men who entrusted him with this very dangerous conspiracy. Mr. Bolts knew the transaction would not bear the construction he wished it to receive. He therefore makes another † deed, the date of which is suppressed, to precede this in his Appendix, because it would otherwise have proved, that a disobedience of orders had never been in contemplation of the parties. This deed relating to a period, within which orders were expected to arrive from home, plainly supposes such orders would be obeyed, for it contains an express stipulation in a particular private contract upon this event, "that any order or direction shall be issued by the honourable court of directors of the East India company in England, by which the said joint trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, shall be stopped." It was not, therefore, the private intention of these gentlemen to disobey, much less would they have set forth such intention upon the public records of the company, if they had ever entertained the thought.

Having thus removed the imputation of disobedience, we may now proceed to examine the plan proposed for carrying on the trade in a manner agreeable to instructions received from home. It appears, from a review of the evils which gave rise to the first deliberations on this subject, as likewise from the whole course of correspondence with the governor and council, that the principal object of the company was to repress the practices of private traders, so ruinous to the peace of the country, the revenues and government of the nabob. At the same time, the trade, in the language of the resolution of a general court, "ought to be carried on" for the benefit of the "company's servants," under "such regulations as may prevent all future disputes between the subah and the company ‡."

\* Mr. Whittal, an attorney of the mayor's court, was directed to draw out the deed; and the letter of the committee of trade, and resolution thereupon, which appear in Consultations, were transmitted to him as instructions for forming the same. What this friend of Mr. Bolts may have added, before or since, it is impossible for those to say who have no copy of the deed.

† This deed was executed more than twelve months after the other.

‡ The resolution of the general court is entered at length in the first part of this chapter.

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It occurred, that a government beaten down by the violence of individuals, in the prosecution of a claim afterwards enforced by our arms, and established by treaty, a government, which had long been trampled upon by all who assumed the English name, could not again rear its head, while the same persons were permitted to traverse the country without controul. The council, or the committee, had no legal authority to interfere, much less to punish oppressors; and among a people formed by nature, and by habit, to bear the yoke of conquerors, where the dread of our power increased with our victories, the sword of justice must fall from the feeble hands of a magistrate, yet unassured of support. Necessity, not to say humanity, required an immediate recall of all the English agents or gomastahs, dispersed throughout the provinces, that the nabob's officers, in discharging their duty, might no longer fear a contest with power. This measure was enforced by the most positive repeated orders of the directors, who had very justly determined not to permit a continuance of the trade on its former footing. The new covenants had excluded the receipt of presents; while the increased investment of the company, (after the dewanny was obtained) absorbed the trade of individuals, and removed all prospect of advantage in a foreign commerce. No other fund remained for the reward of services; and without proposing a reasonable prospect of independent fortunes, it was ridiculous to hope that common virtue could withstand the allurements of daily temptation, or that men armed with power would abstain from the spoils of a prostrate nation.

These considerations induced the committee to frame a plan for carrying on the inland trade in these articles, by which it was proposed, to recall all private agents, to form one society, who should dispose of their salt, &c. at certain markets, distributing the shares in this society among the company's servants, according to their respective rank.

Mr. Sumner, who was indefatigable in adjusting every part of the plan, actually searched about twenty years back; and the price was in consequence of this research fixed at the several markets, to which the society transported salt, full fifteen per cent. lower than the price at which it

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usually



usually sold. From these markets it was carried by the natives; so that the consumer must purchase his salt for less than had been ordinarily given. A duty, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, was established for the company, which was increased the following year to one hundred and sixty thousand pounds.

Salt is made at a certain season of the year; and persons who advance their money to the manufacturer, contracted to furnish the society. As the committee of trade, by the famous deed, became responsible for the duties, it may appear reasonable to all but Mr. Bolts, that they should possess the means of performing their obligation. For this purpose it was necessary that the trade should continue during one whole year; and that permission should be given to dispose of their stock in hand, in case the directors abolished the society at the expiration of that period.

A difficulty will here occur to the mind of the reader. How could the salt be sold at the usual price, when the company and proprietors received each a profit? A duty had been always collected upon this article at several chokeys, or custom-houses. The extortions and vexatious delays of the Nabob's officers at each pass, were so burthensome to the trade, that although the Subahdar received less than what was now paid to the company, yet the merchant suffered to a much greater amount. These duties were before collected at many places higher up the river than Calcutta; but as Calcutta now contains a greater number of people than Muxadavad in its most flourishing state, no reason could be urged for exempting the inhabitants from a burthen common to all the province. This exemption moreover would have been scarcely practicable, as the whole duty upon salt to the Company was paid by the committee of trade, who became responsible in consequence of the deed above mentioned. Mr. Bolts, fully aware of this difference, estimates his prices, comparing them with former years, in the market of Calcutta. That the price of salt was not enhanced at other places, will appear by the testimony of many gentlemen now in England.

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Supposing, for the sake of argument, that the price of salt was enhanced throughout the country; this would only prove, that men who traded without payment of duties, could sell cheaper than those who conformed to the orders of their masters. But as the price was really lower, we may hence judge of the exorbitant profit made by the English trader, who paid no duty, and punished the officers of government if they presumed to interfere. Mr. Bolts very truly asserts, that several *inferior* servants would have preferred their former trade to a share in the society; yet the reader, perhaps, may not think, with Mr. Bolts, that *private* interest is the test of *public* regulations. Mr. Keir himself, who was so great a trader in salt, that he employed, in one season, thirteen thousand people in the manufacture, says, "That the society for the trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, instituted by lord Clive and the select committee, was so far from being detrimental to the country, that those articles were not only not sold dearer, but indeed at a lower rate, during the monopoly, at most places at least, than, at a medium, had been done for many years before, while there was a fixed price upon them, which, no doubt, would have been of advantage to the people, had it been continued, particularly with regard to salt." This confession will have the greater weight from Mr. Keir, as the establishment of the society in question "put an entire stop to his trading in that article\*."

When the first plan was framed, lord Clive was engaged in negotiations at a great distance from Calcutta. He did not, however, hesitate to give his assent to the establishment of a society which promised so well to answer the expectations of the company. The experience of a few months suggested several amendments, and lord Clive, in a minute, dated 3d September, 1766, says, "I find that the industrious native is still deprived of that share to which he has an undoubted and a more natural right; nor is it yet upon that equitable footing which justice and humanity would, I am sure, incline this committee to establish." He therefore proposes, that the salt shall be sold at Calcutta, and the places where made, to the black merchants, who shall have the sole right of vending it throughout the country †. To prevent the rich from engrossing, the

\* Vide Thoughts on the Affairs of Bengal, by Arch. Keir, Esq. p. 57.

† Vide Appendix, p. 251.

Calcutta black merchants were not to purchase more than a certain proportion. As the price of salt was fixed at two hundred \* rupees per hundred

\* As salt was the only considerable article of this commerce we have spoken of the society, as established for that article alone. In truth, tobacco was never bought, and a very small quantity of beetle-nut.

It will be granted, I presume, that the establishment of this society was advantageous to the company. Let us now consider how the natives were affected.

The price of salt in Bengal, has ever been fluctuating and precarious, not only at Calcutta, where the salt is first imported, or rather landed, but at Patna, which is our extreme boundary of this trade.

At Calcutta, from the year 1760 to 1765, salt has sold from 100 Arcot rupees, to 170 Arcot rupees, per 100 maunds.

At Patna, the lowest price has been 350 rupees, and it has been often known to rise to 500 rupees, 600 rupees, and even 700 rupees, before the establishment of the society in question.

For the purpose of fixing the prices of sale at the twelve different markets, established by the committee of trade throughout the country, prices current, or rates of sale for many years past, were obtained from each; from some places for 13 years, from others for upwards of 20 years. The medium of which prices being taken, the committee established their prices of sale from 12 to 15 per cent. lower than such medium.

It has been above observed, that the prices of sale at Calcutta have been at 100 to 170 Arcot rupees per 100 maunds. At these rates it has been purchased in Calcutta, and thence transported to Patna, and the other interior parts of the country, subject, however, first to the government's duty, and then to many illegal stoppages, vexations, and taxes, which were at all times very considerable. Under these circumstances, salt has always been sold at Patna from 350 rupees to 700 rupees per 100 maunds.

By the society's plan in 1765, a duty of 35 per cent; and by the plan 1766, a duty of 50 per cent. was paid to the company as duans, and the salt was then permitted to pass through the whole country free from all farther duty, and free from vexations or stoppages of any kind.

It was evidently for the benefit of all interior parts of the country, to receive their salt at a certain fixed rate, rather than be subject to a precarious rise or fall, especially when this fixed rate was established from 12 to 15 per cent. lower than the medium price for many years past.

It is true that the inhabitants in and about Calcutta suffered an increase of price upon their own immediate consumption. The reason was, that formerly the duties were levied on the passage of salt to the different parts of the country, and now the duty was levied upon its importation into Calcutta. Mr. Bolts seems to have formed all his estimates upon the price which salt bore at Calcutta, without making any allowance for the advantages which the interior parts of the country experienced. Mr. Sumner, who was at the head of the committee of trade, will testify, that exclusive of the district of Calcutta, salt was sold by the society at more moderate rates than it had been in former years, communibus annis.

This increase of price to the consumers of salt in the precincts of Calcutta, small as it was, fell on them only. By the second year's plan, when the society delivered salt to all the black merchants who chose to become purchasers in Calcutta, at the rate of 200 rupees per 100 maunds, in which price was included the company's duty of 50 per cent. and the purchasers had liberty to transport it through the country free from every other charge whatever. It is evident that the people then received it on terms infinitely more advantageous than ever they did in former times,

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dred maunds, and all taxes, delays, and difficulties, were removed, by collecting the duty from the society, the committee were enabled to ascertain the price at the several markets, which would effectually secure the consumer from every imposition.

Those who borrow their notions of commerce from countries where it is highly cultivated, under the protection of a perfect police, may condemn this last attempt: but to the minds of such readers, I wish to recall those

when salt was not only subject to the government's duties, but to very considerable additional charges, which arose from stoppages, vexations, and illegal practices.

According to Mr. Sumner's estimate, the lowest price of salt at (a) Patna, before the establishment of the society, was 350 Arcot rupees per 100 maunds, or 1 d.  $\frac{1}{4}$  per lb. English, and it has been known to rise to 500 rupees, or 1 d.  $\frac{3}{4}$  600 rup. or 2 d.  $\frac{1}{4}$  and even to 700 rup. or 2 d.  $\frac{3}{4}$  per lb. English. And after the establishment of the society, the highest price was 400 Arcot rupees per 100 maunds, which is 1 d.  $\frac{3}{4}$  per lb. English.

But I have authority from original papers in the possession of Mr. Rumbold, to declare that all the society's salt at Patna was sold at the rate of 1 d.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , 1 d.  $\frac{3}{8}$ , and 1 d.  $\frac{5}{8}$  per lb. which is rather lower than Mr. Sumner's estimate.

I learn also from Mr. Rumbold's papers, that the common price of salt at Patna, before the establishment of the society, was at the rate of 1 d.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , 1 d.  $\frac{3}{8}$ , and 1 d.  $\frac{5}{8}$  per lb. and that after the abolition of the society (in 1769 and 1770) the common price was 1 d.  $\frac{1}{4}$ , 1 d.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , and 1 d.  $\frac{5}{4}$  per lb. These circumstances are substantial proofs that the price of salt at Patna was nearly, if not precisely, communibus annis, the same, before the society took place, during the continuance of the society, and after the abolition of it, and therefore the establishment of the society, even according to Mr. Rumbold's papers, cannot be said to have been a grievance.

But there is a material difference between the price of salt at Patna, before the establishment of the society as stated by Mr. Rumbold and as stated by Mr. Sumner. The reason is obviously this: Mr. Rumbold's prices are only estimated for two years before the establishment of the society, when they could not be very high, because at that time the English gentlemen in general traded in salt without paying any duties, but Mr. Sumner's prices are taken upon an average of thirteen and twenty years back, long before the English had any concern in that trade, when the duties of the country government were regularly paid.

At Gualparah the price of salt, after the establishment of the society, was 400 Arcot rupees per 100 (b) Assam maunds, which is full 1 d.  $\frac{1}{8}$  per lb. In the Rungpore and Chilmory districts, the price was 250 Arcot rupees per 100 (c) Chilmory maunds, which is 0 d.  $\frac{3}{4}$  per lb. These were also the average prices for many years before the establishment of the society; but then they were the prices at which salt used to be engrossed by the rich, who sold it again at a considerable profit by retail to the poor. Now after the establishment of the society, the poor bought their salt at the same price at which the rich engrossers used to buy it, and consequently were gainers of the difference between the wholesale and retail prices. These particulars I have from Mr. Baillie, who was agent for the society in the districts of Gualparah, Rungpore, and Chilmory.

(a) Patna may be called the extreme boundary of the company's limits.

(b) An Assam maund is 93 lb.

(c) A Chilmory maund is 88 lb.

scenes of violence which had long distracted Bengal; and at the same time beg leave to suggest, that encouragement of industry\* in the production, by an enhanced price from a scarcity, was altogether unnecessary in an article which might easily be increased to any quantity, which the society were always ready to sell for a certain sum; and when consequently salt would be purchased by the merchants as long as the commodity would pay the expence of conveyance to the several markets,

The violence with which the inland trade of individuals had been supported during Meer Cossim's government, the bloodshed and confusion which followed, together with the perseverance of governor Spencer and his council, to support their construction of the phirmaund, or what was equivalent thereto, an exemption from all other duties except two and a half per cent. upon salt, had irritated the directors, and raised so strong a prejudice against the trade, that the court resolved to abolish even the plan established by the select committee. This they did in their letter dated the 17th May 1766, not sufficiently considering, that orders of distant masters were but a feeble barrier against the united interest of every man in the settlement. They afterwards distributed among the servants a commission of two and a half per cent. on the revenues, amounting to 63,000 l. per annum; but when the general restraint of inland trade was no longer supported by the private interest and authority of the council, Europeans largely engaged under the names of their black agents, and the profits of this commerce were added to the public allowance.

The committee, better informed, foresaw the mischiefs which might probably ensue throughout the country, and the general relaxation of government, which must necessarily follow, should the council secretly engage in a trade prohibited by their employers. The letter from the directors, above-mentioned, reached Calcutta in December 1766, at a time lord Clive was confined by a very severe illness, which had nearly deprived him of life. As soon as his lordship could attend to business, the com-

\* It is by counteracting this principle that monopolies are generally injurious to a country; but here the objection was obviated.

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mittee assembled, and on the 16th of January 1767, RESOLVED, "That  
 "the Society of Trade shall be abolished, and the inland trade totally re-  
 "linquished on the first day of September next; but that we fully express  
 "our sentiments in our next advices to the company, respecting the ad-  
 "vantages which would result to the service and to the country from the  
 "continuance of this trade under the present restriction." In consequence  
 of this resolution the society was actually abolished on the 1st day of Sep-  
 tember 1767, nor did they engage in any new concern. But as the com-  
 mittee were personally liable for large duties to the company, certain ruin  
 must have ensued had no time been allowed for the disposal of their stock  
 in hand. One year was therefore given for that purpose.

On the 24th of January, 1767, the committee wrote as follows to the  
 court of directors.

"We now come to speak of your instructions relative to the inland  
 "trade, which you very justly consider as the foundation of all the blood-  
 "shed, massacres, and confusion which have happened of late years in  
 "Bengal. Your orders are positive, and therefore our obedience shall be  
 "implicit. Accordingly you will observe in our proceedings, that the so-  
 "ciety for conducting this branch of traffic stands absolutely abolished on  
 "the first day of September next. The contracts for the present year be-  
 "ing formed, and large advances made, it was impossible, without ruin  
 "to individuals, and confusion to the public, to fix an earlier date for the  
 "execution of your orders.

"But although our duty obliges us to pay the strictest obedience to  
 "your peremptory orders for abolishing a trade, to which you express so  
 "strong an aversion, the same duty requires we should freely offer our  
 "sentiments upon a subject, in which we think your immediate interest,  
 "the good of the service, and the public welfare are deeply concerned.  
 "The honourable court of directors, and, indeed, the whole body of pro-  
 "prietors, found it necessary to restrain by covenants their civil and mili-  
 "tary servants from receiving those advantages to which they had for  
 "many



“ many years been accustomed. It is likewise proposed, that you may  
 “ enjoy the real fruits of your late acquisitions, to make such an increase  
 “ of investment, particularly in silk, as will effectually deprive your ser-  
 “ vants of the usual benefits arising from private trade. Farther, that the  
 “ revenues may not be injured in any degree, they are prohibited from  
 “ lending money at a higher rate of interest than twelve per cent. per an-  
 “ num; and a trade by sea in the manufactures of the country, being the  
 “ only remaining channel for the exertion of industry, that likewise is  
 “ choaked up by those shoals of free merchants annually imported, who  
 “ being incumbered with no public business, nor confined to residence in  
 “ Bengal, can carry on a free trade with every port in India to much  
 “ greater advantage than your servants.

“ Taking all these circumstances into consideration, reflecting also upon  
 “ the great increase of luxury of late years, in consequence of the sudden  
 “ influx of wealth, and that it will not be practicable for a time to reduce  
 “ the charges of living to the present means of supporting those charges,  
 “ we adopted, in consequence of your permission, the plan of a regulated  
 “ and restricted inland trade, as the best method of rewarding faithful  
 “ services, the surest means to excite zeal, and the fairest mode of car-  
 “ rying on a beneficial trade, without relinquishing all the advantages we  
 “ have hitherto received, or subjecting the natives to those encroachments  
 “ on their natural rights, of which they have with too much reason com-  
 “ plained.

“ Our letter by the Camden, and proceedings by the Cruttenden, will  
 “ explain to you the regulations in the original plan of the society, which  
 “ took place in the month of September last. Under these regulations  
 “ the trade can scarce be considered in the odious light of a monopoly,  
 “ since we are rather the agents for manufacturing the salt, than the pro-  
 “ prietors of the trade. It is sold in Calcutta to the natives only, and, to  
 “ the utter exclusion of all Europeans, at an easier rate than it could be pro-  
 “ cured when under the management of the government, before we were  
 “ admitted to any participation. The natives transport it to all the differ-

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“ent parts of the country, under such limitations, that it must reach the  
 “hands of the consumer at a stated and moderate price. Hereby the peo-  
 “ple sensibly feel the justice and lenity of our government; and your ser-  
 “vants, who have attained the highest stations, after a course of many  
 “years spent in this unfavourable climate, reap the reward of their services,  
 “and enjoy the means of securing that independence to which they have  
 “so equitable a claim.

“We are now directed totally to renounce all share and benefit arising  
 “from this trade. It must be made over to the natives. The govern-  
 “ment must of course come into possession; nor can it be carried on  
 “otherwise than upon the ancient footing of farming it out to ministers,  
 “officers, favourites, and dependents on the government, who will rear  
 “immense fortunes upon the oppression and ruin of the public, in despite  
 “of our utmost influence and endeavours. These are at present our sus-  
 “picions, time alone can verify our conjectures. You no doubt will  
 “maturely consider how far it is probable men will continue honest against  
 “all the seductions of private interest; and whether it may not be ne-  
 “cessary to strengthen the ties of that duty expected from your servants,  
 “by the lighter bonds of gratitude for the affluence which they enjoy  
 “during the time of their servitude, and the independency they ought  
 “to secure before the close of their labours.”

Long before the last orders of the directors arrived, the committee, sensible that abuses might grow up, notwithstanding the late regulations, unless the governors were wholly unconnected with every interest in the country, recommended to the council, in consequence of the following minute, entered in consultations 19th of September 1766, that the president should relinquish his shares in the salt-society, and receive an equivalent\* from the revenues.

\* The directors afterwards adopted this expedient respecting all their servants; but by abolishing the restrictions under which this trade was carried on, and opposing ineffectual prohibitions to the private interest of all their servants, they have let in upon the country all the former evils, and lost their revenues from this commerce.

Select Committee Proceedings, 19th of September 1766.

“ The right honourable the president has urged the necessity of restrict-  
 “ ing the future governors of this presidency, in points of trade and  
 “ private interest, with arguments of so much force and conviction, in  
 “ the following minute, that we unanimously agree in recommending his  
 “ lordship’s proposal to the board, that it may be carried into execution  
 “ with all convenient dispatch.

“ *Lord Clive’s Minute.*

“ Our attention as a select committee invested with extraordinary powers  
 “ by the court of directors, has been constantly engaged in reforming the  
 “ abuses which had crept into the several departments of this government.  
 “ The important work has been steadily prosecuted with zeal, diligence,  
 “ and disinterestedness on our parts, and the success of our labours gives  
 “ us reason to hope that our employers will be of opinion that we have  
 “ established many useful and necessary regulations. Many others how-  
 “ ever are still wanting to complete our plan; but I doubt not that the  
 “ same principles which have hitherto guided our conduct, will continue  
 “ to direct and justify the measures we have yet to pursue.

“ To place the president in such a situation as will render his govern-  
 “ ment honourable to himself, and advantageous to the company, appears  
 “ to be an object of as much consequence as any that has been taken into  
 “ our consideration. Where such immense revenues are concerned, where  
 “ power and authority are so enlarged, and where the eye of justice and  
 “ equity should be ever watchful, a governor ought not to be embarrassed  
 “ with private business. He ought to be free from every occupation in  
 “ which his judgment can possibly be biased by his interest. The exten-  
 “ sive commercial affairs, the study of the finances, the politics of the  
 “ country, the epistolary correspondence, the proceedings of council and  
 “ committee, these are sufficient to employ every moment of his time;  
 “ and I am confident they cannot be conducted with the requisite atten-  
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“ tion to the company’s interest, if the mind of the governor be diverted  
 “ by complicated mercantile affairs of his own.

“ If we look back upon those unhappy dissensions, which have fre-  
 “ quently brought the company’s possessions in Bengal almost to the point  
 “ of destruction, we shall find that they have generally proceeded from  
 “ the conduct of governors, who, too eager in the pursuit of private in-  
 “ terest, have involved themselves in affairs which could not be recon-  
 “ ciled to the strict principles of integrity. To prevent scrutinies and  
 “ discoveries, which might in any degree affect their honour, they have  
 “ frequently been reduced to the necessity of conniving at abuses which  
 “ would otherwise have been brought to light and remedied. The wel-  
 “ fare of this great company should be the sole study of a governor;  
 “ attached to that point alone, his measures could never be thwarted by  
 “ the malice of opposition, because they would all be proposed for the  
 “ public good, and actions will always be justified or condemned from the  
 “ principles on which they are founded.

“ Such a state of independency and honour must be highly eligible to  
 “ a governor; and, in my opinion, it can only be acquired by cutting  
 “ off all possibility of his benefitting himself either by trade, or that  
 “ influence which his power necessarily gives him in these opulent pro-  
 “ vinces.

“ I therefore propose that the governor shall, in the most public man-  
 “ ner, in the presence of all the company’s servants, the mayor and al-  
 “ dermen, and free merchants, assembled at the Mayor’s Court, take the  
 “ oath and execute the penalty-bond annexed.

“ The consideration I have proposed is  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. upon the revenues,  
 “ excepting those arising from the company’s own lands at Calcutta,  
 “ Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong.

“ Although by these means a governor will not be able to amass a for-  
 “ tune of a million, or half a million, in the space of two or three years,

“yet he will acquire a very handsome independency, and be in that very  
 “situation, which a man of nice honour and true zeal for the service  
 “would wish to possess. Thus situated, he may defy all opposition in  
 “council; he will have nothing to ask, nothing to propose, but what he  
 “means for the advantage of his employers. He may defy the law, be-  
 “cause there can be no foundation for a bill of discovery; and he may  
 “defy the obloquy of the world, because there can be nothing censurable  
 “in his conduct. It short, if stability can be insured to such a government  
 “as this, where riches have been acquired in abundance, in a small space  
 “of time, by all ways and means, and by men with or without ca-  
 “pacities, it must be effected by a governor thus restricted; and I shall  
 “think it an honour if my proposal be approved, to set the first ex-  
 “ample.”

The oath was, That the governor should not, directly or indirectly, carry on any trade, but that he should not be precluded from disposing of such goods or merchandise as might be on his hands unfolded at the time of his commencing governor.

A proviso was inserted, That he should not be prevented from purchasing diamonds or other precious stones, provided he did not dispose of the same by way of barter or sale in the East Indies, or from remitting his fortune to England by bills, or in any other shape.

That he would not lend money at a higher rate of interest than ten per. cent.

## OBSERVATIONS.

The reader must observe that this oath was drawn up not to be taken by lord Clive only, but by future governors, who, as merchants, must be supposed to have some merchandise undisposed of at the time of their coming to the chair. Lord Clive himself was not engaged in commerce.

It may be proper to remark that there were only two (eligible or perhaps strictly legal) modes of remitting private fortunes to England, the one by bills on the company, the other by diamonds. Every man preferred the former when he could obtain it, as the least hazardous.

The company's servants, even by permission of the court of directors, had a right to lend money at twelve per cent. and the common practice had been to lend at two

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and three per cent. per mensem. It would have been very ridiculous if a governor, upon not being able to procure the remittance of all his fortune, should not have had the power of lending at a moderate rate of interest, which ten per cent. most certainly is in that country. It is not more than equivalent to five per cent. in England.

That he would not receive any present from any of the country powers exceeding the amount specified in his covenants with the company.

It was possible that former covenants might be evaded. This oath, and the penalty-bond which followed it, made all evasion impracticable.

That he would not receive any fee or gratuity for the disposal of any office or employment whatsoever, the true intent and meaning of the oath being, that in consideration of  $\frac{1}{8}$  per cent. upon the *Dewanee collections*, his salary and stated allowances, commission upon the mint, coral, and freight goods, and money lent at ten per cent. interest, no other emolument or advantage whatsoever, either by trade or otherwise, should accrue to him as governor of Bengal.

The commission upon the mint, coral, and freight ships is fixed, and belong to the governor by long usage, and by the appointment of the company. It amounts to a very trifling sum.

This proposal being approved by the council, a deed between lord Clive and the company, correspondent with the oath, was executed and registered in the Mayor's Court, by which the governor bound himself to the faithful performance of every clause in the penal sum of 150,000l. to be forfeited in case he should act contrary to that indenture, one third to the informer, and two thirds to the company; recoverable upon proof given

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in the court of chancery, exchequer, the mayor's court at Calcutta, before the court of directors, or the council at Bengal.

Whether the trade of this society so restrained under the eye of a president, who, without the bias of interest, might derive honour to himself by correcting the faults of others, was less injurious to the natives than the trade carried on at present, the reader may determine. I will venture to assert, without fear of contradiction, that when the increased charge of 40,000 l. upon the revenues, is added to the loss of duties, it will be found, that the company have suffered more than 150,000 l. per annum by overturning this plan.

To answer the arguments of every caviller, would be unworthy those who wish to give information. Facts are stated, the motives explained, and authentic papers referred to for proof of my assertions. This may be deemed sufficient by some, for so far only the public interest extends; but I hope the candid reader will not think it an improper intrusion on his patience, if I proceed to refute an injurious aspersion thrown upon the character of the noble lord, who was a principal actor in the transaction here explained.

Lord Clive declared, in his letter to the court of directors, that his intention was to relinquish his share of trade to the inferior servants. This declaration was made upon a supposition that the *inland trade* would be prohibited, and designed "as a means to alleviate the dissatisfaction which such restrictions may occasion." The company resolved to continue the inland trade. No reason therefore existed which could induce a man of honour to refuse that share in the society, which was established for all successive governors, when a plan, framed in pursuance of orders from directors and proprietors, was carried into execution.

But it is said, lord Clive declared, in a general court, that he would return to England not enriched a shilling by his expedition. This engagement he literally fulfilled. His shares in the society of the first year, for he had none in the second, together with his commission on the reve-

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nues, appear upon the public records. These he distributed among the gentlemen who accompanied him to India; and his intention so to do was known in England as early as the 24th of March, 1767; for on that day a ballot being taken on a question concerning the jaghire, the following declaration from a friend of his lordship was not only repeatedly published in every news-paper, but industriously circulated among the proprietors of India stock.

“ That his lordship has been adding to his fortune is most untrue. His friends defy the bitterest of his enemies to support the charge. A solemn asseveration in that respect, from lord Clive himself, was read in court by the friend to whom lord Clive addressed his letter; and it is now submitted to print, in order to discredit assertions which are false, or else to remain in public testimony against his lordship.”

*Extract of a letter from lord Clive, dated Calcutta, 30th Sept. 1765.*

“ That you may assert with confidence the justice of my cause, I do declare by the God who made me, it is my absolute determination to refuse every present of consequence; and that I will not return to England with one rupee more than arises from my jaghire. My profits from salt shall be divided among those friends who have endangered their lives and constitutions in attending me. The congratulatory nazirs\*, &c. shall be set opposite my extraordinary expences; and if ought remains, it shall go to Poplar, or some other hospital.”

The account last mentioned was delivered to the council of Calcutta upon his departure for England; and the writer of these sheets can testify that nothing did remain. On the contrary, his lordship expended more than five thousand pounds from his private fortune.

\* To refuse complimentary presents, or, as they called in the letter, congratulatory nazirs, would, in India, be deemed an affront. Presents, to a certain value, are therefore excepted in the covenants.

The reader should understand whence this last engagement, not to enrich himself, had arisen. The motion, in 1764, to request lord Clive would again embark for India, was received with universal applause, and immediately passed into a vote. Some gentlemen in the direction, although they could not object to the expedition, raised obstacles to its execution in every stage of the business. They condemned the powers to be given to the select committee, although they themselves had three months before, in a less alarming situation of affairs, invested Mr. Vansittart singly with absolute authority\*, had given the same powers to Mr. Vansittart's unknown successor, jointly with a select committee; nay, assigned as a reason for not giving these powers to him alone, that they knew not who that successor might be. It was at length insinuated, that the expedition was convenient to his lordship, who had the *same object* with every other man in the company's service. Lord Clive thought proper to contradict these calumnies; at the same time declaring that he would not enrich himself by his voyage to India. It surely will appear a very forced construction of such an engagement, to contend that he ought not to apply the acknowledged profits of his government to the reward of those whose services were necessary to him in the discharge of his public duty.

These gentlemen went to India with the knowledge of the directors, but without any emoluments from the company. Unrestrained by covenants, they might have been easily enriched by trade or presents. Numberless opportunities occurred; but it was thought more honourable to confer upon them the known acknowledged rewards which the governor might justly have appropriated to himself.

It has been asserted, that the jaghire was restored to lord Clive upon his entering into the engagements before mentioned. Nothing is less true. It is notorious, that he declared himself ready to embark for India, and leave his right to the decision of the law. When the proprietors requested him to accept the government and command of their forces, the jaghire was depending in chancery. By the proceedings in the cause, it appears

\* See the general letter to Bengal, in February, 1764.

that



## C H A P. V.

The Impossibility of introducing English Laws into Bengal,  
with some Observations on the Nature of those Regulations  
which the Manners and Habits of the Natives may admit.

**I**N the foregoing chapters of this work, the principal objects of government are examined so far as the power and influence of the English have produced a change. The reader, who is conversant with the histories of more settled states, will not be greatly surpris'd if some errors should appear, and will judge with temper the conduct of men, who, compelled by necessity, have acted in a new scene, unaided by experience. If in Great Britain, where the form of our government has grown up to maturity in the course of several ages; where the power of each magistrate has undergone frequent discussions from the united wisdom of successive generations; where all authority is committed to the hands of men formed by education for their several stations, and where the effects of its exertion may be traced in our history; if, in a country like this, we are perpetually alarmed with supposed invasions of our rights, and frightful pictures of increasing despotism are daily held forth to terrify the people, what a portrait might the dullest imagination exhibit of Bengal? By minds open to such impressions, little regard will be had to the different manners and habits of a people; to the enterprising Mahomedan or Armenian opposed to the gentle native of India; to the condition of conquerors living amidst a timid and submissive race, like soldiers unrestrained by discipline; of men clamorously demanding the protection of laws ill understood and worse applied, where interest and passion unite to confound all order, and where lordly traders, impatient of controul, hope to gratify their own sordid avarice in the general wreck. Such considerations will have little weight with many readers, who will estimate our conduct in the government of Bengal by the rigid letter of those laws, which the more perfect polity of

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Great Britain can alone admit. Without examining my own conduct by rules which I do not understand, and which were not formed for the scene in which I acted, it will fully satisfy my ambition, if to the candid and dispassionate I shall appear to have pursued the interests of my employers, to have respected the rights of others, and to have deserved the character of an honest man.

When lord Clive arrived in Bengal, in the year 1765, the English had gradually advanced to that point, which rendered a continuance of their former system impossible. The principles upon which the subsequent change was conducted, the reader will examine by the motives which our situation at that time suggested; and, if he wishes to form a just judgment, will attend to the whole affairs of the company, both at home and abroad. I have here given a plain and artless narration of our transactions, and might now dismiss the subject, but that, after the experience of more than twenty years, I feel myself instigated to resist those wild opinions, which probably have arisen from ignorance of the country. To demonstrate the impossibility of introducing English laws, or, indeed, any new system, will not be difficult. To point out those alterations in government, by which it may be possible to connect the welfare of Bengal with the interest of Great Britain, is a more arduous task. I shall attempt the latter part with extreme diffidence and distrust, since our own experience is yet very imperfect, and that of other nations can afford little assistance.

Men well versed in history too often imbibe not the spirit of nations. They trace not the various means by which the minds of a people gradually unfold to civilization, by which men are moulded for the reception of laws. They regard not the slow growth of those opinions, which can alone give effect to limitations of power in the magistrate, but would transplant in an instant a system of laws established in this country by the progressive experience of ages, and impose it on a distant people whose religion, whose customs, whose habits of thinking, and manner of life equally prohibit the attempt.



These are not errors of the vulgar. The philosopher here only mistakes. Ask the peasant his right to a field; his father enjoyed it before him. Let a clown be slightly beaten for a trespass, whom an action at law would have ruined: he understands not the trial by jury, or the relation it bears to our government; yet he complains of arbitrary violence, and his cause is espoused by his neighbours, as little informed as himself.

This spirit, this opinion of right, which gives force and effect to our laws, is matured by age, and transmitted from father to son, like the subjects to which it relates. If the northern nations who broke in upon the Roman empire could not relish those beauties of art which are the immediate objects of sense, how can a people receive even beneficial provisions, which have no existence but in the mind, are known but by their effect, and which experience alone can approve? Intricate laws among a rude people may, like refinements in religion, be useful to men entrusted with the sacred deposit. The more anxious the care of the legislator, the more complex the limitations of power, the more occasions of abuse will occur. Lawyers, like the priests of old, will judge of the duties of men by the interests of their own order, and the oppressed subject will feel the institution a burthen without reaping the smallest advantage. Even supposing men of enlightened minds and tried integrity to preside, their influence will scarcely be felt. The dread of the English name has proved a plentiful source of oppression in the hands of private men. Shall we add a complicated system of laws to impose on a timid and indolent race? Who will understand his rights? Who will apply to our courts for redress? Thus to lessen the powers of government, must we fly to anarchy, and render every English gossamer the interpreter of his own claims? There are some notions of justice not confined to time and place, derived from the necessary intercourse of men, and common to every clime. These are the foundations of all government, and from such simple beginnings must our fabric be reared. To render all rights plain and simple, to remove rather the occasion than means of oppression, and to enforce a prompt administration of justice, according to the primary laws of all nations, can alone be safely attempted.

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This subject deserves a fuller discussion. Let us therefore descend somewhat into detail. Personal contracts form a considerable title in every code; and here different nations approach nearest to each other. Our law of contracts is greatly borrowed from the civil law, which has been adopted with some little variation by all the other nations of Europe. The commentaries upon the Koran, as far as they regard matters of contract, are, I am told, chiefly derived from the same law, established in the Greek empire, and are received, subject to the arbitrary will of the prince and his officers, wherever the Mahomedan religion prevails.

The truth is, that there can be little diversity, where all men have the same intention, and express it nearly in the same manner. No sooner do mutual necessities beget an exchange of commodities, than the nature of a sale is perfectly understood. If I relinquish my horse, and accept the price, in no quarter of the world can this simple transaction be mistaken. So he that receives goods from a merchant without mention of price, tacitly engages to pay their real value in the market. So likewise he that employs a person to transact business, or perform any work, undertakes to pay him as much as his labour deserves. Yet even here some diversities will occur in the laws of different states. Not to mention the various causes or considerations of contracting, every agreement has a relation not to the parties only, but to all around them, to the government, to the state of commerce, to the police of the country.

Public rights are every where more exposed than private. The extent of the former renders them less subject to inspection, and the officers employed have little interest in their defence. In the most free countries the magistrate is therefore armed with extraordinary powers, and is permitted to vindicate his claim, when a lapse of time seems to have established the right in another. Where shall this privilege end? What superior remedies shall the magistrate possess? Into what hands shall he follow the property of his debtors? or what transactions shall he be permitted to unravel?

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Again, various degrees of credit prevail in the dealings of different nations, but in none are all engagements *immediately* executed. Upon what mutual undertaking must the contract be founded, by what evidence supported, before the individual can call upon the magistrate for assistance? When shall it be considered as his duty to interfere? What process against the person shall the creditor demand? What punishment be inflicted to enforce the payment of debts? What unequal contracts shall the creditor be admitted to rescind?

These are questions which no general reasoning can enable us to answer, but which the prudent legislator must determine, with a view to the present situation and commerce of his subjects.

The hungry and necessitous will ever commit depredations on property. This is an evil which the public are concerned to repress, and encouragement must be given to the owner in pursuit, whether the injury be an open and violent, or a secret theft. To what cases shall this right extend? By what transfer of possession shall the property be changed? Shall the rule vary, as the thing taken can be more easily conveyed or concealed? How shall we decide between the interest of a fair purchaser on one hand, and the claim of a meritorious prosecutor of crimes, himself equally innocent, equally injured on the other? These, and innumerable like points, must finally depend on the state and condition of a nation; and he, who is in the smallest degree conversant with the history of laws in any country, must have observed, that they perpetually vary with the varying condition of a people. As well might we transplant the full-grown oak to the banks of the Ganges, as dream that any part of a code, matured by the patient labours of successive judges and legislators in this island, can possibly coalesce with the customs of Bengal.

To pursue our chain of reasoning, it will be necessary to investigate the domestic relations of private life. Here the intelligent reader will discover that different nations diverge, as it were, still farther from the common centre, until climate, religion, and laws conspiring, have formed

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creatures so dissimilar to each other, as might tempt one to rank them under different species. As well might we expect that the Hindoo could change his colour, as that several millions of people should renounce in an instant those customs, in which they have lived, which habit has confirmed, and religion has taught them to revere. If this were accomplished, more than half our work would yet remain. They must not only renounce old, but assume new manners. The man must be again created; and this prodigy be effected by unknown laws, repugnant to every thing he had heard, seen, or felt.

It is common to uninformed man, in every quarter of the globe, to judge rather from the perceptions of sense, than the cooler refinements of reason. This habit of thinking pervades his whole conduct. The distant relation to the magistrates is forgotten, while the benefits derived from the father or master make a lively impression on the mind. Remove the impulse of fear, and the former relation depends wholly on an opinion of remote advantage, the growth of which no experience of protection in despotic states can greatly favour. A defect of government naturally tends to draw closer the ties of private life, and the individual unprotected from without, shrinks into the smaller society, where all the affections of his heart concentrate. A country without police provides no asylum for distress. The poor look up to the hand that feeds them, and experience of a master's indulgence produces a more ready submission to his power, than to that of a judge, whose conduct is equally unrestrained by rule. This is not confined merely to domestic servants, but extends equally to manufacturers employed by the merchant. Without this authority the master would fear to advance his money, and the workman be unable to procure either the means of subsistence, or the materials of his work.

When Cossim Ally Cawn claimed the full dominion of his country, and bitterly inveighed against the English for encroaching upon the officers of his government, it was universally understood that he claimed no power over the weavers, &c. in the English pay. Throughout Mr. Van-

fittart's

fittart's Narrative this is every where supposed, and the Nabob, in answer to the last treaty proposed, declares, "Whenever the chiefs and gomastahs of your factories interrupt not my people, and the dependents on the government, my officers also will not interfere with the weavers, py-cars, and others *usually dependent* on your factories."

That Mr. Vanfittart understood this power not to be relinquished in his treaty, though the right appeared too plain to be expressly inserted, is evident from his minute in Consultations, the first of February, 1763. This authority was afterwards abused, when the company became grand monopolizers of the trade. But the interest of common masters abundantly secured the servant from oppression, lest he should seek for protection elsewhere.

Such being the prevailing habits among the natives of Bengal, it is difficult to conceive a more ridiculous scene, than a grave judge, arrayed in his robes of dignity, discoursing before the simple Indian of implied hirings for a year; of statutes compelling labourers to work, and masters to employ; of apprenticeships; of indentures; of the necessary qualifications for the exercise of trades, and the incapacities consequent on neglect; where relief may be given by one magistrate, and where redress must be sought from another. He might pronounce a very graceful panegyric upon the noble policy of our English law, upon the generous equality subsisting in the inferior relations of life, and the elevated sentiments it is fitted to inspire. All this may be just, would the native observe, but I know not the judge, and how can I believe him my friend? If my master forsakes me, to whom shall I look for support? or how can I expect protection from those who derive no advantage from my labour\*?

A plurality of wives is admitted throughout the East. It is a law derived from the climate. "Women in hot climates," says the president

\* In Bengal the people are so far from supposing justice due from the magistrate, that one quarter of the property in dispute belongs to the judge, as a reward for his trouble.

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Montesquieu, "are marriageable at eight, nine, or ten years; they are  
 "old at twenty. It is therefore extremely natural, that in these places a  
 "man, when no law opposes, should leave one wife to take another, and  
 "that polygamy should be introduced." Our laws, formed in a temperate  
 climate, where the charms of women are better preserved, where they  
 arrive later at maturity, and their reason accompanies their beauty, have  
 adopted the natural equality between the sexes, and allow but one wife.  
 The children of others are considered as bastards, the relation of parent  
 and child is dissolved, and they are not permitted to inherit.

A dying father distributes his effects. He gives the bulk of his fortune  
 to the son of his favourite, making a proper provision for all. The  
 happy man enters on the possession, and enjoys it for years, with the ap-  
 probation of all around him. Laws are now discovered, by which the  
 marriage of his mother is void\*, and the testament of his father an-  
 nulled†. The poor wretch is dragged before our courts, and committed  
 to a dungeon, until he produces the money, which he has innocently  
 spent. In vain would he implore their mercy, and deprecate a punish-  
 ment he had never deserved. The judge might commiserate, but could  
 not redress, for the rules of private property no power can suspend. Thus  
 should we teach the encircling spectators to admire our justice, and bless  
 the hands that had imposed the yoke. Could we even tear the feelings of  
 nature from their hearts, the gaping creatures would wonder at the vi-  
 olence, without understanding the object to be attained.

Marriage is a state connected with the former relation, and instituted  
 for the better performance of a parent's duty. It varies, however, in dif-  
 ferent countries, not only as to forms and solemnities, the age of con-  
 tracting, and the rights of property conveyed, but likewise as to the  
 power and dominion of a husband. It is a happiness to live in those cli-

\* The common law of England never allowed polygamy.

† 29 Car. II. c. 3. regulates the forms of testamentary dispositions.

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mates, which permit a free communication, where that sex, who have most charms, embellish without corrupting society.

This happiness, however, cannot be the lot of every nation. In climates where marriage is contracted at an early age, before reason assumes her empire, where the passions are quickened by the near approach of the fun, and morality serves only to awaken remorse, the confinement of women univerfally prevails. “ Those, says the president Montesquieu, who “ consider the horrible crimes, the treachery, the black villainies, the “ poisonings, the assassinations, which the liberty of women has produced at “ Goa, and in the Portuguese settlements in the Indies, where religion permits “ only one wife; and who compares them with the innocence and purity of “ manners of the women of Turkey, Persia, Mogulstan, China, and Ja- “ pan, will clearly see, that it is frequently as necessary to separate them “ from the men, when they have but one, as when they have many.”

If this account be just, and it is supported by the relation of travellers, the confinement of women is a law that cannot be changed. Throughout India the practice most certainly prevails, and is closely connected with the manners and religion of the people. The Hindoo, not less than the Mahometan, dreads the exposure of his women as the worst dishonour. Mr. Scrafton informs us, “ that nothing hurt Suffraz Cawn (a former sub- “ bahdar of Bengal) so much, as the disgrace he put on his richest sub- “ ject, Jaggut Seat. Hearing that his son was married to a young lady of “ exquisite beauty, he insisted on a sight of her. All the father’s remon- “ strances were vain. He saw her, and sent her back, possibly uninjured. “ But the very seeing her in a country, where women are concealed, was “ an injury not to be forgiven.” “ Women,” says Mr. Dow, “ are so “ sacred in India, that even the common soldiery leave them unmolested “ in the midst of slaughter and devastation. The Haram is a sanctuary “ against all the licentiousness of victory; and ruffians, covered with the “ blood of a husband, shrink back with confusion from the secret apart- “ ments of his wives.”

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Shall our writs of liberty unlock these sacred recesses? shall no reverence be thought due to the honour of a husband? or shall we disregard the condition of a wife, incapable of governing herself? shall our courts of justice become the authors of outrage, which the bloody ruffian would fear to commit? Thus, in despite of nature, shall we dissolve the ties of domestic life, without substituting any government in their place, and force the servant, the child, and the wife, to renounce their dependence, unable to afford them protection.

Our notions of man are two frequently taken from the polished citizen of Britain; and we rudely imagine him to be the same creature in every state. We forget that society has a progress, as well as the individual. Man may exist, where the citizen is unknown. With growing laws the latter gradually unfolds, until, assured of protection, each individual looks around with confidence for the objects of his separate pursuit, and becomes unmolested the artificer of his own fortunes. But as well might we expect the frivolous gallantry of a Frenchman in the wilds of America, as hope that minds depressed by despotism can embrace the idea of a common interest, or conceive the dominion of laws.

If the civil rights established in Great Britain cannot be adopted by the inhabitants of Bengal, to impose our criminal code, will be found yet more impracticable. This head of laws has less relation to individuals, than to the whole, to the government with its dependencies, to the established religion, to the domestic and foreign interests of the state. The natural rights of men must be protected in every country; but the means of affording even this protection must relate to the habits of the mind; and example would lose its effect, unless experience of benefit kept pace with the punishment of crimes. It is difficult to speak with temper of subjecting nations to laws, which they cannot understand; of inflicting punishment, where there can be no intention to offend; and of enforcing regulations without an object, because the necessities of a distant people, dissimilar in soil, in climate, in situation, in morals, manners, religion, and

habits of life, have extorted these provisions from their rulers. To analyze a subject of such extent will be difficult. To contrast the laws, manners, and customs of two separate nations, will require a knowledge I do not possess, a labour which I care not to employ. Yet a part of the subject may deserve our attention, and afford both profit and pleasure for our toil.

In the first class of crimes are usually ranked such actions as directly strike at the very being of the state. High treason is every where severely punished, but in a country jealous of its liberty, among a people devoted to their laws, where nevertheless a single magistrate possesses an extensive authority, this crime will be strictly defined. The statute of treasons relates wholly to the immediate administration of the king. Our judges have very liberally expounded these provisions, and construed every action subversive of government, to be either "imagining the king's death"—"levying war against him"—"or giving comfort and aid to his enemies."

Let British laws be adopted in Bengal, the president of our settlement will possess neither power nor prerogative, but will sink to a level with the meanest. The name is unknown to our judges; and violence to his person must be adjudged a private injury. It may even be doubted whether correspondence with an enemy of the company, supplying him with military stores, disciplining his army, and assisting his councils, would subject an offender to the penalties of treason. Should such doubts prevail, every check interposed might be deemed an injury: every punishment inflicted be an arbitrary violation of law. Not only the great bonds of society will be broken, but all public rights, relative either to domestic government or external defence, be destroyed, because English laws relate to the executive power of the state entrusted in very different hands.

Thus would the whole fabric of government be dissolved, and every power annihilated, where the dominion of a few strangers over a multitude of natives, will require a jealous, active, and vigorous administration

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tion for its support; and where the subject accustomed to despotism will regard as weakness in his rulers, even the ordinary delays of justice.

Our laws would be equally destructive of the people, as ruinous to the government of Bengal. Not to mention the laws relative to religion and domestic policy, not to enumerate the long \* train of felonies created by parliament, the rigid punishment of a very few species of crimes might deluge the country with blood.

Women in the East are transferred with little † ceremony, and whether they be wives or concubines, the men seldom await their consent. Were our laws of rape and rules of ‡ evidence enforced, one half of the males would incur the penalty of death. I mean not to justify their practice, but beg leave to suggest that the sword of justice, when too deeply stained with blood, may prove but an indifferent corrector of the morals of a nation. It has before been remarked that the necessities of a people extort many laws from their rulers, some of a very sanguinary nature, which even the savage despot would condemn, when applied to a different state of society. The amazing extent of public and private credit in Great Britain, has induced our legislators to punish forgery with death. Under this law a native of Bengal was condemned in the year 1765. But so extravagant did the sentence appear, where experience had never suggested the principle, such the disproportion in their eyes between the punishment and crime, that the principal inhabitants of Calcutta expressed their astonishment and alarm in a petition to the governor and council; and upon a proper representation, Radachurd Metre received a pardon §.

These, among many other instances which might be given, will suffice to prove the violent effects of introducing the English laws. In other particulars their defect will be as conspicuous as in these their excesses.

\* Not less than one hundred and sixty capital felonies are created by acts of parliament.

† When colonel Clive defeated Surajah al Dowlah, Meer Jaffier sent to offer the colonel some hundreds of Surajah's women who were taken in the camp.

‡ Girls under ten years of age are incapable of consenting by our law, and therefore the knowledge of them without violence, is punished with death.

§ Vide Petition, App. p. 177, No. 63.

A Hindoo had been bribed to procure some papers belonging to a gentleman who died in the company's service. The son caught him in the fact; and, in revenge of his treachery, compelled him to swallow a spoonful of broth. Ridiculous as the punishment may seem, it was attended with very serious consequences. No sooner was his pollution known, than he was degraded from his cast, lost all the benefits of society, and was avoided as a leper by his tribe. When a man is thus disgraced, he is thenceforward obliged to herd with the Hallachores, who can "scarcely \* be called a tribe, being the refuse of all tribes. These are a set of poor "unhappy wretches destined to misery from their birth. They perform "all the vilest offices of life, bury the dead, and carry away every thing "that is polluted. They are held in such abomination, that, on the Ma- "labar side of India, if one of these chances to touch a man of a superior "tribe, he draws his sabre, and cuts him down on the spot, without any "check from his own conscience, or from the laws of the country." In this miserable situation was the Hindoo, when lord Clive desired the Bramins to assemble and consider, if there could be no remission of an involuntary deviation from their law. After many consultations, a similar case was said to have been discovered in the sacred books; but although the Bramins affected a compliance, the man was never restored to his cast.

Their Mahomedan governors often take advantage of this principle, when they want to extort money; and so highly do the Hindoos value their religious purity, that after they have borne the severest corporal punishment rather than discover their wealth, a threat of defilement will effect what torture has attempted in vain. Should this species of oppression be now practised in Bengal, what adequate punishment could our law inflict for so atrocious an injury? or how can we teach the natives to acknowledge our justice, when rights dearer to him than life are left wholly unprotected?

Happily for the inhabitants of Bengal, this absurd and extravagant system of transplanting English laws, which have grown from the pecu-

\* Mr. Scrafton's Reflections on the Government of Indostan.

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liar necessities of a people in the course of several centuries, to a country where the occasions of enacting them never had an existence, is not more ridiculous in speculation, than impossible in practice. Independent of the difficulty arising from their abhorrence of oaths, and their ignorance of the language in which our laws are conceived, how impossible would it be to promulgate them to many millions of people; or how could the magistrates obtain a knowledge of transgressors, when the nation were unacquainted with rules to which the idea of offence must relate?

He who will consider how small a portion of what we deem RIGHTS in civil society, are derived from the first impressions of nature, and that all beyond are mere creatures of law, supported by habits of enjoyment on one side, of acquiescence on the other, will readily conceive the violence with which a sudden change must operate on the feelings of mankind. It is well known that the experiment has already been tried with a nation less dissimilar than the Hindoos to our own, but without success. The power of conquerors in Canada could give only a nominal existence to our laws. They were established indeed by the magistrate, yet rejected by the people; and property is now distributed according to their former customs, unsupported by public authority.

We come now to speak of those regulations which the state and condition of the people may permit. Here it first occurs, that Bengal must be governed by a few strangers from this country, who will not renounce their laws, or the liberty which in this island they enjoy. To enforce these rights courts of justice must be established, and Europeans in our settlement be subjected to the civil and criminal laws of Great Britain. But, as this inequality of condition might uphold the tyranny of individuals over the natives, all Europeans (except gentlemen upon actual service) should be confined to the several settlements of the company\*.

Why cannot the liberty thus secured to Europeans be extended throughout the province? If the reader be not yet satisfied, a momentary atten-

\* Some exceptions may be admitted, with permission of the governor and council.



tion will convince him, that it is inconsistent with the nature of that government of which alone the people are capable, and repugnant to that relation which they now bear to Great Britain.

All free governments have their foundation in the natural equality of mankind. The forms of such governments, by distributing political power among the several orders of men, nurture this principle in the minds of a nation; while the principle itself gives life, vigour, and effect to the laws. These forms, these laws, and this principle, without which the laws would be worse than a dead letter, are, nevertheless, the growth of ages. Their gradual progress, and the aid which they mutually afford to each other, cannot be better understood than from the history of our own country, whose government is a model of political perfection. But the execution of our laws supposes a people educated under them; and were it possible to infuse this spirit into the natives of Bengal, we instantly emancipate them from subjection to ourselves.

The forms of administering justice in different countries are regulated by the same cause, and the simplicity of laws will be greater or less under different governments. "If we examine," says the president Montequieu, "the set forms of justice, in respect to the trouble the subject undergoes in recovering his property, or in obtaining satisfaction for an injury or affront, we shall find them, doubtless, too many; but, if we consider them in the relation they have to the liberty and security of the subject, we shall often find them too few." The same ingenious author adds, "that when a person renders himself absolute, he immediately thinks of simplifying the laws." The reason which he there gives is common to the people with their rulers: "They are more affected with particular inconveniencies than the liberty of the subject." For this reason no complex administration of justice can ever exist but in a free government; and the simplicity of their ancient laws must be continued to a people long accustomed to despotism like the natives of India.

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To preserve to a conquered nation their laws, customs, and magistrates, humanity, justice, and sound policy will equally demand. To connect this government, so preserved, with that of Great Britain, may well deserve the attention of parliament. How this can be effected we now proceed to examine.

Delegated power in Asia has ever been moderate in the exercise. The reason is obvious; the interest of the despot has no relation to the passions and follies of his servant, who is readily sacrificed when he affords cause of complaint, or interrupts the \* tranquillity of his master. On the contrary, when governors are entrusted by free states with absolute power over a conquered people, this authority has always been abused. Witness the desolation of the Roman provinces, where the laws against speculation rather increased the oppression. In free states, it is impossible to inflict an adequate punishment upon a man whose criminality can be ascertained by no † settled rules, but must result from the whole of his conduct. The power of the judge in a free country is limited by the strict letter of law; and the formalities of justice increase in proportion to the value which is set on the honour, fortune, liberty, and life of the subject.

The nature of the people, and the relation in which they stand to us, render impossible a free government in Bengal; and our laws are inadequate to the controul of distant governors armed with such extensive authority as must ever be upheld in India. It becomes necessary, therefore, to interpose some check upon the spot, and give the natives an administration of justice not immediately dependent upon the will of their rulers. Assuming also the proposition, that we must continue to the natives their laws and customs, both civil and religious, it follows, that the judges who ad-

\* This is the cause why the mogul government was more tolerable in the provinces, than that of the independent nabobs and subahdars.

† On the other hand, the strict letter of our laws may condemn acts not only innocent but laudable, and even necessary. It will be absurd to judge of *the conduct of a governor* by a reference to rules fitted for a very different situation of men and things.

minister justice must be taken from among \* themselves. As this would lead to independency, it is necessary, that the governor and council, being the supreme power in Bengal, should have authority to issue edicts from time to time; but as it is the nature of legislation, that its provisions should be *general*, and not directed to a *particular* object, these edicts should have no effect until — months after they had been registered in the supreme court of English judicature.

Laws have no power, unless the observance be enforced by the sanction of punishment; and as a conquered people are to be held in subjection, this power must reside in the conquerors. Were this authority entrusted to the legislators, two powers, which ought ever to be distinguished, being united in the same persons would be liable to abuse.

The supreme judges of our English court, who will have no other concern with the ordinary administration of justice throughout the country, should therefore punish the native judges for nonobservance of the edicts, refusal to hear and determine, or for gross partiality and corruption.

Such a government would be too limited in its operations to repress crimes which immediately affect its safety. Infinite would be the means of conspiring against the state condemned by no previous law. While, therefore, the ordinary administration of justice continues in other hands, a political power of punishment must exist in the governor and council, like to that assumed by the prince in the absolute monarchies of Europe. This power might extend to sending Europeans home, and to punish in another manner the native of India †.

\* Whether the distribution of justice might not be rendered more pure and uniform, by giving an appellate jurisdiction to a court in which English judges might preside assisted, by natives, may deserve the attention of the legislature; but to invest Europeans with the original judicature throughout the country would be productive of infinite oppression.

† In all countries, a power of this nature is exerted upon extraordinary occasions. With us, it resides in parliament; and their acts for this purpose are called acts of attainder.

Our

Our government is a despotic state which extends whose interests are equal, this arrangement is throughout the country, therefore, the governor of the nation and council give the natives the preservation of their masters\*.

Should the land at a moment registers of the security of the country. Those who relinquish a part of their land. While the people of Bengal could not be the companion of every claim, administrative are public, a cloak of error of his toil, height of price in this country has here re-

\* An addition of European soldiers which their def-

Our government will yet partake the greatest imperfection incident to a despotic state. Its existence can alone be preserved by a numerous army, which experience has ever taught us to think formidable to absolute rulers, whose interests are not blended with those of any order of men. In Bengal, this army is moreover composed of natives, while all dominion throughout the country has been transferred to a few strangers. Independent, therefore, of the encouragement due from every state to the cultivator of the land, without insisting upon the consequent increase of population and commerce, a regard to our own safety requires that we should give the native a permanent interest in the soil, and teach him to consider the preservation of his own fortunes as involved with the safety of his masters\*.

Should this arrangement be attempted by granting small portions of land at a moderate rent, should the right of the tenant be evidenced by registers of these pottahs or leases, established in every district, perhaps the security of such a tenure might prove an invitation to other proprietors. Those who possess lands by claims of a different nature might gladly relinquish a part of the profits for a title which could never be questioned. While the peninsula of India swarms with inhabitants, the waste lands of Bengal could not long remain uncultivated. With an improving revenue, the company might remit the imposts upon commerce with their long train of evils; and thus, by simplifying every right, and ascertaining every claim, remove the occasions of oppression. To enforce a prompt administration of justice would not then be difficult, where the proceedings are public, and where the judge could rarely shelter a fraud under the cloak of error. Each individual possessing a sure property in the produce of his toil, industry will diffuse its blessings; and Bengal may reach a height of prosperity, heretofore unknown in India. The wounds which this country has sustained are great, and the severe checks which industry has here received, might, in a more northern climate, almost starve a

\* An additional security might, perhaps, be attained by encouraging the settlement of European soldiers with women of the country. Regulations might easily be suggested, under which their descendants would become an useful colony to Great Britain.

people. But in Bengal, where the demands of nature are few, where manufactures from various causes have been preserved amidst successive revolutions, these losses will be quickly retrieved. While by such means, all orders of men being combined in one common interest, the enemies of Great Britain will be for ever excluded from India, and London become the great emporium of Europe, for the various produce of the East.

The progress to this state of improvement must nevertheless be slow. Sudden changes in property or government are always dangerous, and the hand of power can produce nothing but confusion. Even in laying the foundations of order we must follow the genius of a people, we must attend to their habits, and even respect the prejudices they have imbibed. If, relinquishing the airy schemes of projectors, the wisdom of the British nation should be employed in devising a simple form of government for Bengal; if happy in giving peace to millions, some enlightened minds should watch with parental care over a growing empire; posterity may behold with admiration a noble monument of national humanity, and the praise of arts, of science, and of arms, serve rather to adorn than constitute the future character of the British nation.

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people. But in Bengal, where the demands of nature are few, where manufactures from various causes have been preserved amidst successive revolutions, their riches will be quickly restored. While by such means, all orders of men being combined in one common interest, the factories of Great Britain will be far excluded from India, and London become the great emporium of Europe, for the various produce of the East.

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It is necessary to attend to their habits, and even to relax the prejudices they have received. If relinquishing the airy schemes of protection, the wisdom of the British nation should be employed in devising a simple form of government for Bengal. It is happy in every part of India, where enlightened minds

# A P P E N D I X.

the parts of arts, of industry, and of science, have either to adorn than



APPEN-

T O T H E.  
R E A D E R.

*I*T may be necessary to offer some apology for the length of this Appendix, which has swollen to a size greatly beyond the wish and intention of the writer. The treaties, and other papers, in the latter part of the Appendix, could not be omitted, without depriving the reader of those proofs which the public have a right to expect. Objections did occur to a publication of the whole Select Committee's correspondence with the Court of Directors; yet some parts of these letters were necessary, to shew that the representation, here given of Bengal transactions, has not been fabricated to serve the present occasion. An unwillingness to revive the memory of private faults, rather than any apprehension of injury, or even offence to the Company, had determined the writer to give such extracts only as the Narrative required: but, upon perusal of these extracts, they appeared so disjointed, and so liable to misconstruction, that, to avoid all appearance of concealment, it was thought expedient to print the whole.

As to the arrangement of this Appendix, the author judged it better to adhere to the connection of these papers with each other, than to follow the order of the text; since references inserted in the margin (when these papers are considered as proofs to support the Narrative) will abundantly supply the want of conformity: whereas, by the order here chosen, the Appendix will, in some degree, form a second Narrative.

The reader may remark a great similiarity between some parts of this work on the subject of revenues, and the accounts already published by Mr. Dow. That gentleman borrowed largely from Mr. Verelst, as will appear upon a perusal of the papers printed in this Appendix; but he has added his own comment to the text, which the conduct of individuals by no means deserved.



# A P P E N D I X.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the United Company  
of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.*

No. I.

HON. SIRs,

Fort William, Sept. 30, 1765.

1. **T**HE accompanying proceedings of the Select Committee will explain our motives for purchasing the Admiral Stevens, to convey to your hands these dispatches, which we hope will be deemed of sufficient importance to merit any extraordinary expence thereby incurred; an expence which, we flatter ourselves, will be fully defrayed by the valuable cargo she carries home at this early season.
2. By the general letter of this date, you will be informed by the President and Council of every material circumstance that has been transacted before the Board; at the same time, we beg leave to refer to letters dispatched by the Vanfittart and Bute, (whereof duplicates are now enclosed) for a detail of the military operations, political occurrences, and especially the very important transactions previous to our arrival, and subsequent to the death of Meer Jaffier; an event that furnished the most glorious opportunity of establishing your influence and power on so solid a basis, as must soon have rendered the English East India Company the most potent commercial body that ever flourished at any period of time.
3. It is from a due sense of the regard we owe and profess to your interest, and to our own honour, that we think it indispensibly necessary to lay open to your view, a series of transactions too notoriously known to be suppressed, and too affecting to your interests, to the national character, and to the existence of the Company in Bengal, to escape unnoticed and uncensured: transactions, which seem to demonstrate, that every spring of this government was smeared with corruption, that principles of rapacity and oppression universally prevailed, and that every spark of sentiment and public spirit was lost and extinguished in the inordinate lust of unmerited wealth.
4. To illustrate these positions, we must exhibit to your view, a most unpleasing variety of complaints, inquiries, evidences, accusations, and vindications, the particulars of which are entered in our Proceedings and the Appendix; assuring you, that we undertake this task with peculiar reluctance, from the personal regard we entertain for some of the gentlemen whose characters will appear to be deeply affected.
5. At Fort St. George we received the first advices of the demise of Meer Jaffier, and of Sujah al Dowlah's defeat. It was there firmly imagined, that no definitive measures would be taken, either in respect to a peace, or filling the vacancy in the Nizamut, as the Lapwing arrived in the month of January with your dispatches and the appointment of a Committee, with express powers to that purpose, for the successful exertion of which the happiest occasion now offered. However, a contrary resolution prevailed in the Council. The opportunity of acquiring immense fortunes was too inviting to be neglected, and the temptation too powerful to be resisted. A treaty was hastily drawn up by the Board, or rather transcribed, with a few unimportant additions, from that concluded with Meer Jaffier; and a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Johnstone, Senior, Middleton, and Leycester, was appointed to raise the natural son of the deceased Nabob to the Subahdarry, in prejudice to the claim of his grandson; and, for this measure, such reasons are assigned, as ought to have dictated a diametrically  
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opposite resolution. Meeran's son was a minor, which circumstance alone would naturally have brought the whole administration into our hands, at a juncture when it became indispensibly necessary we should realize that shadow of power and influence, which having no solid foundation, was exposed to the danger of being annihilated by the first stroke of adverse fortune. But this inconsistency was not regarded, nor was it material to the views for precipitating the treaty, which was pressed on the young Nabob, at the first interview, in so earnest and indelicate a manner, as highly disgusted him, and chagrined his ministers; while not a single rupee was stipulated for the Company, and their interests were sacrificed, that their servants might revel in the spoils of a treasury before impoverished, but now totally exhausted.

6. This scene of corruption was first disclosed at a visit the Nabob paid to Lord Clive, and the Gentlemen of the Committee, a few days after our arrival. He then delivered to his Lordship a letter, filled with bitter complaints of the insults and indignities he had been exposed to, and of the embezzlement of near || twenty lacks of rupees, issued from his treasury, for purposes unknown, during the late negotiations. So public a complaint could not be disregarded, and it soon produced an inquiry. We referred the letter to the Board, in expectation of obtaining a satisfactory account of the application of this money; and were answered only by a warm remonstrance, entered by Mr. Leycester, against that very Nabob in whose elevation he boasts having been a principal agent.

7. Mahomed Reza Cawn, the Naib Subah, was then called upon to account for this large disbursement from the treasury; and he soon delivered to the Committee, the very extraordinary narrative entered in our proceedings the sixth of June; wherein he specifies the several names, the sums by whom paid, and to whom, whether in bills, cash, or obligations. So precise, so accurate an account as this, of money issued for secret and venal services was never, we believe, before this period, exhibited to the Honourable Court of Directors; at least, never vouched by such undeniable testimony, and authentic documents: by Juggutseat who himself was obliged to contribute largely to the sums demanded; by Mooteram who was employed by Mr. Johnstone in all those pecuniary transactions; by the Nabob and Mahomed Reza Cawn who were the heaviest sufferers; and, lastly, by the confession of the gentlemen themselves whose names are specified in the distribution list.

8. Juggutseat expressly declares in his narrative, that the sum which he agreed to pay the deputation, amounting to \* 125,000 rupees, was extorted by menaces; and since the close of our enquiry, and the opinions he delivered in the Proceedings of the twenty-first of June, it fully appears, that the *presents* from the Nabob and Mahomed Reza Cawn, exceeding the immense sum of † seventeen lacks, were not the voluntary offerings of gratitude, but contributions levied on the weakness of the government, and violently exacted from the dependent state and timid disposition of the minister.

The charge, indeed, is denied on the one hand, as well as affirmed on the other. Your honourable Board must determine how far the circumstance of extortion may aggravate the crime of disobedience to your positive orders, of exposing the Government in a manner to sale, and receiving the infamous wages of corruption from opposite parties, and contending interests. We speak with boldness, because we speak from conviction founded upon indubitable facts, that besides the above sums specified in the distribution account, to the amount of 228,125 l. sterling, there was likewise to the value of several lacks of rupees procured from Nundcomar and Roydullub, each

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of whom aspired at and obtained a promise of that very employment it was pre-determined to bestow on Mahomed Reza Cawn. The particulars of this extraordinary bargain came too late to our hands to be inserted in the Proceedings, nor do we think it material; since to insist on farther proofs than are already fully and clearly exhibited, in order to convince you that our inquiry was necessary, and our decision moderate, would, we apprehend, serve rather to exhaust your patience than confirm your belief.

9. These particulars being submitted to your consideration, it may be necessary to offer a few remarks on those arguments urged by the gentlemen in their several minutes, either in their own justification, or with a view that our proceedings should appear arbitrary and oppressive. Messrs. Johnstone, Leycester, Senior, Gray, and Burdett, vindicate the receiving presents by arguments which, in our opinion, render their conduct still more culpable.

They urge, that as the covenants were not then executed, they could not be obligatory. In answer, we will beg leave to ask those gentlemen, Whether the Company's orders were not clearly and perfectly understood?---Whether the Covenants themselves were not transmitted from England, ready to be filled up and executed?---Whether a single motion for fulfilling the Company's Instructions appears on the face of their Consultations? Whether it was not incumbent on them, as the superior power, to have set this example of respect and deference to the orders of their Constituents? And, whether they conceive the Company would have sustained any detriment from this act of their obedience? How then came the orders to be totally neglected, at a juncture especially when the letter and spirit of those obligations clearly manifest that particular regard should be had to their execution?

10. The same gentlemen arraign the conduct, and deny the powers of the Select Committee. Mr. Leycester in particular affirms, that candour and decency required the truth of a charge brought against any of the Members of the Board, should be determined by the Board. You, gentlemen, will be able to judge of the force of this argument, and of the propriety of the measure proposed, when we acquaint you that of a Board then sitting at the Presidency, consisting of the President and eight Members, five of those Members were themselves the accused, who, by having a majority of voices, would of consequence become the judges of their own conduct. We will not enter into a discussion of the precise powers entrusted to the Committee; but we may venture to affirm that, unless the spirit of their Instructions be extended to the correction of abuses, the detection of corruption, and punishment of disobedience, the ends proposed of restoring peace and tranquility will be frustrated, and their appointment rendered ridiculous and absurd.

11. Mr. Johnstone is pleased to assert, that no proofs can be produced of menaces being used to obtain a sum of money from Juggutseat. To this we reply by a reference to the evidence of his own agent, Mooteram, where it is declared upon oath, that he delivered, by Mr. Johnstone's express orders, the very messages recited in his examination; messages of such tendency, as certainly bear hard on Mr. Johnstone's character. As to what he further adds, of our obtaining this evidence by military force and terror; we are sorry to see a gentleman rest his defence on the subterfuge of a pitiful evasion. Mr. Johnstone certainly knows, at least he ought to know, as the Proceedings were immediately sent to him, that Mooteram was seized in the commission of a clandestine illegal act, of interesting consequence to the public in general, and to Mr. Johnstone and the gentlemen of the Deputation in particular. Mooteram was actually detected in an attempt to suppress bills to the amount of \* 175,000 rupees which had been unwarrantably obtained from Mahomed Reza Cawn, and screen from discovery a circumstance which it highly imported the Committee to know, and which

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Mr. Johnstone should have made known, were he solicitous to exculpate himself from a charge that deeply affected his reputation, and of such irreproachable conduct as he would endeavour to persuade the world. But that the least shadow of a doubt might not remain of the candour and equity of the measures we pursued, we readily consented that the same Mooteram might be re-examined in presence of the Council, where he confirmed, without contradiction or evasion, every material circumstance set forth in his first evidence. The remainder of Mr. Johnstone's minute, you will perceive, doth not affect the Committee as a body; it consists entirely of personal invective, loose and virulent declamation, the genuine effects of enraged disappointment and detection. Yet should any thing further be required in answer, we beg to refer you to the replies made by Lord Clive and the members of the Committee, which, we flatter ourselves, will appear full and explicit.

12. One circumstance more occurs in the course of these gentlemen's minutes, that merits our observation. It is declared by Mr. Leycester upon oath, that he did not receive the present intended him by Mahomed Reza Cawn, and that his Letters will demonstrate his intention was to have refused it. This is a fact, of the truth of which we entertain not the least doubt; but it proves nothing more than, that Mr. Leycester would not receive a sum of money, after the Covenants had been enforced by the Committee, and an enquiry set on foot concerning the distribution of that very money, a part of which was now privately tendered back to Mahomed Reza Cawn. He will not deny that he knew of the intended present when he was at Cossimbazar. The letters of Messrs. Senior and Middleton prove that he did. He will not deny that bills to the amount of \* 50,000 rupees were made out in his name; their being now offered to Mahomed Reza Cawn, and Mooteram's being detected in the fact, evince it. The whole, therefore, of this solemn asseveration, amounts only to an evasion in respect to time and circumstances, which no way affects the nature of the act itself.

13. Having now explained the origin and progress of this disagreeable inquiry, We beg leave to touch upon a few circumstances, in justification of the lenity of our opinions delivered and resolutions entered in the Committee Proceedings of the 21st June.

And here we must observe, that notwithstanding we believe a reformation of abuses to be actually our duty, yet we could not think the same duty necessarily extended to the punishment of transgressions. We owed a regard to the persons and characters of some of the gentlemen concerned, who must suffer extremely by suspension or dismissal. The great objects of our wishes were, that your service might in future be conducted with integrity, diligence, and œconomy, without a retrospect to the past, where it could be avoided. The subject, indeed, of the present inquiry was so recent, it was of so interesting a nature to the public, and came recommended to us, or rather was forced upon us with such peculiar circumstances, as rendered our proceeding to a scrutiny necessary to our own reputation; but the severity of judgment, and a decision which would have left so great a void in your Council, was not equally necessary either to your interest, or to our honour. Such an event might have impressed the minds of the natives with strange ideas of the fluctuating situation of our councils; and it would unavoidably have admitted a number of your junior servants to the supreme direction of this vast machine of government, at an age little exceeding that period fixed by the laws of their country for entrusting them with the management of their own private fortunes. We must further observe, that many of the most aggravating circumstances had not then reached our knowledge; at the same time we were under the necessity of coming to some determination. Sujah al Dowlah impatiently expected Lord Clive in camp to conclude the proposed treaty, and the regulations of the government lately established, with other matters then transacting, absolutely required

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Mr. Sykes's attendance at the Durbar. Some of the extraordinary facts above related were obtained since their departure; and had they come sooner, they would serve only to perplex and embarrass us the more. In a word, to obviate future evils, we considered as our immediate duty; the punishment of past misconduct we chose to refer to your Honourable Board, that malice itself should have no foundation for asserting we had assumed and exerted a power not fully and expressly authorized by the Court of Directors.

We think it necessary to declare, in justice to Mr. Cartier, whose character stands irreproachable in the list of your servants, that he never knew of, or consented to the receiving, any the smallest present, either from the Nabob, or from Mahomed Reza Cawn.

14. Although we will not take upon us to declare that we entirely approve of the Covenants in the form in which they have been transmitted, yet are we persuaded, from the instances just related, that some restraint is necessary to prevent the abuse of the customary indulgence to receive presents. This indulgence has certainly been extended to the most shameful oppression and flagrant corruption, and is otherwise attended with manifold inconvenience to the service. We therefore determined immediately to enforce your instructions relative to those obligations, and to bind down by law all such as are not to be checked by a sense of honour and justice. You will accordingly observe, that carrying those orders into strict execution throughout every department civil and military, was among the earliest transactions of your Select Committee.

15. We also took an early opportunity of considering the tendency of your repeated instructions for recalling free merchants and other Europeans, who, without the least claim to your protection from indentures, were nevertheless permitted to reside up the country, and in all the different parts of the Nabob's dominions. Sorry we are to observe, that this indulgence has frequently given birth to grievous acts of insult and oppression, at places remote from the Presidency and subordinate factories, and that carrying your orders into execution becomes daily more necessary. By this measure, however, the business of your servants will suffer considerably, from their being now obliged to employ black Gomastahs, on many affairs which demand the vigour and activity of Europeans. Hence likewise will many persons of real merit be deprived the means of subsistence; yet in consideration that private interest must give way to the public benefit; and that it is our duty to obey, where your immediate interests do not absolutely require a deviation from your orders, we determined to recall all the Europeans residing up the country, under protection of the English name, by the twenty-first of October next, and have for that purpose circulated advertisements and orders to the different Subordinates.

16. Regulating the country government was the next object of our attention. We found the Nabob highly dissatisfied with those plenary powers vested in Mahomed Reza Cawn, who by virtue of the treaty acted in quality of prime minister, and enjoyed uncontrouled authority. This unlimited sway, lodged in the hands of a single person, appeared dangerous to the present establishment, which we thought it becoming the Company's honour to maintain, as having been solemnly ratified by the Governor and Council. To amend the very obvious defects in the treaty, without reversing the principles on which it was founded, was consistent with equity, whilst it met with the Nabob's own approbation; and the most effectual means of doing this seemed to us to consist in an equal partition of ministerial influence. As Mahomed Reza Cawn's short administration was irreproachable, we determined to continue him in a share of the authority, at the same time that we associated with him men of weight and character; so that each became a check upon the conduct of the others. Accordingly we fixed on Juggutfeet and Roydullub, for the reasons assigned in the Proceedings; and we

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now have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the business of Government goes on with unanimity, vigour, and dispatch.

17. By the last dispatches you were advised that Sujah al Dowlah was making fresh and formidable preparations to penetrate a second time into the Nabob's dominions. He had found means to engage Mulhar, a considerable Maharatta chief, in his alliance; and if the judicious and vigorous measures pursued by General Carnac had not prevented a junction of the numerous forces destined for this invasion, a ruinous war must have been supported through the course of another campaign. The enemies situation rendered their design for some time uncertain, and obliged the General to great circumspection in his movements, lest he should leave the frontiers exposed. Having, however at length received undoubted advice they had taken the Korah road, he suspected their intention was to fall upon Sir Robert Fletcher, who commanded a separate corps in that district. Accordingly he made forced marches to effect a junction, which he happily accomplished, and then the united army moved in pursuit of the enemy. On the third of May the General came up with, attacked and entirely defeated them; in consequence of which, Sujah al Dowlah separated from his allies, while the Maharattas retired with precipitation toward the Jumna. In fact, this blow appears to have been decisive; for Sujah al Dowlah never again attempted to join the Maharattas, who observing the General dropt the pursuit in order to watch the Vizier, made a second effort to re-enter Korah, in which they were disappointed. Persuaded that to stop their incursions, it would be necessary to drive them beyond the Jumna, the General crossed the river the twenty-second, dislodged them from their post on the opposite side, and obliged them to retire to the hills. There he quitted his pursuit, and returned to his station at Jajemaw, to receive Sujah al Dowlah, who had intimated a desire of submitting to whatever conditions we should think fit to prescribe. His letter to the General expresses his feelings; and the reception he met with in camp was such as policy dictated should be given to a vanquished enemy, of Sujah al Dowlah's rank and character.

18. A peace with the Vizier became the next immediate object of our deliberation, in adjusting which we endeavoured to extend our views beyond the present advantages that might possibly be obtained. We regarded Sujah al Dowlah's personal character, and high reputation over the whole empire, the situation of his country which we had conquered, and the great risk and expence of maintaining the conquest, if we closed in with the plan adopted by the late Governor and Council, of giving it up to Nudjeeb Cawn, who had neither weight of reputation nor force sufficient to keep possession, or to form a secure barrier to the Nabob's dominions. The words of our instructions to Lord Clive, when he left the Presidency to adjust the conditions of a peace, express the sentiments which we still entertain on this subject.

“ Experience having shewn that an influence maintained by force of arms is destructive of that commercial spirit which we ought to promote, ruinous to the Company, and oppressive to the Country, We earnestly recommend to your Lordship, that you will exert your utmost endeavours to conciliate the affections of the country powers, to remove any jealousy they may entertain of our unbounded ambition, and to convince them that we aim not at conquest and dominion, but security in carrying on a free trade, equally beneficial to them and to us.

“ With this view, policy requires that our demands be moderate and equitable; and that we avoid every appearance of an inclination to enlarge our territorial possessions. The sacrifice of conquests, which we must hold on a very precarious tenure, and at an expence more than equivalent to their revenues, is of little consideration to us; yet will such restitution impress them with a high opinion of our generosity and justice.

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“ For these reasons, we think Sujah al Dowlah should be reinstated in the full possession of all his dominions, with such limitations only as he must see are evidently calculated for our mutual benefit. We would decline insisting upon any terms that must prove irksome to his high spirit, and imply a suspicion of his sincerity. Retaining possession of any of his strong holds may possibly be deemed a necessary pledge of his fidelity; for our part, we would rather consider it as a source of future contention and an unnecessary burthen to the Company, unless it be one day proposed to resume the thoughts of extending their dominions; a measure very opposite to the sentiments in which we left the Court of Directors.”

19. Agreeably to these instructions his Lordship and General Carnac concluded a treaty of peace with Sujah al Dowlah, that will, if any thing can, secure his friendship and fidelity, and render the public tranquility permanent. They found him extremely averse to the establishment of factories in his dominions, which he considered as laying the foundation of a future rupture, and the only thing that could possibly disturb our amity. He very justly observed, that our encroachments in Bengal, the great abuses committed by the Company's servants, and extraordinary extension of the privileges originally granted to the English, had been productive of much confusion and bloodshed in Bengal, and he feared might produce similar consequences in his country; accordingly Lord Clive and General Carnac judged it advisable to omit the word *factories* in the treaty, but without relinquishing the right, should it be found expedient, after mature deliberation, to enforce it. To speak our own sentiments freely, we foresee no benefit that can accrue to the Company, from maintaining settlements at so vast a distance from the Presidency, whatever advantages may arise to their servants: at least the prospect is so remote, while the expences are so certain, the risque so evident, and the disputes it will occasion so probable, that we are at present of opinion, the factory lately established at Benâres ought immediately to be withdrawn; we mean as soon as the agreement between the Company and Bulwanting is expired. The limits of the Nabob's dominions are sufficient to answer all your purposes. These, we think, ought to constitute the boundaries, not only of all your territorial possessions and influence in these parts, but of your commerce also; since by grasping at more, you endanger the safety of those immense revenues, and that well-founded power, which you now enjoy, without the hopes of obtaining an adequate advantage.

20. With respect to the other articles of the treaty you will observe, that a sufficient provision is secured for the support of the King's honour and dignity, without danger of his becoming a future incumbrance; and that \* twenty-six lacks yearly are granted to him on the revenues of Bengal: a revenue far more considerable than he ever before enjoyed. In gratitude for this instance of our attention to his interest, his Majesty has been pleased to bestow on the Company the most important grants ever yet obtained by any European state from the Mogul Court. Besides confirming to the Company all their former possessions, and securing to them the reversion in perpetuity of Lord Clive's Jagheer, he has conferred on them the Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and ratified, in the strongest terms, an agreement we proposed concluding with the Nabob, if the King's consent could be procured; subjects which it will be necessary to explain in a separate paragraph.

Another article stipulates, that Sujah al Dowlah shall pay the Company fifty lacks of rupees, by way of indemnification for the charges incurred by the war. This indemnification we know is inadequate; but his circumstances would not afford more, without oppressing the country, and thereby laying the foundation of future contention and trouble; and accordingly you will perceive that no money is granted for any other consideration whatever.

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As to surrendering Cossim Ally, Sombre, and the deserters, compliance with such a demand is now entirely out of his power. The former, we hear, has sought shelter in the Rohilla Country, and the latter reside under protection of the Jauts, skreened both from Sujah al Dowlah, and from us; so that making this an essential preliminary, would be highly unreasonable and absurd: however it is stipulated, that they shall never meet with encouragement or assistance from Sujah al Dowlah, or be again admitted into his country.

Upon the whole, we have paid such regard to Sujah al Dowlah's character and interest, and to what justice as well as policy requires, without any the smallest sacrifice of your honour or interest, that we entertain the most flattering hope this treaty of peace will be lasting, and our frontier on that quarter perfectly secure against future invasions.

21. The time now approaches when we may be able to determine, with some degree of certainty, whether our remaining as merchants, subjected to the jurisdiction, encroachments, and insults of the country government; or supporting your privileges and possessions by the sword, are likely to prove most advantageous to the Company. Whatever may be the consequence, certain it is, that after having once begun, and proceeded to such lengths, we have been forced to go on, step by step, until your whole possessions were put to the risque by every revolution effected, and by every battle fought. To apply a remedy to those evils, by giving stability and permanency to your Government, is now and has been the constant object of the serious attention of your Select Committee.

22. The perpetual struggles for superiority between the Nabobs and your Agents, together with the recent proofs before us of notorious and avowed corruption, have rendered us unanimously of opinion, after the most mature deliberation, that no other method can be suggested of laying the axe to the root of all those evils, than that of obtaining the Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, for the Company. By establishing the power of the Great Mogul, we have likewise established his rights; and his Majesty, from principles of gratitude, of equity, and of policy, has thought proper to bestow this important employment on the Company, the nature of which is, the collecting all the revenues, and after defraying the expences of the army, and allowing a sufficient fund for the support of the Nizamut, to remit the remainder to Dehly, or wherever the King shall reside or direct. But as the King has been graciously pleased to bestow on the Company, for ever, such surplus as shall arise from the revenues, upon certain stipulations and agreements expressed in the Sunnud, we have settled with the Nabob, with his own free will and consent, that the sum of fifty-three lacks shall be annually paid to him, for the support of his dignity and all contingent expences, exclusive of the charge of maintaining an army, which is to be defrayed out of the revenues ceded to the Company, by this royal grant of the Dewanny; and indeed the Nabob has abundant reason to be well satisfied with the conditions of this agreement, whereby a fund is secured to him, without trouble or danger, adequate to all the purposes of such grandeur and happiness as a man of his sentiments has any conception of enjoying; more would serve only to disturb his quiet, endanger his government, and sap the foundation of that solid structure of power and wealth, which, at length, is happily reared and completed by the Company, after a vast expence of blood and treasure.

23. By this acquisition of the Dewanny, your possessions and influence are rendered permanent and secure, since no future Nabob will either have power, or riches sufficient to attempt your overthrow, by means either of force or corruption. All revolutions must henceforward be at an end, as there will be no fund for secret services, for donations, or for restitutions. The Nabob cannot answer the expectations

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tions of the venal and mercenary, nor will the Company comply with demands injurious to themselves, out of their own revenues. The experience of years has convinced us that a division of power is impossible without generating discontent and hazarding the whole: all must belong either to the Company or to the Nabob. We leave you to judge which alternative is the most desirable and the most expedient in the present circumstances of affairs. As to ourselves, we know of no other system we could adopt, that would less affect the Nabob's dignity, and at the same time secure the Company against the fatal effects of future revolutions, than this of the Dewanny. The power is now lodged where it can only be lodged with safety to us, so that we may pronounce with some degree of confidence, that the worst which will happen in future to the Company will proceed from temporary ravages only, which can never become so general as to prevent your revenues from yielding a sufficient fund to defray your civil and military charges, and furnish your investments.

24. But to secure these valuable possessions, a constant regard must be paid to your military establishment. By the regimental returns, which we enclose in the packet, and which are very exact, you will see, at one view, the deplorable condition of our infantry, to complete which, agreeable to your directions and to the proposals made by Lord Clive, not less than 900 men will suffice. We therefore most earnestly request, that you will next year send us out 12 or 1400 men for this establishment, giving such peremptory orders as must be obeyed, that none of this number be detained, upon any consideration, on the coast of Coromandel. Our numbers being once completed, we shall require for the security of your immense possessions in this country, no more than 600 recruits, to be sent out annually in the following manner, viz. 500 infantry, 60 artillery, 20 cavalry, and 20 serjeants for the sepoy: to this number must be added 30 volunteers and officers; and it would be of the utmost benefit to our plan, that you also send out every year 6 or 7 gentlemen from the academy at Woolwich, for artillery officers, this being a service that suffers extremely for want of persons properly instructed in the business; since no officer, who knows the benefit of the infantry service here, will chuse to quit it for any advantages the artillery affords.

25. Already we feel the good effects of regimenting your troops; discipline, subordination, and œconomy begin to take place. Had General Carnac's merit been much greater, if possible, than it is, he could not effect this of himself, unassisted as he was by field-officers, and thwarted as he always has been in his military operations, by the late Governors and Council.

We have already issued our orders for striking off half the double Batta, and shall, in a very few days, put your forces intirely upon a footing with the troops on the coast of Coromandel, which will be reducing your military expences as low as they can well bear, consistently with your interest and the good of the service.

26. Before we quit this subject, we must request, in the strongest manner, that you will supply us for the first year with 10,000 stands of arms, and afterwards with 4,000 annually, which will in future answer all our demands, if proper care be taken in the purchase. Of late years, the bad quality of your small arms in general have exposed your possessions to the greatest risk and danger; the locks are ill finished, and the metal so badly tempered as not to stand the heat of the sun in this climate. We are therefore persuaded, it would prove in the end much to your advantage, if you purchased all your small arms of the same persons who furnish the Government, and pay at the rate of twenty-seven, instead of eighteen shillings per firelock, since experience demonstrates they will continue serviceable for double the time, without being liable to the inconvenience above represented.

The iron-founder, whom you sent out in the Kent, died on his passage to this place; but as the casting of shot and shells in this country is an object of importance, we

strongly recommend that you will supply the loss as soon as possible, by sending three or four persons well versed in that business, that our whole design may not be frustrated by such an accident in future.

It also merits your serious consideration to provide, by every possible means, against the illicit importation of small arms to your settlements in India, and particularly to Bengal. Of late years, this has become a profitable branch of trade with the Europe captains, as well as that of furnishing the natives with ammunition; and they elude the search of your officers, by sending round small vessels to meet them at sea in certain latitudes, or to Teneriff and St. Jago, or elsewhere, out of the reach of your inquiries. However, as their continuing such practices any longer may prove fatal in their consequences to all your possessions in this country, we earnestly exhort, that you will immediately apply the most effectual remedies you can suggest, either by way of prevention, or by the rigorous and exemplary punishment of the offenders. At the same time, you may be assured, we will take every step in our power to detect the least breach of your orders on this head, and to obstruct the sale of all kinds of fire-arms.

27. Having observed the reluctance that appeared in bidding for your farms, at the last sale of your lands in the Burdwan province, the great annual deficiency in the collections, and the numberless complaints made of grievous exactions and oppressions, we determined, upon Mr. Johnstone's resigning your service, to appoint Mr. Verelst in quality of Supervisor of those revenues, in order to form the best judgment possible of the cause of the yearly deficiency of the real value of the lands, the best method of improving and letting them; and also to procure the necessary materials for a plan to conduct the collections in future, in such manner as shall appear most conducive to your interest, and likely to promote the happiness of the people. It is with pleasure we acquaint you, that we have the greatest reason to be satisfied with Mr. Verelst's attention to the several objects recommended, and the diligence he has exerted during his short residence in that country, of which you may form some judgment from his Memorial to the Committee, annexed to our Proceedings of the 14th September.

28. It was in consequence of this Memorial, that we formed our Resolution of that date to withdraw the Factory, and also to recall the Member of the Board resident at Midnapore, the collections and business of which may as conveniently be transacted by a junior servant, at a much less expence. Many are the inconveniencies, besides the extraordinary charge incurred, that result from such appointments, which we consider as necessary only at those Subordinates where your principal investments are made. We are convinced by very late experience, that the most flagrant oppressions may be wantonly committed in those employments by Members of the Board, which would not be tolerated in junior servants; and that the dread and awe annexed to their station as Counsellors have too frequently screened them from complaints, which would be lodged without fear or scruple against inferior servants.

29. But there are other manifold inconveniencies, of still more pernicious effect to the service, which result from those appointments. Hence it was found necessary to enlarge the Council from twelve to sixteen Members, that there might be a sufficient number to conduct the business of the Presidency, and also to manage your affairs at the out-settlements, either in quality of Chiefs or Residents. What is the consequence but such perpetual revolutions at the Board, as render it impossible for any of the Members to acquire a competent knowledge of your interests, and of the particular duty of their own station?

This increase in the number of the Board is also productive of a further inconvenience, of the deepest concern to your interest in the present situation of your affairs.

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To keep up to the letter of your Instructions, we must fill the vacancies in Council from the next in succession, without regard to the qualifications they possess for the discharge of so important a trust, and thus commit into the hands of rash unexperienced young men the conduct of a system of government which demands the discretion, judgment, and steadiness of more advanced years and longer services. Circumstances are now widely different from what they were a few years since, when you confined your whole attention to commerce, and were happy in being able to complete your investments without insult or exaction from the Country Government. You are now become the sovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom; your success is beheld with jealousy by the other European nations in India, and your interests are so extended, so complicated, and so connected with those of the several surrounding powers, as to form a nice and difficult system of politics.

These weighty considerations determined us to avoid filling the vacancies lately occasioned in Council by the death of Mr. Billers and resignation of Messrs. Johnstone and Burdett. We carefully examined your orders respecting the appointment of a Board; we compared the different paragraphs of your Letter, the more clearly to ascertain the spirit of your Instructions, and are unanimous in our opinion, your reasons for encreasing the number of the Board were founded on a supposition, that this measure would conduce to the benefit of the Company. Experience convinces us of the contrary; and we should be wanting in duty to our constituents, if, from a servile regard to the letter, we neglected the evident sense and meaning of your Instructions, by admitting to the government of your affairs a number of persons who have certainly no other claim to this distinction, than that of standing next in succession.

It is therefore with the utmost regret we think it incumbent on us to declare, that in the whole list of your junior merchants there are not more than three or four gentlemen whom we could possibly recommend to higher stations at present.

In this number justice requires we should mention Mr. Campbell, Secretary to this Committee, whose abilities and indefatigable diligence, of which we have had the most convincing proofs in the course of our proceedings, entitle him to this instance of our regard, and to your particular notice; and as the same qualifications will distinguish him in any station in your service, it is our joint request, that you will please to remove the restriction on his rising, as a covenant-servant, and suffer him to take rank accordingly from the date of his appointment.

30. At all times it has been found expedient to deviate occasionally from this general rule of preferring seniority. It now becomes your indispensable duty to admit no claim but that of merit, if you would preserve the valuable possessions you enjoy, and realize the very near prospect you have of establishing your affairs on so firm and solid a basis as nothing but misconduct can overset. So much rests with the Board, that on your judicious impartial selection of the members it depends, whether you hold a foot of land, and enjoy a privilege in Bengal; or whether you continue in possession of the most ample revenues and established extensive influence ever established by any European mercantile body. We therefore most earnestly exhort you, that no consideration of favour or prejudice be suffered to bias you in the important business of composing your Council; and that no other distinction be admitted, except what is due to ability, to integrity, and to faithful essential services.

Were we to speak our own sentiments further, we should confess it to be our firm opinion, founded on the experience now before us, that the business of this government can never so effectually be conducted as by a select unanimous Committee. By dividing the power into many hands you weaken the authority, promote dissention, and deprive your measures of that secrecy, steadiness, vigour, and dispatch necessary

to their success. The same means by which you obtained the great advantages you now enjoy, must be continued, and constantly exerted, to secure and perpetuate them; and, indeed, we can think of no other form of government so well adapted, so perfectly congenial to your peculiar present circumstances in Bengal.

31. It will not be necessary, we apprehend, to dwell upon a refutation of the specious but flimsy arguments advanced by Mr. Leycester for immediately filling up the vacancies at the Board, and pursuing the literal sense of your Instructions, when you enlarge the Board to sixteen. We have already shewn, and Mr. Leycester does not deny it, that the business of Burdwan and Midnapore may be conducted to greater advantage by junior servants than by Members of the Council. We have also shewn, that enlarging the Council beyond the number required for the business of the Presidency and Subordinates has proved injurious to the Company. He knows it is our determination, that seven or eight Members should constantly reside at the Presidency, while all proper attention shall be given to your investment and collections; and this we certainly judge to be the spirit of your orders. But if that gentleman means, that no act can be valid which is executed by a less number of Agents than you have expressly appointed, he renders void every deed, covenant, contract, treaty, and obligation, entered into by the Council since the first establishment of this settlement; he even renders null and of no effect the treaty with the present Nabob, in which he himself had a principal share, and which, we believe, is not signed by more than half the Company's Agents.

In a word, we foresee so many inconveniences consequent on a literal compliance with your instructions, that our duty obliges us to suspend, and we think our powers authorize us in suspending at least, if not revoking those orders, until your further pleasure be known.

32. By consulting our Proceedings of the 10th of August, and 18th of September, you will be able to judge of the progress we have made in carrying your orders into execution, relative to the trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco. This subject we considered with all the attention possible, and regard to your interest, and the good of the service. We found that to remove the inconveniences of a free trade, prevent the oppressions daily committed, save this valuable article of commerce from ruin, and diffuse the benefits resulting indiscriminately among all your servants entitled to Dufficks, it was necessary to invest the whole in an exclusive company, composed of the three first classes of your covenanted servants, the field officers, chaplains, and head surgeons. In admitting the field officers, and stating the proportions allotted to each class, we had particular regard to the present situation of your Council, and field officers, who are now excluded many emoluments they before enjoyed. It is our opinion, that gentlemen who have risen to those stations with credit and reputation, are certainly entitled to something more than a subsistence: they even have a right to expect such advantages in your service, as may enable them to return in a few years with independence to their native country.

With respect to the Company, we are unanimously of opinion, it is more for their interest to be considered as Superiors than Proprietors; and, as the royal grant of the Dewanny renders the 11th article unnecessary, we are thereby enabled to subject the trade to a duty which will produce a clear annual revenue of 120,000 l. sterling; whatever surplus of their revenues the Company may find themselves possessed of, after discharging all the demands in this Presidency, we imagine may be employed much more to their benefit, in supporting and extending the China trade, and assisting the wants of the other Presidencies. However, should it either appear that we have mistaken the Company's real interest, or that the profits of the trade will admit of increased duties, it is our resolution to give all possible satisfaction on those points to

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our Honourable Masters; and to lay before you a fair, full and candid representation of the amount of the costs, charges and sales of the first year.

33. We think it incumbent on us to observe, that the management of this important business was committed to Mr. Sumner. If the plan, therefore, should prove so fortunate as to meet your approbation, the merit is chiefly due to that gentleman, who spared no pains to acquire a thorough insight into the subject, at the same time that he discharged the duties of the Presidency, during Lord Clive's absence, much to our satisfaction. Mr. Sumner would have cheerfully accepted the post of Resident at the Durbar, now grown an employment of consequence, since the grant of the Dewanny; but we judged it to be more becoming his station, more agreeable to your intention, and more for the benefit of the service, that he should remain at the Presidency to take charge of the government in case of Lord Clive's absence.

We therefore determined to appoint Mr. Sykes to the Durbar, as he has already sufficiently manifested his capacity and diligence in that employment.

34. When these dispatches are finished, we resolve to apply ourselves heartily to a reformation of the abuses which have crept into almost all your public offices, and every department civil and military. The task is arduous, but not impracticable, and we are assured it becomes highly necessary to the service. The same unanimity which hath enabled the Committee to dispatch so great a variety of important affairs since their establishment, shall, we hope, be firmly continued and vigorously exerted, until we have accomplished every end proposed at our appointment; until we have stemmed the torrent of luxury and corruption, and established a spirit of industry, œconomy, and integrity, throughout every class of your servants.

We beg leave to conclude with assuring you, that it is the highest ambition of this Committee to merit the confidence reposed in them, by promoting with their utmost diligence and abilities, the honour and interest of the East India Company, which have ever been the objects of their most fervent wishes.

We have the Honour to be, with respect,

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Your most faithful humble Servants,

CLIVE, W. B. SUMNER, JOHN CARNAC, H. VERELST, F. SYKES.

S U P P L E M E N T.

In justice to the memory of the late Nabob Meer Jaffier, we think it incumbent on us to acquaint you, that the horrible massacres wherewith he is charged by Mr. Holwell, in his Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock (page 46) are cruel aspersions on the character of that Prince, which have not the least foundation in truth. The several persons there affirmed, and who were generally thought to have been murdered by his order, are all now living except two, who were put to death by Meeran, without the Nabob's consent or knowledge; and it is with additional satisfaction we can assure you, that they are lately released from confinement by the present Subah, which fully evinces the entire confidence he reposes in the Company's protection, against all attacks on his government.

We

We are further to acquaint you, that not satisfied with paying all due attention to the confirmation and security of your possessions in Bengal, Lord Clive has also obtained from the King, Sunnuds for the five Northern Provinces, and the strongest ratification under his Majesty's hand and seal, of all your former possessions in the Carnatic.

Mr. Sykes has exerted his utmost diligence in procuring an exact estimate of the amount of the revenues of the Nabob's dominions, of which you are not only the Collectors but the Proprietors; and we are in hopes of transmitting an accurate account of the same by the Admiral Stevens; but the books of the Sircar are so much behind, so many balances are outstanding, and such negligence appears in the collection of the revenues for some years past, owing, in a great measure, to the disturbances in the country, which prevented any regular collections from being made, that he has not been able yet to succeed to his entire satisfaction; we therefore think it better to postpone the subject until our next dispatches, when we can write with precision and certainty. At present, we can only affirm, that the acquisition of the Dewanny, and the agreement with the Nabob, will necessarily turn out a prodigious increase of your revenues, at the same time it must conduce to the stability of your power and influence.

You will observe in our general letter from the public department, what has passed in Council on the subject of the donation to the navy, which is indeed no more than a transcript of our Consultations. We here think it necessary to remark, that we cannot, in the present circumstances of your affairs, and consistently with our late engagements with the Nabob, either take upon us to pay so large a demand out of your revenues, or insist upon the Nabob's paying it out of his limited stipend; more especially as it appears that the donation to the navy was never voluntary, but obtained from Meer Jaffier by dint of sollicitation, and other means, which never met with his entire approbation.

It is with some regret we acquaint you, that we apprehend it will be necessary to resume our late enquiry into the conduct of the Deputation, having just received information from Nundcomar of further sums paid to them out of the Nabob's treasury, during their residence at Murshedabad. Mr. Johnstone makes a principal and conspicuous figure in this account also, having obtained a very large sum besides what is specified in the distribution list, or the narratives of Mahomed Reza Cawn and Juggutseet, which with the sums received by the other gentlemen, fully accounts for the Nabob's assertions in his letter addressed to the Committee. The necessity we are under of dispatching the ship, in order to receive the earliest notice of your sentiments on our proceedings, and your further instructions, prevents our entering immediately upon the enquiry; of which, however, you may be assured, we shall transmit a faithful and particular account in our next advices.

CLIVE, W.B. SUMNER, JOHN CARNAC, H. VERELST, F. SYKES.

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*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort William, Jan. 31. 1766.

1. We have now the honour to transmit the sequel of those Proceedings of the Select Committee, which were dispatched the 30th of September, by the Admiral Stevens, and also a duplicate of our letter of that date.

2. The conjectures we then formed, with respect to the system which the Committee found it necessary to adopt, have, in the event, corresponded to our warmest expectations; and it is with extreme satisfaction we can assure you, that a happy prospect is daily opening to our view, of security and opulence to the Company. Money flowing into your Treasury; contentment expressed by the Country Government; and Peace diffusing her blessings throughout every district of the Nabob's dominions, are to us the most pleasing testimonies of the rectitude of the measures we pursued, when the late grants were obtained.

The more we reflect on the situation of your affairs, the stronger appear the reasons for accepting the Dewanny of these provinces, by which alone we could establish a power sufficient to perpetuate the possessions we hold, and the influence we enjoy. While the Nabob acted in quality of Collector for the Mogul, the means of supporting our military establishment depended upon his pleasure. In the most critical situations, while we stood ballancing on the extreme border of destruction, his stipulated payments were slow and deficient, his revenues withheld by disaffected Rajahs, and turbulent Zemindars, who despised the weakness of his government; or they were squandered in profusion, and dissipated in corruption, the never-failing symptoms of a declining constitution and feeble administration. Hence we were frequently disappointed of those supplies, upon the punctual receipt of which depended the very existence of the company in Bengal.

We cannot indeed look back without horror, upon that desperate crisis to which your affairs were reduced, when a mutinous spirit prevailed among your troops, when dissensions distracted your consultations, and a powerful army was invading the provinces, to seize and desolate your possessions, and probably to extirpate your servants. To us it evidently appears there remained but the alternative to advance as we have done, and grasp at the whole power, or to shrink back into our primitive condition of simple merchants, to abandon our possessions, disband our forces, and rest our future hopes on the clemency of princes, who will not easily forget or forgive the superiority we have so long maintained.

In a word, this last measure was in itself impracticable; for we must observe, altho' with much regret, that the misconduct of individuals hath rendered the English name so odious, that we are no longer secure than whilst our hands are armed for the defence of our lives and property.

3. The several statements entered in the Committee Proceedings, shew clearly the amount of revenues to be collected this year into the Treasury, exclusive of those issuing from the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, the Calcutta lands, and all your former possessions. At present they stand incumbered with a variety of superfluous charges, which we hope to reduce, when we come to adjust the collections of the ensuing year; but we thought it adviseable to avoid introducing innovations, which might create disgust and dissatisfaction at so early a period of our government. The next balance, amounting to 212 lacks of Sicca rupees, or 286,200*l.* sterling, will be the more readily paid, that the ministers and officers of the government can have nothing to plead in excuse for deficiencies; and we have reason to believe it will not

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To

T, F. SYKES.





lity, and military discipline and subordination, were firmly established. It was also necessary to devise the means of their living cheaper, and of supplying them with liquors, and other stores, at a more moderate price than those articles had usually been furnished. We must likewise observe, that regimenting the troops has not only conduced to the reformation we proposed, but facilitated the reduction of expence you enjoin; a soldier, who knows and performs his duty, will neither expect nor require the superfluities and luxuries of life.

Accordingly we have ordained, that on the first day of the present month, the customary Batta shall be struck off from the troops in general, excepting the brigade stationed in Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, who, on account of the high price of provision, and the difficulty of procuring stores, will be allowed double Batta in the field, and half double Batta in cantonments and in garrison, until they are recalled to the provinces.

For the same reasons half Batta is continued to the troops quartered at Patna and Mongheer; but the rest of the army, we mean the detachments at subordinates and other places, that are not engaged in actual service, are reduced precisely on a footing with the Company's forces on the coast; even those stationed at Mongheer and Patna receive the same exact Batta as your troops at Trichinopoly.

From such regulations, and also from the check already given to the many shameful abuses committed in musters, returns, hospital bills, boats, and other articles, we may affirm with confidence, that the charges of your whole establishment, civil and military, including your fortifications, will fall short of the amount expended during the course of the late war on your army alone; and yet it is proposed, if you supply us duly with recruits, to maintain the complete establishment projected by Lord Clive, and the most formidable army that ever took the field in Bengal. From what causes your military expences swelled to such immeasurable bounds, requires no explanation. Certain it is, they far exceeded the supplies so liberally voted by the British parliament, for an army of auxiliaries employed to oppose the combined forces of the most powerful princes in Christendom.

7. To these schemes of œconomy, permit us to add the late resolution of this Committee, regarding the new works erecting for the security of your servants and property. Those works have, for several years past, been a perpetual drain for treasures, which might have been more usefully applied; yet should we ever meet with the misfortune of being driven off the field, and cooped up within the walls of this fort, your affairs may then be considered as desperate and irrecoverable. It is therefore the unanimous opinion of this Committee, confirmed by the sentiments of the chief engineer, that we ought to regard the new works as a temporary security only; for which purpose the ditch, ramparts, bastions, and ravelin already finished, are sufficient to withstand the greatest force which the powers of this country are ever likely to assemble.

Captain Martin farther delivers it as his opinion, that enlarging the fortifications conformably to the plan of the intended outworks, would add nothing to the strength of the place, unless we could at the same time maintain a garrison proportioned to their extent; we resolved therefore not to proceed on the plan beyond what is now completed, but to use all possible means to check the incroachments of the river, which hath advanced within a few yards of the covert way, and threatens to sweep away one intire side of the fort.

We shall also make all the dispatch we are able in completing the barracks, some of which we have converted into very commodious apartments for the writers, lately arrived; and we are convinced it would be much for the benefit of the service, if all the younger servants, and the public offices, were collected within so narrow a compass,

pafs, as might fubject them to clofer infpection than is poffible in their prefent fituation.

8. Mahomed Reza Cawn, and the minifters we affociated with him to conduct the bufinefs of the country government, proceed with alacrity and unanimity, under direction of Mr. Sykes, the refident. They, as well as the people in general, exprefs great fatisfaction at the orders we lately iffued and enforced, for recalling to the Prefidency all free merchants, and other Europeans, who are not in your covenanted fervice, many of whom had, by interfering with public affairs, by acts of oppreffion and violence, and by affuming and exerting a judicial authority, totally perverted the ordinary courfe of juftice, and given great interruption to the bufinefs of the adminiftration; yet we muft lament that the juft and neceffary punifhment inflicted upon thofe who had committed abufes, fhould unavoidably extend to others who always acted with integrity and honour.

9. The more effectually to remove every caufe of complaint, and render the minifters refponsible for the collections of the ftated revenue, we have directed that none befides thofe who are employed in certain public ftations, fhall in future correpond with officers of the government, hold lands, lend money to the Zemindars, or take any other means of improving their fortunes, or acquiring influence in the country, that may tend to difturb, diftrefs, or defraud either the adminiftration or the people; and this prohibition we have extended to all your fervants, civil and military, and their dependents. It was the earneft request of the minifters, that we fhould impofe fuch reftrictions; and we thought compliance but reasonable, as we were well affured that the revenue had fuffered from the excefs to which thefe practices were carried.

In one inftance, however, we have taken the liberty of deviating from your orders for recalling the free merchants, &c. The plan for conducting the joint inland trade, in the articles of falt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, is in itfelf fo extenfive, the capital required fo very confiderable, and the difficulty of procuring money at a moderate intereft fo great, that it becomes indifpenfibly neceffary the accounts of the fociety fhould be clofed, and their books ballanced with more difpatch than can be expected, fhould black Gomafthas and agents be employed. For this reafon, and becaufe we are willing to promote to the utmoft of our power a fcheme which appears well calculated for your intereft and the general benefit, we have permitted the committee of trade to appoint European agents for difpofing of the fociety's concerns at certain eftablifhed marts, in different parts of the country; and as for this purpofe the Company's fervants could not be fpared from the Prefidency and Subordinates, thofe agents are therefore chofen from the lift of free merchants, with the utmoft attention to their characters and former behaviour. Befides which we have ftrictly confined them to the bufinefs of the fociety by fuch fevere penalties and reftrictions, as we think muft effectually prevent their giving hindrance or moleftation. Should we find thefe limitations infufficient to fecure the peace of the country, and remove all caufe of complaint, we are then determined to recall them, and commit the bufinefs to black agents.

11. Farther to affift this valuable branch of commerce, and promote the credit of the infant fociety, the Governor and Council have, at the request of the Committee of trade, figned and executed a deed for better fecuring to the fociety the free and exclufive purchafe and fale of the articles of falt, &c. from the 1ft of September 1765, to the 30th of Auguft 1766, allowing a fufficient time to difpofe of fuch ftock as may be provided for the feafon, in order to prevent the great lofs that muft arife to the proprietors, fhould any alteration take place by your order, after the concerns for the year are begun, and before the fame are concluded. We therefore flat-

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ter ourselves with your intire approbation of this measure, so essential to the due execution of the plan formed by your permission, and with all possible regard to your interest.

12. Our proceedings point out clearly the increase of your rents, issuing from the Calcutta lands; and the several minutes entered upon that subject explain our sentiments on the prospect we have of rating the Pergunnahs still higher, without exaction or oppression. It evidently appears to us, that considerable frauds were formerly committed in these collections; with a view of correcting which, we have determined that the leases granted to the present farmers shall expire on the 1st day of November next. By that time we hope to find leisure to ascertain their value more exactly; at least we shall then silence the clamour of the inhabitants against what they deem a monopoly, by universally diffusing and extending the benefits arising from the possession of lands among the most substantial and reputable Banyans and black merchants living under your protection.

13. Most earnestly do we wish that such shameful embezzlement of the public money were confined to those lands situated more immediately under the eyes of the Governor and Council, since nothing besides the greatest inattention and misconduct could then prevent the detection of abuses; but should a general depravity of manners prevail, and your servants, acting in the highest stations, be restrained neither by motives of conscience, nor by principles of honour, the discovery of frauds at places remote from the Presidency will then become difficult and merely accidental.

This evidently appears from the state of the Midnapore revenues, which for three years past have yielded \* 250,000 rupees more than were ever placed, as they ought, to the Company's credit. Our recalling the factory, and appointing Mr. Verelst supervisor, and Mr. Graham president, brought this unwarrantable transaction to light, which might otherwise have lain in profound obscurity, until chance had produced a resident, whose sense of honour, and feelings of conscience, were stronger than the impulses of private interest.

Yet fortunate to the Company as this discovery will certainly be considered, we must confess it occasions great embarrassment to our proceedings, unless we would deviate on the one hand or the other from that duty which we owe to our Constituents. It was firmly our intention to avoid farther retrospection of the conduct of an administration so notoriously corrupt, and meanly venal, throughout every department, in hopes the examples already made would sufficiently deter others, and work a reformation. It was the correction of abuses, and not the punishment of past misconduct, that we proposed, although we endeavoured to avoid exposing ourselves, either to the censure of partiality, or the heavier charge of unfaithfulness to our employers.

In this, as in many other instances, we considered that a scrutiny into the particulars of the embezzlement would be unprofitable to you, while it would at the same time occasion great obstruction to our consultations, and might end in the necessity of diminishing the number of your Council, already much reduced by the death of one, the suspension of another, and the resignation of four members of that board.

We must farther beg leave to observe, that we cannot help regarding the late resident as far less culpable than any of his immediate predecessors, who may be said to have chalked out the path, and guided his steps by the false light that misled him; certain it is, that should you disapprove our lenity, the same decree in law and equity which will oblige Mr. Watts to refund, will also oblige his predecessors to make restitution.

From these considerations, therefore, we resolve to leave it in the option of your Honourable Board, to prosecute or relinquish your claim to such ballances as ought to have been applied to your credit, contenting ourselves with giving you the necessary information

information of facts, and taking the most effectual means to prevent such practices in future.

14. For reasons of a similar nature, we decline resuming any farther consideration of the conduct of the Board and deputation during the late negotiations at Murshedabad. Already our consultations have been too much interrupted with cavilling, debate and faction. We are heartily sick of the fruitless labour of raking in the jakes of corruption; and should we enter upon close inquiries, we must again wholly suspend the course of current business. You have before you sufficient proofs, whether those gentlemen distinguished more zeal for your service, or attachment to their own interest; and should you be disposed, for the sake of example, to attempt the recovering of those sums, obtained so unwarrantably from the Nabob and his ministers, we apprehend the evidences transmitted are strong and explicit enough to ground an action upon in any court of judicature.

15. It remains with us to offer a few remarks upon that letter which Mr. Johnstone sent into the Board, just as the Admiral Stevens was under sail, as if he apprehended lest some bold assertions he advanced might be refuted before he was out of reach of the shame consequent on detection. Many of these assertions are so mean, so contrary to truth, and to Mr. Johnstone's own knowledge, that we read them with equal surprize and contempt; sensible that he must be hard pressed indeed to support a sinking reputation, who has recourse to falsehood to justify misconduct.

16. This gentleman thinks it necessary, after three months preparation, to apologize for a lame and unseasonable defence, by affirming, that he was denied all access to the papers relative to himself, until a few days before his departure. Mr. Johnstone forgot that he acknowledges the receipt of those very papers, in a note he wrote to our Secretary, in the month of June, before we came to any determination, which note is now in the Secretary's possession. He also forgot that the letters of Messrs. Senior and Middleton, inserted in our proceedings of the 21st of June, prove that all the evidences and proceedings upon that occasion, were regularly transmitted to those gentlemen who were not present at the Board. He ought, therefore, to avail himself of the first plea, and refuse rather to acknowledge the authority of the Committee, than thus to skulk behind a pitiful untruth.

From the deep fund of critical learning which Mr. Johnstone displays in the country language, we might reasonably expect a more perfect knowledge of the power and idiom of his mother tongue; for after torturing the phrase *Cooch booligani*, to make our proceedings appear unfair and partial, he is at length forced to construe it into a signification that implies a stronger menace than can possibly be conveyed in the words of our translation. The least acquaintance with the English language will enable any man to determine whether, in the circumstances there represented, Mr. Johnstone's expression, "I will be silent," doth not imply a more emphatic menace than the words which we ascribe to him, "Your business will meet with no countenance;" inasmuch as the one declares all that is meant; whereas the other intimates a harsher meaning than he would chuse to express?

Mr. Johnstone insinuates, by way of reflection on the management of the Committee, that we were under the necessity of applying to the Seats for the loan of a lack and a half of \* rupees; the fact is true, but it rests with Mr. Johnstone and his associates at the Board to explain how the Company's treasury came to be at so low an ebb, as to want so poor a supply. It also rests with them to explain how the Nabob (for our first application was to the Nabob) came to be so impoverished by presents made to the Deputation, that he could not furnish even this small relief to the necessities of the Company; and it rests particularly with Mr. Johnstone to assign the reason, why a ballance of † six lacks was due from Burdwan to your exhausted treasury, whilst he

\* 18,750 l.

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was filling his own pockets at the Durbar, which ballance was afterwards collected by Mr. Verelst.

What he remarks on our opinion of Mr. Leycester, delivered in our Proceedings of the 21st of June, is also very true. That gentleman had jointly, with Mr. Johnstone, received bills from Mahomed Reza Cawn; but as he declared upon oath, that he had no intention of benefiting by them, it was surely incumbent on the Committee to acquit him in a public opinion. We should have acquitted Mr. Johnstone, likewise, if he had made the same solemn declaration; but our private sentiments of that oath we should have reserved, as in Mr. Leycester's case, to our letter to the Court of Directors, for an oath may silence an accusation of crimes, but it doth not necessarily produce conviction of innocence.

Mr. Johnstone has tacked to this extraordinary defence, certain letters written to him by Mahomed Reza Cawn, and his own agent Mooteram, as vouchers for his good behaviour during the negociation. With respect to these letters, we observe, they were obtained at a period when it may reasonably be supposed that such testimonies durst not be refused, on account of the extraordinary authority which Mr. Johnstone had just before assumed at the Durbar. It may also be observed, from Mahomed Reza Cawn's letter, that great apprehensions were conceived, lest the Nabob should come to Calcutta, to lay his complaints before the Committee; and Mr. Johnstone knows that interest was made with the then Resident, to prevail on him to exert his utmost influence in preventing a visit, which it was thought would not bring much honour to the Deputation. We leave it therefore to your Honourable Board, to determine, whether those testimonies, at the best, will justify Mr. Johnstone from the charge of extortion, and weigh down against the most positive evidence that can be given upon any matter of fact. Be this as it will, we think it necessary to correct Mr. Johnstone's mistake, when he affirms, that Mahomed Reza Cawn's first deposition takes no notice of any demand made in the name of the deputations. A reference to that deposition will satisfy you that Mr. Johnstone either reads without attention, or that he quotes without candour.

It would be endless to pursue Mr. Johnstone through the tedious maze of error and misrepresentation, so evident in every page of his letter; permit us, therefore, to refer you for a more particular reply to the Proceedings themselves, to Lord Clive's minute, and those of the members of the Select Committee, entered in the Appendix, already transmitted by the Admiral Stevens.

As to Mr. Johnstone's management in the Burdwan province, we could wish he had suffered us to cover with the veil of silence transactions that will not bear examination. He hath now, by his ill-judged strictures on Mr. Verelst's memorial, obliged that gentleman to mention what, out of tenderness to Mr. Johnstone, he was unwilling to reveal.

You will observe, from the Consultations, that Mr. Leycester stands suspended, and that Mr. Gray resigned the service, while his conduct, during his residence at Maulda, was under consideration of the Board. You will also perceive the obstruction given to all public business, by cavilling, debate, and unseasonable minutes, while these two gentlemen remained at the Board. Those minutes are themselves sufficient testimony of the spirit which actuated so extraordinary a behaviour; they are indecent, violent, and factious, beyond any thing ever before tolerated in this government in the most licentious of times.

Messrs. Leycester and Gray no sooner perceive the lash of correction removed, than they, unmindful of the lenity of the Committee, when we might with propriety, and indeed ought to have suspended them the service, set up a determined opposition, and dared to ridicule and insult the government upon all occasions; yet we bore this usage with patience,

patience, out of regard to your situation, and replied to their minutes with temper, until Mr. Leycester proceeded to such lengths of licentiousness, as tended to involve the settlement in anarchy and civil dissention. He published an expression hastily dropt at the Board by General Carnac, with such additional aggravating circumstances, as were best calculated to raise a ferment in the minds of the people, and excite the inhabitants to open sedition. The alarm that we were about to introduce a military government became so general, we thought it incumbent on us to trace the author of such dangerous calumny; and, upon conviction, that Mr. Leycester had forged and published it with a design of weakening the hands of the administration, we judged it necessary to suspend him as unworthy of his station in your service.

18. We need not take up your time in justifying a measure that became indispensibly necessary, unless we meant to relinquish all attempts to effect that general reformation so essential to the stability and permanency of your possessions. Mr. Leycester had strenuously opposed every measure which tended to the correction of abuses; and, even whilst he was acting in the capacity of a magistrate and judge, most shamefully endeavoured to suppress, pervert, and fesse evidence relative to Mr. Gray's conduct. His own minute on the occasion that produced his suspension, so thoroughly points out the violent designs he entertained, that we could fit no longer at the same Board with any regard to our own characters, or prospect of advantage to your service. From the loud cry raised by Mr. Gray and him against military force and arbitrary power, one would naturally conceive the President had deprived half the British subjects in the settlement of their birth-right. The fact, however, was nothing more than that Lord Clive had ordered a guard of Sepoys over Ramnaut, a man of infamous character, said to be employed by Mr. Gray, in the most iniquitous acts of extortion, and a native of Maulda, who himself refused to claim the protection of our laws, because he should thereby become subject to the punishment to which those laws condemn his offences; whereas, numberless instances occur in former governments in Bengal of native inhabitants of Calcutta being confined by military guards, upon accusations of infinitely less consequence to the public weal. In short, those two gentlemen themselves were so dissatisfied, so discontented and industrious in propagating the seeds of their ill humour, that we are firmly convinced the suspension of the one was necessary, and that the resignation of the other is conducive to the benefit of your service. Yet these are the gentlemen who, we are told, flatter themselves with the hopes of justifying their conduct to your satisfaction, and of returning again to the management of your concerns in Bengal: should this event ever happen, we have only to wish, and we fervently do wish, although contrary to all human probability, that your affairs may prosper.

19. The Board being now reduced far beneath the establishment we proposed, and to a number insufficient to conduct the necessary business of the government, filling the vacant seats became an immediate object of consideration. By the Admiral Stevens we freely delivered our sentiments of the unfitness for that station of those gentlemen who stand next in succession. We also recommended with the greatest earnestness, that in composing your Council, you would admit of no claim but that of merit and approved services. We must now again beg leave to repeat, that from a list of fourteen junior merchants, we are not able to select a number sufficient to make up the deficiency of members at the Board, unless we abandon all hopes of curbing licentiousness, reforming abuses, and subduing that universal passion which prevails among your servants of accumulating riches in a manner inconsistent with the good of the country and with your interest. The factious spirit which lately blazed out so violently in Council, has reached the lower classes; so that we can entertain no reasonable hope from their cordial services, until they have felt the weight of correction, and experi-

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rienced the influence of example. Still, however, we should be sorry to deprive them of all prospect of rising, by promoting their juniors on this establishment, since time and the certain assurance, that merit and not standing will entitle them to your favours, may produce the desired effect upon their conduct.

20. For these reasons we applied to the Presidency of Fort St. George, requesting that Messrs. Russel, Aldersey, Kelsal, and Floyer, might be permitted to assist us in the present exigency, until your pleasure should be known; being fully persuaded that this preference of the servants of another Presidency, will operate more effectually than if we had recourse to the more irksome and mortifying indignity of superseding them from this establishment.

We are sorry to find that our endeavours to serve the Company in a manner the least injurious to your servants here, should be misconstrued. As soon as this measure became known, by reports from Madras, and previous to our laying any proceedings before the Board, the young gentlemen of the settlement had set themselves up for judges of the propriety of our conduct, and the degree of their own merit: each would think himself qualified to transact your weighty affairs in Council, at an age when the laws of his country adjudge him unfit to manage his own concerns to the extent of forty shillings. They have not only set their hands to the memorial of complaint, but entered into associations unbecoming at their years, and destructive of that subordination without which no government can stand—All visits to the President are forbidden—All invitations from him and the members of the Select Committee are to be slighted—The gentlemen called down by our authority from Madras are to be treated with neglect and contempt—Every man who deviates from this confederacy is to be stigmatized and avoided—In a word, the members are totally to separate themselves from the head, decorum and union are to be set at defiance, and it becomes a fair struggle whether we or the young gentlemen shall in future guide the helm of government. Look at their names, examine their standing, inquire into their services, and reflect upon the age of four-fifths of the subscribers to this bill of grievances, who now support the association, and you will be equally surprised with us at the presumptuous intemperance of youth, and convinced that a stop of three or four years in the course of promotion is indispensibly necessary, if you would have your Council composed of men of experience and discretion.

21. From this sketch of the behaviour of your servants, you will perceive the dangerous pitch to which the independent and licentious spirit of this settlement hath risen; you will then determine on the necessity and propriety of the step we have taken: in the mean time we are resolved to support it, or we must submit to the anarchy and confusion consequent on subjecting the decrees of your Select Committee to the revival and repeal of young gentlemen just broke loose from the hands of their schoolmasters. Earnestly do we wish that every member of this Board had ardently joined in the same sentiments, since dissents only serve to break the force of resolutions, to weaken authority, and give vigour and courage to faction and disobedience.

As to the point of indignity, of which your petitioners complain, nothing can be more evident than that the Committee regarded the present supercession as less injurious than a selection would be from this establishment, since we even declined promoting, upon this occasion, the very persons whom we particularly recommended to the most distinguishing marks of your favour. In this light it is considered in every other service, and we doubt not but it would have been so considered in this service, had such promotion been the choice of the Committee.

22. Our proceedings explain the motives of our conduct, and also the measures we enforced to bring the settlement to order and obedience. Mr. Majendie, the  
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Secretary to the Council, is dismissed from his office, and suspended the service for having eminently distinguished himself in forming a combination so unwarrantable in itself, so dangerous in the present conjuncture, and so peculiarly unbecoming to his age, his station, and his employment. Should this example suffice, we shall avoid proceeding to the extremity of punishing with the loss of bread, young men who have been artfully and unwarily spirited up to faction, to gratify the resentment, the selfish views of some, in whom you have reposed unmerited and much abused confidence.

You will be astonished to observe at the head of this list divers members of your Council, who subscribe their names in testimony of their sense of the injustice done to the younger servants. Possibly this testimony might have weight with your Honourable Board had those gentlemen first cleared up their own conduct from certain imputations which intimate how little their interest disposes them to co-operate in a reformation for the public benefit. At all events, whether the proceeding of the Committee be in itself right or wrong, it is most certainly their duty to repress every factious combination, to temper the heat and vehemence of youth, to maintain the authority of the Board, and avoid giving countenance to a seditious and rebellious humour, which might have produced the subversion of government, and the most fatal consequences to the Company's affairs, before your decision could arrive.

23. This incident occurring four days only before the dispatch of the ships, you will not expect that our letter from the public department should enter so minutely into the transactions of the Board as we proposed. The business is now suddenly taken up by Mr. Campbell, our Secretary, who we are assured will exert his utmost abilities; but he requests you will please to make an allowance for the shortness of time, and his total unacquaintance with all that has been transacted in that department.

24. We have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that Sujah al Dowlah appears well disposed to cultivate our friendship, and adhere strictly to the conditions of the late treaty.

Colonel Smith's brigade is now stationed at Illahabad and Benâres, to secure the King and Vizier against the invasions of the Maharattas, until they have fully re-established themselves, and payment of the stipulated indemnification to the Company is completed. His Majesty's visionary projects of seating himself with our assistance on the throne of his ancestors, and proceeding to Dehly his capital, seem to have vanished before the Committee's remonstrances. We hope he is at length convinced, that without us the scheme is impracticable, and we are certain it can never be your interest to extend the influence of your arms to so great a distance from your present possessions, and the seat of your government.

25. Opening a communication between the Northern Sircar and Bengal must prove mutually advantageous to your presidency at Fort Saint George, and to us. We have therefore determined to embrace the favourable opportunity which the present feeble condition of the Maharattas affords, to carry this measure into execution, and have for that purpose set on foot a negotiation with their chief, whereby we propose he shall cede to us the northern parts of Orissa, now in his possession, upon our consenting to pay a certain stipulated annual revenue: whatever his determination may be, it is our resolution not to attempt gaining this advantage by violence or force of arms.

Peace is at length happily restored to these provinces, and it will be the study of this Committee to preserve and prolong those advantages which you already begin to experience.

We have the Honour to remain, &c.

CLIVE, W. B. SUMNER, J. CARNAC, H. VERELST, F. SYKES.

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## P O S T S C R I P T.

Mr. Sumner conceiving that the following paragraph of the 21st Article is particularly pointed against himself, begs leave to enter his dissent to that and such other parts of the letter and proceedings as he hath already objected to: "Heartily do we wish that every member of this Board had ardently joined in the same sentiments, since dissents serve only to break the force of resolutions, to weaken authority, and give vigour and courage to faction and disobedience."

W. B. SUMNER.

No. III.

*To the Honourable Court of Directors, &c. &c.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort William, March 24, 1766.

A few incidents only which merit your attention have occurred at this Presidency, since our last advices, of the 31st of January, by the Grenville and Kent.

The extraordinary behaviour of your junior servants was then explained to you, as a point in which your interest is deeply concerned: they were at that time turbulent and factious; but we have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the conduct of the more inconsiderate seems now to be disapproved by those arrived at greater discretion, who begin to see the necessity of our determined resolution to reduce your servants in general within the sphere pointed out by their years, standing, and abilities. We must however observe, that your service here has always been carried on rather from a dread of punishment than a sense of duty; and that at present no branch of your affairs is conducted with that alacrity and zeal necessary and essential to your interest, to which, we should conceive, all your servants would be naturally excited, by the uncommon advantages they enjoy.

This decline of public spirit we must, in great measure, ascribe to a practice which hath prevailed at this settlement more than at any other, of intrusting some of the most weighty employments in your service to gentlemen scarce arrived at years of maturity. The business of the Secretary's department was committed to a youth of three years standing in your service; the employment of Accomptant is now discharged by a Writer still lower in the list of your servants; the important trusts of Military Storekeeper, Naval Storekeeper, and Storekeeper of the Works, were bestowed, when last vacant, upon Writers; and a Writer held the post of Paymaster to the Army, at a period when near \* 20 lacks of rupees had been deposited for months together in his hands.

We will not enquire how far these employments have been duly discharged: youth cannot argue dishonesty; but it certainly doth in general imply the want of sufficient discretion and experience. We will only observe, that reposing trusts of so important and lucrative a nature in the hands of young men, hath rendered them too soon independent, and given birth to that spirit of dissipation and luxury, of which you were very justly informed before the appointment of this Committee. From this source likewise flowed a grievance of the utmost consequence to your service, which demands an immediate remedy. The younger servants, being incapable themselves to discharge the functions of their several offices, were forced to have recourse to

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their Baniâns and black Writers; and thus their employments fell into the hands of their assistants; Baniâns became principals in the several departments; the affairs of the Company flowed through a new and unnatural channel; and your most secret concerns were publicly known in the Bazâr. Such trusts, reposed in those Baniâns, encouraged them to advance large sums of money to their masters, which served no other purpose than to support their extravagance, and render them dependent on their servants, instead of being obedient to the Governor and Council. It would be unnecessary to set forth the consequences to a settlement circumstanced as this is, of placing too much confidence in the assistance of the natives. The frequent and imminent dangers which you have lately experienced are evident proofs, unless your more important affairs can be transacted by your own servants, there never will be that dispatch and secrecy upon emergencies, which are necessary to insure success.

For this reason, we have resumed to the senior servants some of those employments which we think require the knowledge and steadiness of more advanced years; and also appointed a Committee to investigate the management and inspect the conduct of the several offices, civil and military, with express authority to establish such regulations as may appear the most conducive to the public service. By these means, we hope to see the principal branches of the Company's business wholly transacted by your own servants, without the aid of men, who ought, as much as possible, to be excluded from all knowledge of your private concerns.

In the letter, which we had the honour to address to you by the Admiral Stevens, we took notice, that too strict a regard to promoting seniority will ever prove injurious to the service, notwithstanding the rule is convenient and equitable, under certain exceptions and limitations. An instance, in confirmation of our opinion, now occurs. Upon examining your list of covenanted servants, it now appears, that not more than four gentlemen above the station of Writers, and below the rank of Council, have resided in Calcutta for several months, we may say years past, to carry on the business of the Presidency; the rest have gone to Subordinates; for the right of succeeding as first, second, or third in Council, to vacancies at the out-settlements, hath ever been considered as vested in seniority, whilst the business of the Presidency was neglected, and nothing remained with the Governor and Council whereby to reward and encourage merit, without appearing to trespass upon justice.

It will therefore be necessary to recall some of the senior servants below the rank of Council, to fill those offices which are at present held by their juniors, in order that your affairs may proceed in a more regular train, and the younger servants be rendered more tractable and obedient, by confining them longer to a state of greater dependence. Indeed, we could wish, that some methods of taming the spirit, without ruining the fortunes of the more incorrigible, were thought of. Perhaps the most effectual would be the depriving them of the advantages arising from salt and Dustucks for two years longer, after the term of their Writers covenants is expired. This, and confining them to the Presidency, would operate powerfully; but we chuse, if possible, to avoid proceeding to extremities.

You are already advised, that your orders, respecting the reduction of Batta allowed to the army, took place on the first day of the present year. This measure hath produced some murmurings and complaints among the subalterns, and even a memorial to the Council, from the officers of the first brigade. Conscious, however, of the necessity of reducing your military expences, we are determined to see the orders strictly obeyed. At the same time, we must confess, that until the charges incurred on account of servants, horses, and the necessary equipage of the field in this climate are diminished, by some public regulations, the allowance of a subaltern will scarcely maintain him in the station of a gentleman.

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Notwithstanding our late expectations, that the King had, in consequence of our remonstrances, broke off his negotiations with the Maharattas, and dropped his airy scheme of proceeding to his capital, we find by Colonel Smith's letters, that he is still intriguing with those free-booters, and stipulating for their assistance by the grant of territories in the very heart of his empire. This we consider as a project of such dangerous tendency to the tranquility of Sujah al Dowlah's country, and even of these provinces, that we have dispatched the most peremptory orders to Colonel Smith, to avoid giving his Majesty the least encouragement of assistance from the Company, without which, we apprehend, he will scarce venture to proceed; and likewise to throw every obstacle he can in the way of his proposed treaty with the Maharattas.

The President and General Carnac proposing to visit the army, and the several districts of the Bengal and Bahar provinces, with a view to enforce the regulations in the army and revenues made by this Committee, we have recommended to his Lordship to form an alliance with the frontier powers, for the security and protection of Sujah al Dowlah's dominions. The Jauts and Rohilla chiefs appear well disposed to cultivate our friendship; and their own safety naturally leads them to oppose every encroachment of the Maharattas, whence we hope to maintain our engagements with the Vizier, without incurring the risk and expence of stationing a brigade in his country.

We have also recommended to his Lordship the expediency of establishing a gold currency, in order to obviate the bad consequences of impoverishing the country by the large annual exports of treasure to China. This expedient, you are already informed, we only consider as a palliative; but, as it will most undoubtedly, for the present, increase the current specie, and give encouragement to the importation of gold bullion, without producing a single inconvenience which we can foresee, we have adopted it without scruple, until some more effectual remedy be devised. For further reasons, and also the means proposed for carrying this measure into execution, we beg leave to refer to our proceedings.

The same proceedings will also point out the several objects of his Lordship's progress up the country, in the course of which he will find many opportunities of ascertaining more accurately the revenues of the several Zemindaries and districts than can be done by orders from the Presidency, and likewise of urging payment of the large out-standing balances to the public treasury.

Perceiving that very considerable frauds were daily committing on the revenues by means of forged Dufftucks, we directed a general Dufftuck-seal to be engraved for the use of the Presidency and subordinate settlements, with an impression the most difficult to be counterfeited, and subject to such regulations as cannot well be eluded.

The application of this seal is also confined to the President and the Chiefs of out-settlements.

Sir Robert Barker, who was lately dispatched from Patna to the Betteä country, in the Bahar province, to demolish the forts, and reduce to obedience some of the turbulent Zemindars, deeply in arrear to the revenues, hath succeeded in the principal objects of his expedition, without encountering any considerable resistance. We beg leave to transmit the following extract of a letter from him, just received by the President, rather as an article of curious intelligence, than a sure prospect of advantage to the Company, dated from the camp of Rampore, March 5th, 1766.

“ Betteä will, I think, be of considerable consequence to the Company. Its  
“ firs will afford masts for all the ships in India, which must produce a new and  
“ considerable trade with the other nations in India, as well as advantage to our

“own shipping. Gold and cinnamon are also here (the latter we gather in the Jungles); timbers as large as any I have seen; musk and elephants teeth; besides many other commodities I have not yet got the knowledge of.”

Should these advices meet with confirmation, you may be assured we shall endeavour to push the discovery to the utmost advantage. In the mean time Lord Clive has directed Sir Robert to send down specimens of every article he thinks may tend to the extension of your commerce, and the exports of the country.

Before we close this letter, justice to his peculiar merit requires we should recommend this officer to your particular regard and distinction. His prudence, moderation, and military accomplishments, as well as the general esteem of the army which he hath acquired, render him highly deserving of any favour you can bestow, and of the most confidential trusts in your service.

It is with satisfaction we also acquaint you, that Mahomed Reza Cawn continues to discharge the duties of his appointment with great assiduity. Any distinguishing mark of your favour will probably be a spur to his endeavours; but in ordering a present for him, we would beg leave to recommend, that one of a superior value may be sent to the Nabob, to prevent his regarding that useful minister with an eye of jealousy.

We have the honour to remain, &c.

CLIVE, JOHN CARNAC, HARRY VERELST.

No. IV.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

Fort William, Sept. 8, 1766.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

At the time our last advices, dated the 24 March, were dispatched, the attention of this Committee was wholly directed to the means of securing the benefits of your present immense possessions. The Company's influence in the empire we considered as sufficiently extended, provided the power of maintaining that influence could be confirmed. To conciliate the minds of the natives to our government, and diffuse the blessings of a mild administration, wherever our authority extended, as collectors of the revenues for the King, appeared to us the most effectual method of accomplishing that desirable end.

2. We had laid the foundation of this plan in the treaty concluded with Sujah al Dowlah, the conditions of which so far exceeded his expectations, in point of advantage to himself, that we are well assured the Company, in granting those terms, have sacrificed a mere shadow of power only, to the substantial benefit of security. The cheerfulness with which he met the Right Honourable President, at a late congress, held in the Bahar province, the ready compliance he shewed in paying the remainder of the indemnification to the Company, stipulated by treaty, even before the time limited for payment was expired; and the engagements which he has renewed for our mutual defence and security, afford the strongest testimony of the sincerity of his gratitude and friendship.

3. It was in the prosecution of our plan, of giving permanency to your influence, that we obtained from the King a grant of the Dewanny; and with the same view we entered into an agreement with the Nabob, the consequences of which are, that

the revenues of no longer depend on Subah.

4. But to insure we should look to the utmost endeavour, immersed in the we entered upon of the Council are already accomplished.

5. The proved unexpected of making for which we beg gentlemen of tions of rigid views, with a you of what t it being itself of the just ser their conduct

6. Whether discontent among several of the army tainted advices already officers as ear further than tains and sub as if they ref state of their

7. In this the recess of ing advices articles of th unless their I secure their period when frontier wou that the nee the Board to

8. It was mitted the a cil to be inf Batta, was to the men authority of subversion of Board, with by General happily arri



the revenues of the three provinces being now entirely under our own direction, we no longer depend for the support of our military establishment, on the bounty of the Subah.

4. But to impart real stability to the system we had adopted, it became necessary we should look strictly into the internal conduct of this government, and exert our utmost endeavours to restore to a system of duty and integrity, a settlement deeply immersed in the most profligate dissipation and avowed corruption. For this purpose we entered upon the odious task of an enquiry into the conduct of divers members of the Council, with the result of which, and the opposition we encountered, you are already acquainted.

5. The seats vacated at the Board by this and other occurring circumstances, proved unexpectedly fortunate to our design, as it opened to us a fair opportunity of making some advances towards that selection of the members of the Council, which we before recommended to your attention, by introducing to the Board four gentlemen of unquestionable merit and reputation, who having been tutored in notions of rigid subordination and œconomy, were the most likely to co-operate in our views, with all the weight of their example and authority. We would not remind you of what the behaviour was, on that occasion, of the servants of this establishment, it being itself the strongest evidence of the expediency of the measure we pursued, and of the just sentiments which we entertained of their principles, had not the violence of their conduct extended beyond what we then foresaw, or could even imagine.

6. Whether any endeavours were exerted by the civil servants to propagate their discontent among the military officers, is what we cannot directly affirm; but from several of their intercepted letters it appears, they were much elated at seeing the army tainted with the malignity of their own infection. We had, agreeable to the advices already transmitted home, reduced the double Batta allowed to the military officers as early as the month of January, yet not a murmur or complaint transpired, further than was expressed in a moderate representation to the Board, from the captains and subalterns of each of the three brigades. All was calm and serenity in camp, as if they rested satisfied with the orders issued by the Select Committee, until a proper state of their circumstances could be laid before the Court of Directors.

7. In this deceitful tranquility, the space of four months elapsed, when, during the recess of the Committee, and Lord Clive's residence at Murshed-abad, the alarming advices arrived, that almost all the officers of the army had combined, under articles of the most solemn agreement, to resign their commissions by a certain day, unless their Batta was restored, and the orders of the Company were abrogated. To secure their measures, without incurring the penalties of desertion, they fixed on a period when they had no pay in advance, and it was every moment expected our frontier would be invaded by a large body of Maharatta horse; flattering themselves that the necessity for their services, at so critical a juncture, must infallibly reduce the Board to submission.

8. It was immediately recommended by Lord Clive to the Board, when he transmitted the advices, rather to put all to the risque, than suffer the authority of Council to be insulted. The saving which arose to the Company, from the reduction of Batta, was now of trifling consideration, when compared with the danger of yielding to the menaces of so unprecedented and mutinous an association. To preserve the authority of the President and Council, and crush an attempt that indicated the total subversion of government, became now the object; in which sentiments the whole Board, with one voice, concurred with his Lordship. He proceeded, accompanied by General Carnac, to Mongheer, where the first brigade lay in cantonments, and happily arrived at the instant when the whole body of Europeans was ripe for a revolt.



volt. Their officers, the lieutenant-colonel and two or three subalterns excepted, had to a man, withdrawn themselves; and the soldiers, fired with the contagious spirit of mutiny, were on the point of following the example of their superiors, when his Lordship's presence and authority awaked them to a sense of their duty, and probably saved these provinces from all the horrors of rapine, desolation, and military anarchy. The same violence of conduct prevailed among the officers of the second and third brigade stationed at Allahabad and Patna; insomuch that Colonel Smith, who was posted on the confines of Korah, remote from all assistance, and in the very face of a formidable enemy, was totally deserted by his officers in those lines he had drawn to oppose the irruption of the Maharattas.

9. For the further particulars of this extraordinary and very interesting event, we beg leave to refer you to the letter and Consultations of the public department, since the whole correspondence passed through that channel, during the recess of the Committee. Here we touched on it with a view only to impress you with more lively ideas of the present state of this settlement, and to evince more strongly the necessity of what we have before repeatedly recommended; a constant attention to the good sense, honour, and steadiness of those gentlemen whom you in future admit into Council.

10. We have a particular satisfaction in observing to you the spirited zeal and unanimity with which the Board assisted, in every measure proposed by the President, to break this dangerous combination. A just sense of the indignity offered to their own authority, as well as of danger to the community, seemed to unite them heart and hand in punishing, to the extreme extent of their power, an act of disobedience; that includes in its effects the being and fate of your invaluable possessions in Bengal. But still it remains to determine how far the delinquents are subject to the utmost rigour of the martial law, and whether such proofs can clearly be exhibited against them, as, admitting the authority of the court, will render the prisoners liable to the punishment of mutiny and desertion.

11. The present situation of your affairs requiring so numerous a military establishment, at such a distance from the fountain of justice, as not to admit of elucidation in difficult cases, before it is too late for decision; it becomes an object of the most serious attention, to bind down your officers and soldiers by the strongest ties of duty, of allegiance, and of martial discipline. Of late years it has been customary to grant commissions without exacting those covenants, whereby the party agrees to serve for a certain period of time; yet, upon the supposition that such contract actually exists, the King and Parliament have graciously been pleased to extend the benefits of the Mutiny Bill to the Honourable East-India Company. To this neglect it is owing, that any officer, or number of officers, has it in his option, without consulting the Governor and Council, to throw up your service in times of the most imminent danger, without incurring the penalty of any law, civil or military; for by refusing your pay, he is no longer subject to your authority.

12. To guard therefore, in future, against an event which may possibly terminate in a manner less fortunate to the Company, we beg leave earnestly to recommend, that no commissions may be hereafter bestowed, or officers sent out, but under restriction of the above covenants, a power of dispensing with the same, by granting permission to resign, to be vested solely in the Governor and Council. So many instances have occurred both here and upon the Coast, of an independent and inroaching spirit in the military, that we imagine further arguments will be unnecessary, to convince you of the necessity there is to support the civil authority with all the power that law admits, and necessity urges.

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13. Before Poonah, held year, 1766. the year arising dred and eight one thousand of the preceding any additional

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16. Durin Chuprah, at minister, affi the Vizier, a against' all a Lordship and pany would matter unfin treaties as he he is not to having prev approbation.

17. At Cl and also from assembled at English arm laboured ha his favourite own ruin, a has been suc understandin

18. With Lord Clive ram, where

13. Before this mutiny broke out, Lord Clive had for some time assisted at the Peonah, held at Murshedabad, for stating the revenues of Bengal for the present year, 1766. We have now the pleasure to inform you, that the neat collections of the year arising from Bengal only amount to one crore, sixty one lacks, seven hundred and eight rupees \* (16,100,708) which is an increase of eleven lacks, thirty one thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight rupees † (1,131,978) on the collections of the preceding year, flowing chiefly from a reduction of charges, without levying any additional tax on the Zemindars.

14. The statement of the revenues of Bahar is likewise just come to our hands; and we perceive with great satisfaction that they amount this year to sixty-one lacks, eighty thousand two hundred and seventy-six rupees ‡ (6,180,276), being an increase of neat revenue of five lacks, sixty-two thousand two hundred and sixty-one rupees § (562,261). This increase we, in a great measure, owe to the diligence and abilities of Mahomed Reza Cawn, who is now employed on the spot in regulating the collections of that province; whence we hope the revenues will be reduced to more order, and raised to a greater amount than have for some years been known, on account of the scandalous embezzlement of the public money, and misconduct of the collectors.

15. It is by means of oeconomy and frugality only, that we wish to see your revenues increased; since they are always sufficiently great to answer every purpose of the Company; for without the greatest care be taken to prevent Zemindars from carrying on long balances, and defrauding the government under various pretences, your collections would soon dwindle to a sum insufficient to defray their own charges; the authority of the administration would be despised, and the several Rajahs and Zemindars would assume to themselves an independent power, after they had fleeced the people, and fattened upon the spoils of the public.

16. During Lord Clive's residence in the Bahar province, a congress was held at Chuprah, at which his lordship, General Carnac, Sujah al Dowlah, and the King's minister, assisted. Here was laid the foundation of a treaty between the Company, the Vizier, and the Jaut and Rohilla chiefs, for their mutual defence and security against all attempts of the Maharattas to invade their several dominions. But his Lordship and General Carnac, from consideration of the little advantage the Company would deduce from such distant allies in case of an invasion, chose to leave this matter unfinished, and to entrust Sujah al Dowlah with the management of such treaties as he might think convenient for his own and the Company's welfare; but he is not to conclude any thing, nor enter into any absolute agreement, without having previously acquainted the President with every proposal, and obtained his approbation.

17. At Chuprah likewise attended deputies from the Maharatta chiefs, from whom, and also from the letters they brought, it evidently appears, the Maharatta forces are assembled at the King's requisition, and upon the positive assurances he gave that an English army would join them to escort him to his capital. His Majesty has indeed laboured hard by every artifice of persuasion, intrigue, and negotiation, to succeed in his favourite scheme, which we are convinced would terminate in accomplishing his own ruin, and destroying the peace of the whole empire. In a word, his conduct has been such, that we are at a loss whether more to condemn his policy, despise his understanding, or abhor his principles.

18. With a view to watch the motion of the Maharattas upon our own frontier, Lord Clive has directed Colonel Smith's brigade to canton at Doudnagur, or Safferam, where the Colonel will be advantageously posted to oppose any hostile intentions,

and

\* 2,012,588 £.  
† 141,497 £.

‡ 772,534 £.  
§ 70,282 £.

and to cover the Bahar province. This brigade is recalled in consequence of Sujah al Dowlah's having fully discharged all the engagements into which he entered by the treaty; and for this reason likewise we shall immediately recall the resident at Benâres, and every other European residing in the Vizier's dominions, that no disputes may arise from private commerce, to disturb the amity now subsisting.

19. We have frequently mentioned to you the inconvenience of exporting money and bullion from this country for the supply of your China investment; yet we would not take upon ourselves to withhold this assistance, until we received your instructions. Accordingly the Council have issued orders to the mint master to purchase all the bullion that may be imported this season, for the use of the China market; to which we propose remitting to the amount of twenty-four lacks\*.

20. To obviate the immediate bad effects to the commerce and revenues of this country of such an annual drain of treasure, Lord Clive carried into execution, during his stay at Murshed-abad, the regulations of the Select Committee relative to a gold coinage, which we hope soon fully to establish, notwithstanding the prejudices of these people against every innovation. Having already presented you with a general view of the above regulations, we must now request your excuse for not transmitting the particulars by this conveyance, as our secretary has not been able to get up the proceedings, on account of the death and sickness of several of the assistants in his office.

21. Already we have gone through the enquiry you direct into the several sums granted by the Nabob Meer Jaffier, for the purposes of restitution to the merchants, and donations to the army and navy. All the principal agents for those disbursements have been separately examined upon oath before the Committee, and their depositions taken viva voce, and recorded on the face of our Proceedings.

22. Sorry we are to observe, that from those depositions it will appear how little the Nabob was himself inclined to impoverish his treasury by free gifts, and voluntary donations. The present to the Squadron in particular seems to have been obtained by very unjustifiable acts and measures, which we conceive will reflect very little honour upon a servant of his Majesty's acting in so high a station. But we would chuse to avoid making further remarks, since the next dispatches will afford you an opportunity of forming your own judgment of transactions so deeply interesting to the national character. It appears, however, upon the most positive testimony, that the donation to the army was a free and unsolicited present from the Nabob, bestowed on Major Adams and the army, as a pledge of their faithful services at the most critical juncture; and a ransom of the money and effects in such cities and towns as might fall into their hands, and be subject to the violence of the soldiers. It is not therefore surprising that this donation should have been voluntary, while the sum granted for restitution to the merchants, and a present to the navy, flowed with so ill a grace from his excellency, who could not possibly expect any equivalent services.

23. When we have dispatched the Lord Camden we shall proceed to enforce such of your orders as we have not already anticipated; and you may rest assured that neither prejudice nor favour to individuals shall warp us from that duty which we owe to you, our constituents, and to our own honour.

24. We are sorry to acquaint you, that on the 8th day of May, his excellency the Nabob Nudjum al Dowlah breathed his last, after a short illness, incurred by some intemperance in eating, and increased by a gross habit, and unfound constitution. As he was a prince of mean capacity, bred up in total ignorance of public affairs, this event, which formerly might have produced important consequences in the provinces, can at present have no other effect than that of exhibiting to the eyes of the people

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people a mere change of persons in the Nizamut. Nudjum al Dowlah dying without issue, his brother Syef al Dowlah succeeded to his dignities; and promises, from the mildness and pliancy of his disposition, to answer all the purposes of a Nabob to the people and to the Company. At present he is a youth not exceeding the age of sixteen, which more immediately and naturally brings the administration into the hands of persons in whom we can repose confidence.

25. Before this time you have probably determined the fate of the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco; whether it may be continued under the regulations we have established, or is totally to be relinquished by your servants. We shall therefore only observe on this occasion, that certain amendments are now proposed by the President, and adopted by the Select Committee, which we think will remove every inconvenience observed in the present establishment of that trade, and secure to the Company the power of rewarding or punishing their servants, according to the degree of their merit or misconduct.

26. We are further to inform you, that the Committee nominated by us to inspect into the conduct of the several departments at the Presidency, have entered upon the duty of their appointment. They have in consequence framed divers regulations, which we think well calculated to promote your interest, as they are conducive to the order and dispatch of business; for which reason we propose carrying them into execution with all convenient expedition.

27. From observing the great increase in the expences of living in Calcutta, the Committee of Inspection have pushed their regulations to a reformation of the police of the settlement. From the general inattention of late years to this object, the articles of diet, wages, house-rent, &c. have risen so exorbitantly, that your allowance to junior servants is very inadequate to their necessary and unavoidable expences; and this we consider as the reason why they have hitherto been indulged with larger salaries than you approve, annexed to their several employments. In the present flourishing situation of your affairs, we should apprehend their appointments ought to afford them a decent and sufficient maintenance, enough to preserve them against every attempt to meanness and dishonesty, but too little to support them in profusion and extravagance.

We have the honour to be, &c.

CLIVE, J. CARNAC, H. VERELST.

No. V.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort William, Dec. 9. 1766.

1. In the Letter which we had the honour to address to you by the Lord Camden, we described every material occurrence that passed at this Presidency, from the departure of the Ponsborne, to the date of the above dispatch. We now transmit in the packet a duplicate of that Letter, and also the proceedings of the Select Committee, to which we beg leave to refer for a more particular detail of facts.

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2. The depositions recorded on the face of our proceedings, respecting restitution to the merchants, and donations to the army and navy, are themselves so explicit and clear, as to render any further lights to guide your judgment almost unnecessary. The means exercised to obtain those large disbursements from the Nabob's treasury are fully declared upon oath, by the principal agents on either side. A Committee expressly appointed for examining the several claims of the sufferers, hath already passed their accounts; we should therefore apprehend, that the question now to be determined is not, whether the losses of individuals have been fairly stated, but whether the Nabob, Meer Jaffier, could justly be made accountable for losses consequent on a war, of which he was not the author; and also whether you ought to be considered as bound in honour to discharge such debts of his excellency, as he could never be willingly brought to acknowledge.

These are points which we submit to your consideration, while we content ourselves with observing, that whatever opinion we may entertain of the decrees of the Committee of Restitution, it would, at this distance of time, be impossible to enter upon a satisfactory review of their proceedings, after so many of the parties chiefly concerned, are either gone home or dead.

Such a scrutiny would, in the present circumstances, be attended with many difficulties; it would be productive of injustice, and bear hard upon the fortunes of such individuals as had adjusted their claims with a scrupulous nicety, to the amount of their losses. At all events, it would furnish a topic for clamour, and a handle for misconstruction, to have those accounts now disputed, which were passed by your Governor and Council, acting here as your representatives, after three-fourths of the whole had been actually discharged.

3. With respect to his excellency's grant of a donation to Mr. Tinker, and the squadron under his command, it rests entirely with you to determine, from the evidences set forth, whether the services performed by his Majesty's ships of war in Bengal, merit a reward so disproportionate to the then exhausted condition of the Nabob's treasury. A court of equity will ascertain the distinctions to be made betwixt a free gift flowing from a sense of obligations received, and a grant obtained by the unwarrantable methods described in the depositions of the witnesses examined on this occasion.

4. As soon as we had closed the enquiry into restitution and donations, the Committee took into consideration the several other orders issued by your Honourable Board, during the course of the last season. Your remarks on the inland trade were so peculiarly striking, and so perfectly agreeable to our own sentiments, respecting that perpetual source of oppression and complaint, that we determined immediately to apply the most efficacious remedies to a disease which must in time have subverted the constitution, and endangered the being of the East India Company. By the Admiral Stevens you were informed of the plan we had concerted for carrying on the trade in salt, tobacco, and beetle-nut, for the benefit of the Company and their servants, without injury to the Nabob, and without molestation or oppression of the natives. It was the best and most equitable system we could then devise, yet experience hath shewn the necessity of laying the trade under further restrictions, the reasons for which, together with the particular mode of conducting this valuable branch of commerce in future, are fully explained in Lord Clive's minute\*, entered on our Proceedings. In those emendations of the plan on which the society of trade was founded, all due regard has been paid to the sovereign prerogative of the Company, acting as collectors for the King, and more especially to the scrupulous distribution of natural right to the native inhabitants; whence we flatter ourselves, that the inland trade will henceforward prove to you a commodious fund for rewarding the different degrees of merit

\* September 3, 1766.

amongst your fellow country people. benefits, upon t

5. To the re we have added articles, usually an extensive fraud and injustice indiscriminately the returns are Presidency, or circular traffick Auring to another protection.

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7. We have superintend th of the Compar assistance; and spection of the thority prejudi putes with the the most amica

8. Further graphs 10, 11 ber 1765, we fluence which in his own har in our proced many salutary the Governor ger be distract the duty of h his own priva commerce, by of the Mayor ficiency. He even from the otherwise enla office. We l and conscienc limits prescrib rank he hold



amongst your servants, and a fruitful source of encouragement to the industry of the country people, who are now, without distinction, admitted to a participation of its benefits, upon the most reasonable and moderate terms.

5. To the regulations formed for conducting the business of the society of trade, we have added a total prohibition of another species of inland traffick, in a variety of articles, usually transported from one district of the interior country to another, whereby an extensive field was open for the abuse of power, and the most notorious acts of fraud and injustice. All Europeans in your service, or under your protection, are now indiscriminately confined to trade in certain stated articles of import and export; the returns are to be made from the places where the goods were sold, directly to the Presidency, or the subordinate factory from whence they were dispatched; and no circular traffick, by way of barter, or otherwise, is in future to be allowed from one Auring to another, on pain of confiscation of the goods, and loss of your service and protection.

6. The complaints which we received of repeated losses sustained in the revenue, and of violence offered to the country people by the Gomastahs, or black agents, employed by your servants, and screened from justice by their influence, afforded us an opportunity of imposing further restrictions upon the inland trade, by obliging those Gomastahs to register their licences at the head court of the district where they reside; a monthly return of which is to be made to the Ministers and the President at the Durbar, and to be compared by them with the list of licences sent from hence by the custom-master. This, with other limitations specified in our proceedings, will, we doubt not, conduce greatly to the peace and good order of the country.

7. We have also recalled from the Aurungs, all your servants who were sent to superintend the investments in cloth, being well assured that these branches of the Company's business, may as conveniently be carried on without their assistance; and that the residence of young gentlemen at places remote from the inspection of their superiors, hath furnished the means of assuming to themselves an authority prejudicial to the people, detrimental to the revenue, and productive of disputes with the other Europeans Companies, with whom it is our inclination to live in the most amicable manner. Sept. 10.

8. Further to enforce the spirit of your instructions contained in paragraphs 10, 11 and 12, of your separate letter, under date the 24th December 1765, we deliberated on the properest measures for restraining that pernicious influence which enables a commercial Governor of this settlement in a manner to engross in his own hands the whole trade of this country. The President's minute, entered in our proceedings the 19 September, very clearly and forcibly expresses the many salutary effects that must arise to the Company and the public, from placing the Governor in so affluent and respectable a situation, that his attention shall no longer be distracted with the perplexing care of an extensive trade, nor diverted from the duty of his station by too close an application to ways and means of promoting his own private interest. He is now to renounce all concerns in every branch of commerce, by a solemn oath and penal bond for 150,000 l. executed in the presence of the Mayor's Court, the Company's servants, and the other inhabitants of the Presidency. He is restricted from every possible method of accumulating wealth, and even from the lending out money at more than the common rate of interest, or otherwise enlarging his fortune, except by the regular and stated appointments of his office. We have not only bound him down by the strongest ties of law, honour, and conscience, but we have endeavoured to remove every temptation to exceed the limits prescribed, by rendering the emoluments of his appointment suitable to the rank he holds in the settlement, the dignity he must necessarily maintain in the eyes

of the natives, and the prospect of independence which he ought to enjoy at the close of a long course of faithful services.

For these purposes we have assigned to your Governor a commission of  $1\frac{1}{5}$  per Centum, upon all the revenues, of which the Company are collectors for the King; the consilage on coral, the duties on coinage, and such other emoluments and perquisites as the Court of Directors usually have annexed to his station and office.

As the President's own words are most expressive of the meaning of the Committee, we beg leave to quote the following paragraph of his Lordship's Minute, in which he enumerates the happy consequences that must result from divesting the President of all other cares than those of his station.

"Although by these means a governor will not be able to amass a million, or half a million, in the space of two or three years, yet he will acquire a very handsome independency, and be in that very situation which a man of nice honour and true zeal for the service would wish to possess. Thus situated, he may defy all opposition in Council; he will have nothing to ask, nothing to propose, but what he means for the advantage of his employers; he may defy the law, because there can be no foundation for a bill of discovery; and he may defy the obloquy of the world, because there can be nothing censurable in his conduct. In short, if stability can be insured to such a government as this, where riches have been acquired in abundance in a short space of time, by all ways and means, and by men with or without capacities, it must be effected by a Governor thus restricted."

We are to observe, that our President, Lord Clive, has himself set the first example of that moderation which he requires in future governors of this settlement, his Lordship having, on the 1st day of October, taken the restrictive oath, and executed the penalty-bond, in the manner prescribed.

9. As we have never presumed to deviate from your express orders, excepting when circumstances were so altered as would render our obedience criminal, we entered with great reluctance upon the execution of your instructions contained in the general letter of the 24th December, 1765, and 13th February, 1766.

Mr. Hugh Watts was, pursuant to these orders, called upon to refund the amount of commission he had drawn, at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per Centum, upon the revenues of Midnapore; but as this commission had first been established by a Committee of Lands, and was afterwards confirmed by your President and Council, we accepted in lieu of money, of his bond, made payable in case you should think proper to repeat your injunctions after we had represented the circumstances of the affair.

10. In the same manner we called upon Messrs. Marriott, Lawrell, Goodwin, and Graham, to refund the whole amount of the monthly allowance received from the Rajah during their residence in Burdwan; yet, in favour of these gentlemen, it must be observed, that the above allowance was constantly inserted in the monthly cash account transmitted to the Presidency, whence it became an absolute act of the Board, for which your servants are no longer responsible.

We likewise imagine that the commission drawn upon the revenues of Midnapore, as well as the allowance granted by the Burdwan Rajah, must have been known by the general books for more than twelve months before your orders for refunding were issued. These emoluments were therefore, if not absolutely confirmed, yet tacitly allowed by the Court of Directors themselves. The silence of your Honourable Board, and of the Governor and Council, upon a point so immediately striking, may very naturally be construed into a sufficient sanction for their conduct; and the alternative, either to refund sums of money actually expended in supporting the unavoidable charges of their stations, or of losing the benefit of your service, must therefore be regarded as a very particular hardship upon these gentlemen.

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For these reasons the same terms are to be revoke these orders servants, acting

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12. Mr. Marriott to our demands, in the courts of

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14. In consequence accounts of Burdwan directed Mr. V and an explicit transmitted to attention drawn vince for the last procure, a minute from the period ny; and these Select Committee every deficiency Board.

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16. The King to believe, will Camden. In t of the revenues measure be ascr knowledge in t all the attention enforce obedience predations com

For these reasons we also accepted bonds for restitution of the Rajah's allowance, in the same terms as that from Mr. Watts; and it is our request, that you will please to revoke these orders, which must prove so injurious to the fortunes of your junior servants, acting under the immediate orders and inspection of the Board.

The bonds are as follows:

Mr. Watts	- - - - -	11,000	0	0
Mr. James Lawrell	- - - - -	32,822	0	0
Mr. Henry Goodwin	- - - - -	24,000	0	0
Mr. J. Graham	- - - - -	7,400	0	0

Rupees 75,222 0 0

12. Mr. Marriott, intending to resign the service, has intimated, in reply to our demands, that he is ready to answer every legal claim upon his fortune in the courts of justice in England. Nov. 4, 1766.

13. Your orders for refunding the presents received by the gentlemen who composed the Council and Deputation, at the accession of the Nabob Nudjum al Dowlah, were duly conveyed to Messrs. Playdell and Middleton, the only remaining members of the Board who acted upon that occasion. The former has applied to the Board for permission to resign the service, and the latter has acquainted the President of his intention to return this season to England; so that enforcing your instructions any further appears unnecessary.

14. In consequence of your several remarks on the management, revenues, and accounts of Burdwan province, in the General letter, the 24th December, we directed Mr. Verelst, the Supervisor, to draw out an exact statement of the revenues, and an explicit answer to the difficulties you have pointed out in the former statements transmitted to England. That gentleman has accordingly, with great pains and attention drawn out a very full account of the receipts and disbursements of the province for the last year. He hath likewise deduced, from the best authorities he could procure, a minute detail, in the same form, of all receipts and disbursements of money, from the period when that province was first assigned over to the Company; and these accounts he has accompanied with a letter addressed to the Select Committee, which, we hope, will explain every inconsistency, account for every deficiency, and solve every material difficulty represented by your Honourable Board. Oct. 28.

15. From the Resident at Midnapore's letter to the Supervisor, and the accompanying accounts, you will perceive the great increase of the revenues of that province since Mr. Verelst's appointment; you will also observe from the resolution of the Committee when Mr. Graham's letter was under consideration, the method in which we propose conducting the business of that province and Jéllasore in future, in order the Company may receive the full value of the lands, without oppressing the Zemindars or distressing the landholders, whose ease and happiness must ever be inseparable from the true interest of their masters. Oct. 14.

16. The King's revenues, of which we are now the collectors, we have reason to believe, will fall very little short of the sums specified in our letter by the Lord Camden. In the list of packet we transmit general statements, for the present year, of the revenues of Bengal and Bahar, the large increase upon which must in great measure be ascribed to Mr. Sykes's assiduity, and to Mahomed Reza Cawn's profound knowledge in the finances. Without this diligence and skill in the executive officers, all the attention of the Committee to support the influence of government, to enforce obedience of the Zemindars, and to prevent frauds, embezzlements, and depredations committed on the revenue, would fail to produce the required effect.

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17. The large investments, which we are now enabled to send home, by means of the supplies we remit to China, and the cargoes from hence, render the revenues of this country an object of the utmost importance, not only to the Company, but to the British nation. As these are the only means we can at present devise, whereby you can enjoy the full fruits of his Majesty's royal grant of the Dewanny, we shall continue to exert our utmost endeavours to extend the investment every year; and we propose continuing to supply the China market with money, until your prohibition to the contrary shall arrive, or advice from the Supercargoes, that they have a superfluity in their hands. Inconveniencies will undoubtedly attend this annual exportation of treasure; but when we reflect on the great addition already made to the current specie of the country by the gold coinage, and likewise that even should your sales fall, yet will every increase of your investment prove so much actual money remitted to your coffers, we are inclined to think this the most eligible system that can be pursued at present. We are further to consider, that while foreign nations are providing their investments with money borrowed at a high premium, you are only sending home in goods the surplus of an immense revenue, which may truly be regarded as so much clear gain to the Company and to the nation.

18. But this great and national object is not to be secured and perpetuated without your unremitting attention to our military establishment, and maintaining a force proportioned to the risk incurred by the extension of your influence and possessions. The dismissal of the Nabob's useless military rabble, and of those troops kept up by the Rajahs and the Fozzars, in their several districts, for the purpose of enforcing the collections, hath obliged us to raise eight battalions of independent Sepoys; so that notwithstanding the great number of recruits sent out this year from England, notwithstanding the liberal supply of troops granted by your Presidency at Fort St. George, so general was the mortality on board the transports, so great the loss from the Falmouth's misfortune, and so fatal the effects of the late unhealthy season, that we cannot avoid being alarmed at the extraordinary disproportion of numbers between your European and black infantry. The very signal instance of fidelity and attachment exhibited by the Sepoys, during the late mutiny of the officers, might indeed be sufficient to quiet our apprehensions, and remove all suspicion of their conduct, if experience the preceding year, of their dangerous insolence and turbulent spirit had not evinced the necessity of keeping the black troops in awe and subjection.

19. We therefore most earnestly request that you will try, by every possible means, to complete the European infantry to the number specified in our address by the Admiral Stevens; and that effectual measures may be taken to prevent crowded ships, to dispatch your recruits at an early season, and to guard against the infamous practices of owners, husbands, and officers of ships, whereby the lives of hundreds of men are sacrificed, whose services would be valuable to the nation, and altogether invaluable to the Company.

20. In the letters from the public department, your Council have frequently expressed their wishes that you would comply with the military store-keeper's indents for hats and shoes. We now make it the request of this Committee, that the brigades may in future be fully supplied with articles so essential to a soldier's cloathing, and which are not to be procured here in a sufficient quantity at any price.

21. At the same time we beg leave, once more, to repeat the necessity of your pursuing the most vigorous steps to prevent the exportation of fire-arms and ammunition to any part of India. It is not sufficient that we guard against this illicit, and perhaps fatal trade, at your Presidencies of Fort St. George, and Fort William, unless the same care be taken at Bombay, Bencoolen, and your factories on the Malabar coast;

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since the arms imported at those places are soon conveyed by country vessels, and other means, to the most remote parts of Hindostan.

22. The accompanying duplicate of our letter by the Lord Camden, will advise you of the prospect we then enjoyed of uninterrupted peace and tranquility in Bengal. Nor is this prospect more visionary or remote at present, notwithstanding the King has plied every engine of state artifice and deceit to disturb the repose of the empire, by arming for the purposes of his wild ambition, a power who, in a short time, would shake the foundation of his throne, and deprive him of that independent and comfortable revenue which he now possesses for the support of his dignity. Disappointed in the King's promises of assistance from us, the Maharattas have ever since remained seemingly irresolute how they shall act, at some distance from the frontiers of the Korah province, which was ceded to his Majesty last year by treaty. They have not yet attempted to molest the King, our ally Sujah al Dowlah, or us; yet for the greater security we have directed the second and third brigades to march towards the Caramnassa, to support Sujah al Dowlah, if he should require our assistance, and to confirm that terror of our arms with which the Maharattas seem already to be strongly impressed. This motion we expect will produce the full effect, without striking a blow.

23. We learn with great satisfaction by the latest advices from the coast, that all differences with Nizam Allee are likely to be removed. Should this desirable event take place, we hope to concert a plan of operations with the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, which will effectually prevent our being molested in future by the Maharattas, by obliging them to confine their whole attention to the preservation of what they now possess. At present they are the only power who can excite disturbances in Bengal; nor have we any thing further than a mere temporary interruption to our collections to apprehend even from the Maharattas; since with our well-disciplined and numerous army, we may bid defiance to the most powerful country army that can be brought in the field.

24. Having maturely considered your orders, conveyed in paragraph 39 of your general letter by the Lord Camden, we entirely agree in opinion that the government hath undoubted right to oblige the inhabitants to contribute their proportion of expences necessary to the security of the settlement. But as not only the propriety of such an assessment, but even our power of levying taxes hath been questioned, and this proposal already rejected in the consultation of the Board in the year 1762, we chuse to avoid renewing it at a juncture when the affluence of the Company renders it less necessary, and when such an exertion of authority might possibly revive discontent, and re-kindle those sparks of sedition, which have been too recently suppressed to admit of a certainty that they are thoroughly extinguished. However, lest it should hereafter be thought expedient to assess the inhabitants for the purpose mentioned, or for any other measure of government, we could wish to recommend that you would please to consult the learned in the law, how far the authority of your Governor and Council, acting here as your representatives, extends over the property of the inhabitants living under their protection.

25. You will observe from our proceedings, that Mr. Rumbold's appointment to a seat at the Board, with the standing he held at your Presidency of Fort St. George, was considered by Messrs. Alderfey, Kelsall, and Flower, as an injury to themselves, and a supercession, which their conduct at the Board no way justified. At the same time we confess the merit of these gentlemen, we must observe, that the injury would have been still greater to Mr. Rumbold, had he been denied that rank in Council, to which he was intitled by faithful services. Our objection was not to him, but to a selection from this establishment, which



which we conceived would serve only to aggravate the general discontent; and we therefore gave him assurances at the time, that his supercession would be temporary.

With the Committee's declaration that such assurances had been given, we are of opinion the Madras gentlemen might have remained satisfied, until the sentiments of the Court of Directors could be received; since it is evident we were reduced by necessity only to this measure, without intention of injuring, or in any degree superseding Mr. Rumbold, whose services to the Company, both in a civil and military capacity, deservedly entitle him to an exemption from every indignity.

26. The public department will advise you of Mr. Sumner's resignation, and of his having taken his passage in this ship; we shall not proceed to fill up the vacancy his departure has occasioned in the Committee, until his Lordship is able to attend the business.

We have the honour to be, &c.

CLIVE, JOHN CARNAC, H. VERELST.

No. VI.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

1. At the time we were honoured with your commands by the Mercury packet, Lord Clive's severe indisposition obliged us to defer making any particular reply; we therefore contented ourselves with general expressions of thanks for the approbation you are pleased to bestow on our conduct, and the confidence you repose in the zeal and attachment of the Select Committee.

2. Having since his Lordship's recovery more maturely considered your letter, we beg leave to repeat our acknowledgments with the liveliest sense of duty and gratitude; and to assure you, that finding ourselves more completely armed with the sanction of your authority, we shall proceed with boldness and vigour upon the same principles that have hitherto guided our steps, and produced those events which you do us the honour to consider as important and fortunate to the Company.

3. When first we embraced the political system now established, it was with diffidence; when we entered upon the correction of abuses, and the punishment of misconduct, it was with reluctance: but sensible that the one and the other were essentially necessary to the stability of government, and even to your existence in this country, we pursued our measures with that disinterested zeal which we hoped would merit your applause; and we now receive in your approbation, the most acceptable reward of our labours.

4. It is with extreme satisfaction we perceive, that you agree with us in opinion, respecting the expediency of the royal grant of the Dewanny. The necessity and utility of this grant become every day more evident. All cause of contention with the government is now removed; security to the property, freedom to the trade, and protection to the persons of the native inhabitants are insured. Funds for the provision of your investments, for the maintenance of your troops, and for the necessities of war, are established. Influence to command respect is acquired; and we may, in our present circumstances, be regarded as the spring which, concealed under the shadow

shadow of the Nabob, without offering a diminution of the Nabob's hold in the distribution of justice, to the efficiency of the jealousy of the

5. As to the possession, being collector of the Committee. In collections, receives the revenues appropriated to the necessities, redress, transmits the account of the transactions to the Select Committee.

6. The collection of the immediate subordinate to the Nabob, and the treasure, and the us. The diary method of office great a variety of particular modes of correspondence, however receive in his public triplicates to be

7. For the purpose of the whole business and apart from the Nabob, be left to the Nabob's graph.

8. To avoid dependence on the Nabob, respective provisions. To the former, and directing the collecting you the current business whatever may be proper objects of influence and power, and the liances they form as a sovereign power.

9. To the Nabob, conducting negotiations relative to the Nabob's affairs; of settling the Dewan for the Nabob, the country power.

slow of the Nabob's name, secretly gives motion to this vast machine of government, without offering violence to the original constitution. The increase of our own, and diminution of his power, are effected without encroachment on his prerogative. The Nabob holds in his hands, as he always did, the whole civil administration, the distribution of justice, the disposal of offices, and all those sovereign rights which constitute the essence of his dignity, and form the most convenient barrier between us and the jealousy of the other European settlements.

5. As to the functions of this office of Dewanny, they have, since we came into possession, been exercised as you direct by the resident at the Durbar who acts as collector of the King's revenue, under the inspection and controul of the Select Committee. In conjunction with Mahomed Reza Cawn, he superintends the whole collections, receives the monthly payments from the Zemindars, disburses the stated revenues appropriated to the King and the Nabob, enquires into the causes of deficiencies, redresses injuries sustained or committed by the officers of the revenue and transmits the accounts of his office, the invoices of treasure, and the monthly account of the treasury, with every other occurrence of importance to the President and Select Committee.

6. The collections of the province of Bahar we have thought proper to place under the immediate direction of the Chief at Patna, who acts jointly with Shetabroy, and subordinate to the resident at the Durbar, to whom he makes his consignments of treasure, and transmits monthly accounts of his office, which the resident forwards to us. The diary you recommend would certainly conduce much to the regularity and method of office; but as we are afraid of distracting his attention, by presenting too great a variety of different objects to his mind, we must at present leave the particular mode of carrying on business to the resident's own discretion. His correspondence, however, with the natives, and copies of all letters he may send or receive in his public station, we shall direct him to forward to us, with duplicates and triplicates to be transmitted in our general packet.

7. For the greater precision in the management of your affairs, we have considered the whole business of the Dewanny as purely political; it is therefore kept separate and apart from that of your former possessions, the direction of which will, in future, be left to the Governor and Council, in the manner explained in the next paragraph.

8. To avoid confusion and delay in transacting the multiplicity of affairs, now dependent on this Presidency, we have drawn a line, whereby their distinct and respective provinces are marked out and assigned to the Council and Select Committee. To the former we have allotted the disbursement of money, ordering, preparing, and directing your investments, managing your Calcutta lands, and Pergunnahs, collecting your revenues of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, together with the current business of the Presidency, subordinate Factories, and Aurungs, with whatever may any way relate to the trade and navigation of India. These were the proper objects of the attention of your President and Council, before the Company's influence and power became so enlarged, before the armies they maintained, the alliances they formed, and the revenues they possessed, procured them a consideration as a sovereign and politic, as well as a commercial body.

9. To the Select Committee is reserved the power of making treaties, conducting negotiations, and contracting alliances; of ordering and directing every thing relative to the operations of war, the defence of the country, and to military affairs; of settling the amount of the annual revenues, and collecting them in quality of Dewan for the King; of issuing orders to the resident at the Durbar, and corresponding with the country powers; in a word, of carrying on whatever business may affect the govern-

ment, or the political and military interest, of our honourable employers, with this farther reservation of the powers delegated to the Committee, of interfering upon such occasions as they may judge necessary to the good of the Company, and general welfare of the country.

10. Such are the regulations under which we propose to conduct the business of this Presidency in future, and which we hope will meet with your approbation. In marking the limits assigned to each department, we have observed all possible regard to the honour of the Board, and to the natural boundaries of what your possessions were, and what they now are; with this view especially, that if, upon any future emergency, or reverse of fortune, we should be forced to relinquish our late acquisitions, and return to our former condition, we may do it with the least injury to your affairs.

11. In the list of packet by the Cruttenden, we sent you a general estimate of revenue for the present year, to be collected in the province of Bengal and Bahar, in the manner fixed and adjusted at the last Poonahs. For your farther satisfaction, we now transmit an explicit account of the receipts and disbursements of the Dewanny treasury, from the above period; whence you will observe, that the monthly payments have been strictly kept up, and that the annual collections are likely to answer our most sanguine expectations. Should any deficiency arise upon the present statement, it must proceed from the regulations we have made for the increase of your own investment, which necessarily restrain many articles of private trade, that always paid duties to the government; and also from the impossibility of our enforcing the collections in the remote frontier provinces, where many independent Rajahs reside, with the same degree of authority exerted under the immediate eye of your resident at the Durbar.

12. Sensible of the importance of these revenues to the Company, and convinced by experience that it requires the most unremitting diligence to prevent the natives from eluding payment of the stated collections, your Select Committee will ever be attentive to support, with all their influence, the authority of the resident at the Durbar, and to see their orders for restraining the pernicious interposition of your servants in the affairs of government rigorously enforced. As early as the month of November, 1765, we strictly prohibited all your servants, civil and military, from lending money to the Zemindars, without first obtaining the consent and approbation of the Ministers.

Dec. 31. But observing this order might be evaded, under various pretences, we have now, agreeable to your directions, enjoined, on pain of immediate dismissal from your service, that no person whatever, living under protection of the Company, shall lend money at a higher rate of interest than 12 per Cent. per annum, except on Respondentia only. As the success of the Durbar resident's endeavours to complete the annual collections depends in a great measure upon the punctual observance of this highly necessary regulation, you may rest assured, that nothing in our power shall be wanting to exact implicit obedience; and that we shall, without regard to persons, punish the offenders with the utmost severity.

13. When first we received from his Majesty the grant of the Dewanny, and entered upon the collection of the Royal revenue, we committed this important charge to the management of Mahomed Reza Cawn, under the immediate inspection of the resident at the Durbar. We could not conveniently, before we received your approbation of the steps we had taken, assign stated salaries to the ministers, and we were therefore obliged to connive at their receiving, for the maintenance and support of their dignity, certain emoluments and perquisites which have always, by the custom of the country, been annexed to their station and offices.

14. Mahomed Reza Cawn has now of himself, with great delicacy of honour, represented to us the evil consequences that must ensue from the continuance of this practice; since, by suffering the principal officers of the government to depend, for the

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the support of their dignity, on the precarious fund of perquisites, we in a manner oblige them to pursue oppressive and corrupt measures, equally injurious to the country and to the Company. We are likewise of opinion, that it is more becoming the dignity of your government, more consistent with your true interest, and more conformable to the plan we have adopted of conciliating to us the minds of the natives, that a stop should, in future, be put to the necessity of those exactions, which, though customary, must nevertheless be grievous to the people; and we have therefore, upon due consideration of the necessary expences consequent on their rank, station, and offices, assigned twelve lacks of \* rupees a year for the maintenance and support of Mahommed Reza Cawn, Roy Dullub, and Shetabroy, <sup>Dec. 31.</sup> who hold in their hands the most important employments of the government.

15. In establishing this fund for the maintenance of the principal officers of state, we have had a particular regard to the amount of their perquisites, which will henceforward be annexed to the revenues, to their elevated stations, and to the expediency of supporting them in all the shew and parade requisite to keep up the authority and influence of their respective offices. As they are all men of weight and consideration in the country, who held places of great trust and profit under the former government, we farther proposed, by this act of generosity, to engage their cordial services, and confirm them steady in our interest, since they cannot hope, from the most successful ambition, to rise to greater advantages by any change or revolution of affairs. At the same time it was reasonable we should not lose sight of Mahomed Reza Cawn's past services; he has pursued the Company's interest with steadiness and diligence; his abilities qualify him to perform the most important services. The unavoidable charges of his particular situation are great; in dignity he stands second to the Nabob only; and as he engages to increase the revenues, without injustice or oppression, to more than the amount of his salary, and to relinquish those advantages to the amount of eight lacks of † rupees per annum, which he heretofore enjoyed, we thought it proper, in the distribution of salaries, to consider Mahomed Reza Cawn in a light superior to the other Ministers. This we have recommended to the President, who will adjust, with their approbation, the several proportions to be drawn from the above appointment. We have only to observe farther upon this subject, that great and enormous as the sum must appear which we have allotted for the support of the ministers of the government, we will not hesitate to pronounce that it is necessary and reasonable, and will appear so on consideration of the power which men employed on those important services have either to obstruct or promote the public good, unless their integrity be confirmed by the ties of gratitude and interest.

16. Previous to the arrangement made of public business, whereby all your former possessions are delivered over in charge to the Governor and Council, we <sup>Nov. 4.</sup> had under consideration the letting the Calcutta lands to new tenants, upon fresh leases. Such was the resolution of the Committee, on the 2d of December, 1765, to which purpose, advertisements were then published. A list of farmers were selected from the great number of candidates who offered themselves, in framing which we had a particular regard to the character and services of those persons admitted to the benefit of lands.

17. If you will please to refer to the President's Minutes at the time we <sup>Dec. 2. 1765.</sup> granted the former leases, you will find that his Lordship then entertained suspicions of fraud in the management of the Pergunnahs. In consequence, we had set on foot an inquiry, the effects of which appeared, as we were on the point of closing our agreement with the new farmers; and this determined us to postpone the

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† 100,000/.



intended grants until the 11th day of April next, that our researches into this dark affair might not be obstructed by the collusion and artifice of the new tenants. The fresh leases will then be made out by the President and Council, we doubt not with a very considerable increase of rent, arising from an equal assessment, according to the real value of the lands; for we would avoid every act of violence and oppression, as well as of favour and partiality, to individuals.

18. Immediately upon receipt of your orders for commencing suits against your servants who had received presents at the accession of the late Nabob, we formally demanded, by a letter from our Secretary, full restitution of Messrs. Playdell and Middleton, now in Bengal, and of the attorneys of those gentlemen who are returned to England. Mr. Playdell's answer we have not yet received; Mr. Middleton's is annexed to our proceedings, and we beg leave to recommend it to your consideration, Jan. 16. as we are well assured that gentleman was entirely ignorant of your orders for signing covenants at the time he accepted the presents. The reputation of strict honour and integrity which Mr. Middleton always maintained in your service, obliges us to wish that you would please to distinguish him from those other servants who have incurred your displeasure, by dropping a prosecution that must be attended with ruin to his fortune and family. For these reasons, and as he has agreed to give us security that he will answer to you, or us, every legal demand upon his fortune, we have thought proper to avoid filing the bill of discovery, &c. which you direct.

19. Agreeable to your orders, and to the directions contained in the opinion of his Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor General, we are preparing to file bills against the other gentlemen, upon the refusal of their attorneys, to answer our demand without authority from their constituents. Upon inquiry, we find that none of their effects are in possession of the Company; and we apprehend that scruples will arise in the Mayor's Court as to the power of attaching such effects as may be deposited in the hands of their agents, or of the natives. We shall, however, literally follow your instructions as far as circumstances will admit, and we can act consistently with your security, in a place where the profession of the law is exercised by men who seem to derive all their knowledge by inheritance, or to possess it from intuition, without previous study or application.

20. We come now to speak to your instructions relative to the inland trade, which you very justly consider as the foundation of all the bloodshed, massacres, and confusion, which have happened of late years in Bengal. Your orders are positive, and therefore our obedience shall be implicit. Accordingly you will observe in our proceedings, that the society for conducting this branch of traffick stands absolutely abolished on the first day of September next. The contracts for the present year being formed, and large advances made, it was impossible, without ruin to individuals, and confusion to the public, to fix an earlier date for the execution of your orders. Jan. 16.

21. But although our duty obliges us to pay the strictest obedience to your peremptory orders for abolishing a trade to which you express so strong an aversion, the same duty requires we should freely offer our sentiments upon a subject in which we think your immediate interest, the good of the service, and the public welfare, are deeply concerned. The Honourable Court of Directors, and indeed the whole body of Proprietors, found it necessary to restrain by covenants their civil and military servants from receiving those advantages to which they had for many years been accustomed. It is likewise proposed, in order that you may enjoy the real fruits of your late acquisitions, to make such an increase of investment, particularly in silk, as will effectually deprive your servants of the usual benefits arising from private trade. Farther, that the revenues may not be injured in any degree, they are prohibited from lending money at a higher rate than 12 per Cent. per annum;

annum; and a remaining channels of free business, nor a port in India,

22. Taking great increase of and that it will present means of mission, the rewarding faith carrying on a b therto received rights, of which

23. Our letter to you the regu month of Sep sidered in the o facturing the s natives only, a ever could be were admitted of the country at a stated and nity of your g after a course their services, have so equita

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annum; and a trade by sea, in the manufactures of the country, being the only remaining channel for the exertion of industry, that likewise is choaked up by those shoals of free merchants annually imported, who being incumbered with no public business, nor confined to residence in Bengal, can carry on a free trade with every port in India, to much greater advantage than your servants.

22. Taking all these circumstances into consideration; reflecting also upon the great increase of luxury of late years, in consequence of the sudden influx of wealth, and that it will not be practicable for a time to reduce the charges of living to the present means of supporting those charges, we adopted, in consequence of your permission, the plan of a regulated and restricted inland trade, as the best method of rewarding faithful services, the surest means to excite zeal, and the fairest mode of carrying on a beneficial trade, without relinquishing all the advantages we have hitherto received, or subjecting the natives to those encroachments on their natural rights, of which they have with too much reason complained.

23. Our letter by the Camden, and proceedings by the Cruttenden, will explain to you the regulations of the original plan of the society, which took place in the month of September last. Under these regulations the trade can scarce be considered in the odious light of a monopoly, since we are rather the agents for manufacturing the salt, than the proprietors of the trade. It is sold in Calcutta to the natives only, and to the utter exclusion of all Europeans, at an easier rate than it ever could be procured when under the management of the government, before we were admitted to any participation. The natives transport it to all the different parts of the country, under such limitations that it must reach the hands of the consumer at a stated and moderate price. Hereby the people sensibly feel the justice and lenity of your government; and your servants, who have attained the highest stations, after a course of many years spent in this unfavourable climate, reap the reward of their services, and enjoy the means of securing that independence to which they have so equitable a claim.

24. We are now directed totally to renounce all share and benefit arising from this trade; it must be made over to the natives. The government must of course come into possession; nor can it be carried on otherwise than upon the ancient footing of farming it out to the ministers, officers, favourites, and dependents on the government, who will rear immense fortunes upon the oppression and ruin of the public, in despite of our utmost influence and endeavours. These are at present our suspicions; time alone can verify our conjectures. You, no doubt, will maturely consider how far it is probable men will continue honest against all the seductions of private interest; and whether it may not be necessary to strengthen the ties of that duty expected from your servants, by the lighter bonds of gratitude for the affluence which they enjoy during the time of their servitude, and the independency they ought to secure before the close of their labours.

25. By the Admiral Stevens we earnestly recommended that the Select Committee might be continued. You are pleased to approve our sentiments, which experience has rather confirmed than altered. You have entrusted Lord Clive with the powers of abolishing it entirely, or of continuing it under such regulations as he shall think most conducive to your service. His Lordship, who joins with us in opinion that this government, upon its present establishment, cannot properly be conducted except by a Select Committee, composed of your servants, of the greatest zeal, integrity, and abilities, has delivered in, as the last act of his administration, a proposal for continuing the Committee after his departure, in the manner expressed in his letter, entered in our proceedings. The gentlemen proposed to fill up the vacancies, are  
Jan. 16.  
such as we could not but approve; and the plan laid down by his Lordship, for the  
guidance.

guidance and direction of the Committee, so clearly chalks out the path which we ought to pursue, and the only path which can lead to your honour and interests, that if we deviate from it, it must proceed not from ignorance, but inclination; and we become in all respects accountable for the consequence of such deviation.

26. It is with the deepest concern we must observe to you, that, after due consideration of the present state of your service in Bengal, and of the unsuitness of some, and the youth of others, who stand next in succession to Council, we thought it essentially necessary to stop the course of promotion, and to pass an act of this Board, that no vacancies which might happen in Council, should be filled up, until your further pleasure could be known. The importance of this station being now greatly raised, by the increase of your revenues and influence, it is of the last consequence that the management of such weighty concerns should only pass through the hands of men of the greatest experience and abilities you can select.

27. The President and Council, we are sorry to remark, have incurred your censure, for purchasing the Admiral Stevens, at our recommendation. We considered her advices were of too much importance to the Company to be retarded, on account of a trifling difference of expence. Your acquisitions, of which you had then the first notice, could only be secured by an early reinforcement of troops. To alter the destination of your China ship, would have proved injurious to your valuable investment, as she carried a large supply of treasure. The Kent we knew to be a bad sailer; and the expedient we fell upon appeared to be the only resource. We are further to observe, that in the survey made of the Admiral Stevens we were deceived, as she afterwards proved to be in a worse condition than was reported by the master-attendant and officers.

28. The Persian translator having for some time past been too much indisposed to attend to business, we are under the necessity to postpone, till the dispatch of the latter ships, the complete set of country correspondence which we proposed transmitting by the Britannia.

We have the honour to be, &c.

Fort William, Jan. 24, 1767.

CLIVE, H. VERELST, J. CARNAC, F. SYKES.

#### P O S T S C R I P T.

We have just received from the Council at Canton, a narrative of the loss of the Earl Temple, in the China seas. This account was taken from the declaration of three of the crew, who arrived at Canton, one of whom the Supercargoes have sent to Bengal, to assist in navigating a vessel we propose sending, in hopes to save the lives of several of our countrymen, who are now confined, in a wretched condition, to the small boundaries of a desolate island. We transmit the narrative a number in the packet.

CLIVE, H. VERELST, JOHN CARNAC, F. SYKES.

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## No. VII.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HON. SIRS,

Fort William, February 19, 1767.

1. After accomplishing your earnest wishes for the restoration of peace and tranquillity in Bengal, your late President, Lord Clive, embarked for England in the *Bri-tannia*, leaving the government in charge to Mr. Verelst.

2. A duplicate of our dispatches upon that occasion, containing a recital of the most considerable occurrences since the departure of the *Cruttenden*, we have the honour to transmit a number in the packet; together with the proceedings of that date of the Select Committee.

3. We should be wanting in the just praises of superior merit, and in gratitude for the essential services performed by Lord Clive, if we failed to acknowledge that, to the prudence and vigour of his administration you are chiefly to ascribe the present flourishing condition of your affairs. Firm and indefatigable in his pursuits, he joined to the weight of personal character, a zeal for your service, and a knowledge of your interests, which could not but ensure success.

4. It would be unnecessary to remind you of the deplorable situation in which his Lordship and the Committee found this settlement. We beheld a Presidency divided, headstrong and licentious; a government without nerves, a treasury without money, and a service without subordination, discipline, or public spirit. We may add, that amidst a general stagnation of useful industry, and of licensed commerce, individuals were accumulating immense riches, which they had ravished from the insulted Prince and his helpless people, who groaned under the united pressure of discontent, poverty, and oppression.

5. Such was the condition of this Presidency and of these provinces, at the time his Lordship and the Committee entered upon the arduous task of reformation. Your present situation need not be described. The liberal supplies to China, the state of your treasury, of your investment, of the service, and of the whole country, declare it to be the strongest contrast to what it was, and the most pleasing assemblage of fortunate circumstances, and of prosperous events, that has occurred at any period.

6. As the measures pursued are so fortunate as to meet with your approbation, and as they precisely correspond with our own sentiments, you may be assured of our constant endeavours to preserve your affairs in the same channel through which they have flowed with such variety of success: we therefore beg leave to repeat to you, what we have already declared to Lord Clive, that no motive, no consideration, shall ever induce us to depart from that system of politics, which he has recommended to us by precept and example, unless some very extraordinary event and unforeseen change should occur in the posture of your affairs.

7. A few days after his Lordship's departure, the Select Committee assembled in pursuance of your orders, and of the resolution taken the 16th ultimo, to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the resignation of Lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, and General Carnac. Sensible of the good effects which must result from our unanimity, it is with pleasure we observe, that all the members appearing to be actuated by the same principles, we have before us the cheerful prospect of proceeding with harmony and mutual confidence.

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8. It was with much regret we entered upon the exercise of those powers which you have been pleased to confer on the Committee, by an act of necessary severity towards lieutenant Butler, whom we dismissed the service for insolent behaviour, and obstinate disobedience to the orders of the acting Chief at Cossimbazar.

9. With the same view of asserting the authority of your Council, and extirpating every seed of sedition from the army, the Committee came to a resolution of dismissing Mr. Rider, one of your covenanted servants, and all those officers who had subscribed to an address presented to Sir Robert Fletcher, after that gentleman had been cashiered by a court martial of field officers, and their sentence ratified by the whole Board. So avowed a spirit of opposition to the sentiments of their superiors, expressed so immediately after a general and dangerous combination, demanded the most rigorous punishment.

10. We are happy in the opportunity of remarking the favourable change which so evidently appears in the conduct and disposition of your civil servants, who seem to have profited by your wholesome and seasonable correction. At the same time that it may be necessary to hold in your hand the rod of chastisement, we cannot but offer it as our opinion, that very salutary effects may also be expected from the occasional exercise of your lenity and indulgence. When you have duly considered the many restrictions now imposed on your junior servants, when you reflect upon the exorbitant price to which almost every article of living is risen, we hope it will appear to you, as it evidently does to us, that their allowance is no way proportioned to the unavoidable expences of the most rigid œconomy.

11. They are now deprived the benefit of all trade; they are restrained from receiving the salaries annexed to double employments, which were advantages that ought to be appropriated in reward for diligence and ability. The greatest number is indeed reduced to your bare monthly allowance, which, it must be owned, is too scanty a fund to secure them against the necessity of incurring debts that have a bad influence upon their morals, by entangling them in difficulties, from which every means will naturally be tried to extricate themselves.

12. For these reasons we exhort you, that a competent subsistence may be established for your junior servants, and more especially the writers, who have no claim to Dustucks; that amidst the present opulence of the Company, their servants may not be suffered to live, for some years at least, in penury and want. As to the freedom of this representation of facts, we are assured it will meet with your excuse, since it proceeds from our duty, which obliges us to conceal nothing that so immediately affects your service and your interest.

13. The state of the army is likewise an object worthy of your consideration. In times of profound peace, when the troops lose the advantages they enjoyed in the field, and are reduced in cantonments to half Batta, and in garrison to their mere pay; it is scarce possible that subaltern officers can subsist and maintain the appearance which they ought, of gentlemen. We shall try every possible means to reduce their expences, and to lower the wages and number of servants; but abuses have prevailed so long, and established themselves so firmly, that to remove them will require time and rigour. Colonel Smith has already made great progress in the reformation of your military establishment; and we are persuaded that the same activity which has been exerted in reducing the army to order and obedience, will be continued to influence the officers to prudence and œconomy.

14. In consequence of some very just and pathetic remonstrances, offered to the Governor, we have agreed to make a farther provision than is allowed by charter-party for those officers who are dismissed, as well as for those who, having resigned your service, are thought unworthy of being restored, and are therefore ordered home

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by the Board. The circumstances of many of those unhappy persons cannot but excite compassion. Without money, without cloathing, and without friends, they are, for the preservation of order and police in the settlement, ordered on board ship, where they can only be received on the footing of the meanest seamen or soldiers, after coming abroad and supporting in the service the character of officers and of gentlemen. We have acted as we think becomes the dignity of your situation, and as humanity dictates. An allowance of 30 l. for each passenger is made to the captain, that being the sum which you direct to be paid on account of officers who come abroad; and we are to observe, that whether you should chuse or not to continue the allowance, it could not be avoided on this particular occasion, without incurring the censure of barbarity, or suffering the Presidency to be over-run with idle and discontented people.

15. In the short space of time which intervenes since our last dispatches, no change has occurred in the politics of this country, excepting that the army of Abdalla still continues advancing towards Dehly. We shall take into our most mature consideration, what consequences may result from the arrival of this northern invader at the capital, respecting the peace and tranquility of our allies, or of these provinces. Sujah al Dowlah continues in the same disposition; and the Maharattas discover no intentions of disturbing our repose. The third brigade, however, still remains stationed in Sujah al Dowlah's country; for which reason we thought proper to decline his request to Sir Robert Barker, that we would intirely evacuate Chunargur; since we consider that fortress as a necessary pledge of his fidelity, and a proper security to our troops while they are acting at his own requisition in defence of his dominions.

16. We now beg leave to transmit the complete set of country correspondence from the 1st of January 1766, to the close of the year, which from a variety of accidents could not be sooner prepared. The President has laid before us his country correspondence, from the time he entered upon the government, the broken sett of which we shall forward by the Nottingham; and as those letters are considered as the most authentic records of the true state of the country, we shall take all possible care to have them regularly sent home for your information.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, RICHARD SMITH, CLAUD RUSSEL, A. CAMPBELL.

No. VIII.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HON. SIRS,

Fort William, April 10, 1767.

1. By the Nottingham we had the honour of transmitting to you the proceedings of this Committee to the 10th of March, a duplicate of our address by the Duke of Albany the 19th February, and the President's country correspondence to the date of the dispatch.

2. The report of Abdalla's intended invasion, was the only circumstance which occurred to engage your particular attention during the short space of time that intervened between the dispatch of those two ships. We could add nothing with certainty to the intelligence we received, and the plan of operations we adopted, both which stood fully expressed on the proceedings and correspondence. It was, therefore,

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fore, thought adviseable to avoid giving you the trouble to peruse sentiments that could only be founded upon conjecture.

3. At the time Lord Clive resigned the administration of your affairs, some distant rumors were heard of Abdalla's ambitious projects; and you will accordingly perceive that his Lordship has touched upon this subject, in the sketch of your situation in Bengal, which he delivered to the Committee before his departure. Circumstances would not admit he should enter upon particulars; and it would seem, indeed, as if his Lordship were of opinion the project of so distant an invasion was attended with too many difficulties to be pursued with success, or even seriously proposed.

4. In these sentiments we also joined, from a persuasion that Abdalla was too politic to embark his kingdom, his honour, and life, upon the very doubtful issue of an expedition, from which he could not expect advantages proportioned to the dangers, the fatigues he must encounter, and the expence of blood he must necessarily incur.

5. We considered that he was divided from us by an immense tract of country, almost equally impervious during the heats of summer and the rains of autumn; that this country was inhabited by a variety of different and independent Princes and nations, whose natural interests would prompt them to oppose the progress of the usurper; that he was actually engaged in war, and had met with an obstinate resistance from the Seiks, his ancient and irreconcilable foes; that the Maharattas, a power equally formidable with himself, were aspiring at the same superiority, and would therefore incline, from views of policy as well as motives of jealousy and former enmity, to set themselves in opposition; that the Jauts and Rohillas, potent nations, who form a kind of barrier to the dominions of his Majesty and of Sujah al Dowlah, and who hold their possessions now in perfect independency, would therefore be averse to changes which could not operate to their advantage; that the English could not be equally the objects of their jealousy with Abdalla, since, in ceding his conquered country to Sujah al Dowlah, they had given so recent and unexpected a proof of their moderation; and last'y, that if, to the evident interests and prejudices of those several powers, we joined our firm and declared resolution of opposing the Shaw with forces who have acquired so high a military reputation, the usurper would either be deterred from the prosecution of his arduous attempt, or such a confederacy would be united, as might probably keep the danger remote from your possessions, and secure those of your allies.

6. These were the conceptions we formed, upon the first intelligence received that Abdalla was advancing to Dehly. The advices soon became more certain of his success against the Seiks, and progress towards the capital. We had also farther advices of his declared intentions against Sujah al Dowlah and these provinces, to which he was instigated by the intrigues of Cossim Ally Cawn. Under these circumstances it was thought expedient to concert a plan of defence, and reduce to a regular system the measures we thought necessary for checking his progress, for animating our allies, and raising the country powers to a sense of their own danger, so that the outlines of our operations should be clearly marked out before Colonel Smith repaired to the army.

7. Experience of the disposition of the natives of this country has taught, that vigorous measures will ever produce powerful effects on the minds of a cautious dilatory people, who hesitate about forming resolutions until they are compelled by necessity, or strongly influenced by the passions of fear and hope. To remain inactive spectators of an invasion which threatened to overwhelm the political system of all India, would have dispirited the King and Sujah al Dowlah, whose dependence was on our support. It would have given courage to the invaders, and it might induce the country powers,

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from motives of fear, to join his standard, and to act contrary to their interests and inclinations in a general confederacy, which a timely declaration of our resolutions would probably prevent, or even convert to our own purposes. In proof that these sentiments were not merely speculative, you are requested to consult the letters from the King and Sujah al Dowlah, whereby it will appear how earnest they were for a composition with the Shaw. It is beyond doubt, the King was strongly actuated by fear to make unbecoming submissions; and that nothing but our influence with him could prevent his sending Menêer al Dowlah with acknowledgments, unworthy of his royal dignity, and highly impolitic, at a juncture when firmness and spirit became essentially necessary.

8. With these views, and with the farther intention of demonstrating to the powers of India our religious observance of treaties and engagements, as well as that we were under no apprehensions from Abdalla's boasted superiority of numbers, we determined upon the plan entered upon our proceedings. Immediate advice of this our resolution was dispatched to the King and Sujah al Dowlah; the Rohillas were informed of our intentions, by a letter from the President; the same intimations were given to the Maharattas; the report was spread over the whole country, and probably it hath already reached Abdalla's camp, that the English are making preparations to preserve the freedom and tranquility of the empire.

9. This conjecture is rendered the more probable, as we are just advised by Sir Robert Barker, in a letter from Allahabad, that Abdalla is returning back to Lahôre, having compromised, for the sum of \* 25 lacks, his demands on the Indian powers. Whether we are really to ascribe this sudden motion to the ideas he may have conceived of the difficulties he is likely to encounter; or whether he means again to resume his designs, we cannot affirm with certainty: most likely it is, that he would have advanced to Dehly, and remained there during the rainy season, instead of returning back so many days march to Lahôre, if he had not entirely relinquished the thoughts of invading Hindostan.

10. At all events, this retreat will greatly retard his project. It will encourage the Seiks to raise up fresh obstructions to his progress, and it will afford us sufficient leisure for every necessary preparation; since, for this season at least, we have nothing to apprehend. We are indeed of opinion, that all danger is in future removed from that quarter, as we learn, from good authority, that the valour, the discipline, and the number of our troops, have been reported to Abdalla, with such exaggerations, as seemed then to stagger his resolution; and there being no other power from whom we need conceive any great apprehensions, we flatter ourselves that we may venture to congratulate you on the prospect there is of lasting tranquility in Bengal.

11. Policy, however, requires we should hold ourselves in constant readiness to oppose every attempt to destroy that equality and balance of power among the Princes of the empire, in which consists our greatest security. It is of little consequence to us who shall be the superior; it is the gaining a superiority, and the aggrandizement of any Prince or nation, which would prove dangerous to your possessions. We are sensible, however, this maxim is to be restrained within bounds; and that the Honourable Company's interests require we should guard against the dangerous consequences of extending our military operations, and enlarging our frontier beyond the circle of the Nabob's dominions. Hence we considered it the more necessary we should be explicit in assigning the reasons which induced us to resolve that our troops should cross the Caramnassa to the support of our allies. The instructions of this Committee to Colonel Smith, will further explain our sentiments, and convince you of our first determination to act defensively only, and to proceed no farther than

good faith required; and the present circumstances rendered expedient. For this reason it was, that we made no proposition to the Jauts, Rohillas, or Maharattas, lest we should encumber ourselves with fruitless and troublesome engagements. The latter might probably have demanded the cession of countries, which in time would render them more formidable to us than the power of Abdalla; and it was impossible to suggest to the former any expedient, whereby our alliance should become useful to them, except that of advancing an army to their assistance, which would necessarily carry our military operations to a great distance beyond our own frontier.

12. Upon the whole, the Committee joined in opinion, that vigorous measures, altho' more confined, would sufficiently influence the several powers to declare against Abdalla; and that if they failed of the proposed effect, we ought not to proceed farther. You may, therefore, rest assured we shall steadily pursue this conduct, and never be induced by any considerations to form connections that may lead us to distant expeditions.

13. When, however, we consider the many unforeseen dangers, and sudden irruptions, to which your possessions in Bengal are perpetually exposed, our duty obliges us to request, in the most earnest manner, that you will not suffer your attention to be diverted from completing your military establishment in the manner proposed by Lord Clive. We now transmit a duplicate of the general return, which went a number in the Nottingham's packet, whence you will perceive, that owing to a variety of accidents, the regiments are now less complete in effective men than when we represented their condition by the Admiral Stevens.

14. We also beg leave to observe, that, with respect to fire-arms, we should find the troops very much distressed were they under the immediate necessity of entering upon action. The Pergunnah battalions are scarce half armed, notwithstanding we detained twenty-two chests of arms destined for your Presidency at Bombay. It therefore becomes of the most serious consequence, that the Military Storekeepers indents be fully complied with, and that we should in future receive the annual supply of musquetry required in the former letters from this Committee.

15. In order to remove the repeated complaints from the army of the deficiency of draught-bullocks, we have come to a resolution of supplying the artillery by a method which, we hope, will answer better than by contract. Colonel Smith has proposed, that the government shall engage to provide twelve hundred large draught-cattle in the Purnea province; that these shall be fed by contract; and that the contract shall be given, in the usual manner, to the lowest bidder. This proposal appearing to us well calculated to remove complaints, to obviate the evil consequences that may arise from a deficiency of draught-bullocks, and to ease the natives from many unavoidable acts of oppression, without incurring an extraordinary charge, we have accordingly recommended to the President to enter upon the necessary steps for providing the number of cattle proposed, at the expiration of our engagements with the present contractors.

16. To complete the regiments, and to put our army upon the most respectable footing, we applied to the Presidency at Madras for a supply of four hundred Europeans rank and file, which they are requested to replace from the first of our recruits that shall arrive on the coast. They were also apprised of the plan we had formed for opposing Abdalla, with the view that the two Presidencies acting in perfect consonance, may accommodate their operations to each others necessities. The same advices were sent to Bombay.

17. You will observe in our proceedings a letter from Janajee, the chief of the Cuttack Maharattas, with whom we proposed treating for the cession of that country, in order to open an immediate communication, and connect Bengal with your pos-

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possessions on the Coromandel Coast. His Vackeel is soon expected in Calcutta to negotiate this business; and nothing shall be wanting on our parts to carry into execution a measure which, we think, will conduce to the mutual convenience and security of the two establishments, if it can be effected without such concessions as will prove injurious to our reputation.

18. We have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the business of the collections of Bengal and Bahar is drawing towards a conclusion: and that we shall very nearly complete the revenue stated in the general estimate. The particulars are not yet received; but we have the strongest assurances from Messrs. Sykes and Rumbold, and also from Mahomed-Reza Cawn and Shetabroy, that the ballances will be very inconsiderable at the next Poonah.

19. You are already advised, that the Committee have recommended to the President his making an annual tour of the provinces, at the time for adjusting the collections of the ensuing year. Mr. Verelst will accordingly begin his progress before the close of this month, and as soon as the business of the Presidency will admit of his absence, leaving the government in charge with Mr. Cartier.

20. The Select Committee met the 9th, when, at the instance of Sujah al Dowlah, we countermanded the march of the second brigade, and the detachment ordered to take post at Serajapore. As the Nabob was lately very urgent and solicitous for our assistance, it is evident, from his present request, that he gives entire credit to the intelligence of Abdalla's return, and is eased of all apprehensions for this season. This proceeding we have not been able to get up, without detaining the dispatch, which we have done so long to inform you of Abdalla's resolutions.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, CLAUD RUSSELL, A. CAMPBELL.

#### S U P P L E M E N T.

In reply to your enquiry regarding the farms held in Burdwan by Messrs. Johnstone, Hay, and Bolts, we are to observe, that in the account of sales of those lands, it appears the farms rented by those gentlemen were put up in lots considerably larger than any of the others. It has also been confidently reported to Mr. Verelst, our President, by the late Mr. Ashburner, the officers of the government, and others, who were present at the sales, that few or no bidders appeared, because it was known that Mr. Johnstone intended those farms for himself, and it was therefore apprehended their offers might incur his displeasure. We must leave you to judge, from this instance, how necessary it is become to exclude from the renting your lands all Europeans whatever, and more particularly gentlemen who acquire weight and influence from the share they have in the administration of your affairs.

We have the honour to remain, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, CLAUDE RUSSELL, A. CAMPBELL.



## No. IX.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort William, Sept. 26, 1767.

1. By the Mercury packet, under date the 10th April, we ventured to offer, as our opinion, that Achmet Shaw Abdalla had relinquished all thoughts of prosecuting the ambitious designs formed against us, and our allies, under colour of regulating the affairs of the empire. These our conjectures, we have the pleasure to acquaint you, are now fully confirmed by the most authentic advices. The Shaw has not only evacuated his conquests in the country of the Seiks, but he has retreated towards his own frontier with so much precipitation as justifies us in supposing his resolutions were influenced by the report of the preparations we set on foot to oppose his intended invasion. Whatever might be the motives for so sudden a change in his councils, we will not hesitate to declare it as our firm persuasion, that he will never again resume a project which must be attended with so much difficulty and danger in the execution, and with such dubious advantage and success in the event.

2. When we reflect upon the number and discipline of our troops, the reputation which the English arms have acquired, as well as the knowledge of late years obtained of the frontier passes and inlets, by which these provinces may be guarded against irruptions, it cannot be doubted, whilst you maintain your military establishment, but we shall be able to defend your possessions against the most considerable powers of this country. Such, however, is the extent of your territorial possessions, and the amount of your revenues, that we must not flatter ourselves with the hopes of retaining your acquisitions without some attempts from the jealousy of those who formerly bore the greatest sway in the affairs of the empire.

3. In this number we would reckon the Maharattas, a restless and ambitious people, who may be tempted, by the reputed opulence of Bengal, to renew their incursions. They have already revived their claim to the usual tribute paid to the Subahs of these provinces, and the President has received letters from Rigenaut Row and Janajee, demanding the arrears of the annual Chout, in a more imperative style than we imagine they will presume to justify, when we come to an open explanation.

4. From the above letters, and other advices, we understand, that at a conference held on the banks of the Narbudda, all their differences have been adjusted between Rigenaut Row and Janajee, Chiefs who have been long at variance. This event, if confirmed, would seem to preface a fruitless issue to the negotiations we have for some months carried on for the cession of Cuttack. It will even give colour for suspicion that a plan has been concerted between the Subah of the Decan, the Maharattas, and Hyder Naick, to act with united forces against the English; a disjointed unnatural confederacy, which, should it really exist, can neither be permanent in itself, nor formidable to your possessions in Bengal. The utmost we need apprehend will proceed from a temporary interruption to your collections, from the sudden incursions of small parties; and this inconvenience we will endeavour to obviate by a proper distribution of your forces.

5. We have been induced, by these considerations, to co-operate with the views of your Presidency at Fort St. George, pursuant to a plan laid down by Lord Clive, and now in part adopted by the gentlemen at Madras. At their requisition we have embarked in the Hector, Earl of Elgin, Northington, and Savage, a country ship, three

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battalions of Sepoys, to enable them, by a vigorous effort, to reduce the Subah to terms of accommodation, or to establish such a system of policy in the Deccan, as circumstances may render necessary. We have also engaged, should the situation of their affairs require a further supply, to reinforce them with a complete brigade, when the season will admit of transporting troops, and a sufficient amount of tonnage can be provided.

6. Although we are fully of opinion the Honourable Company's interest demands our utmost attention to avoid differences with the country powers, yet the present circumstances of your affairs are such as absolutely to require that your influence should be maintained with vigour, and all encroachments repelled with spirit. The harmony subsisting among the Presidencies, and the ready and mutual assistance they afford upon all occasions of necessity, will not fail to impress the minds of the natives with just sentiments of our policy and strength. For this reason chiefly we are resolved to enter cheerfully into the measures adopted on the coast, that our enemies may see our dependence is not alone on the forces maintained at either of the Presidencies, but on the armies kept up in the different parts of India, which, though separated at a great distance, can so easily and expeditiously be united. Neither are we without hopes, that the unusual spectacle of black troops, pouring into his country from Bengal, may stagger the Subah's courage, and induce him to grant those conditions before, which he cannot expect after the sword is once unsheathed.

7. The King and Sujah al Dowlah appear every day more closely united to us by inclination and interest. Sensible the security of their possessions, as well as the degree of consideration they hold in the empire, must depend on our friendship, they seem desirous to govern their conduct by principles the most likely to cement and promote our amity. The third brigade being stationed with them at their request, and a detachment from the second brigade having crossed the Caramnassa with views of supporting the basis of our alliance with his Majesty and the Nabob, they have readily consented to defray all the extra charges incurred, agreeably to the terms of the treaty subsisting; so that the Company are put to no extraordinary expence by the motion of the troops beyond the limits of the provinces. It is, nevertheless, our intention to recall all your forces, and punctually to observe your directions, whenever the advices we receive from Col. Smith shall put it beyond a doubt that the disturbances which now prevail among the neighbouring powers will not endanger our own safety.

8. By letters lately received from the Colonel you will observe, that Juwhar Sing, Chief of the Jauts, is at the head of an army, endeavouring to recover those countries of which he was last year dispossessed by the Maharattas. In the progress of his conquests he has entered the Rohilla country, and advanced within a few miles of the King's dominions; nor is it yet certain how far he may have extended his views, nor what are his ultimate designs. We have therefore directed Colonel Smith to remain in his present station with the brigade, until it shall appear what farther designs the Jaut may entertain, or whether the measures in which he is now engaged have not drawn upon him the resentment of the Maharattas, and by inducing those freebooters to return, kindled a dangerous war in our neighbourhood, the flames of which may extend to the King's, the Nabob's, and to our dominions.

9. At the repeated and pressing instance of the Napaul Rajah, we determined to hazard an expedition to his country, the reasons for which stand fully explained on the face of our proceedings. As such military enterprizes seem foreign to the spirit of that system of politics whereby we propose regulating our conduct, it was necessary the Committee should weigh very maturely all the risk and advantage consequent on the undertaking. Accordingly, you will observe, from our instructions to the

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the Chief of Patna, that we have used every human precaution to guard against the possibility of any disaster or disappointment.

10. We need not inform you, that for many years an advantageous trade has been carried on between the Province of Bahar, and the rich country of Napaul, by which a considerable quantity of gold, and many other valuable commodities, were imported. The Rajah being now dispossessed of his country, and shut up in his capital by the Rajah of Goercullah, the usual channel of commerce has in consequence been obstructed, and these provinces are deprived of the benefits arising from a former intercourse, at a period when the decline of trade, and scarcity of specie, render it of the greatest importance, that every spring of industry should flow freely, and without interruption. The vicinity of Napaul to the Bettca country, of which the Subah is now in quiet possession, will bring additional advantages to this traffick, by rendering it more easy and secure than in former times; so that we entertain very flattering prospects from the issue of an expedition, of which we hope to send you an account by the last dispatches of the season.

11. It is with the greatest pleasure we observe, that your sentiments correspond with those of your Select Committee, respecting the utility of the Governor's annual tour of the provinces. Agreeable to what you were advised by the Mercury Packet, Mr. Verelst proceeded early in the month of May to the city, with intention to continue his journey to Patna, and even to visit the King and Sujah al Dowla. In this, however, he was prevented by a variety of business with the ministers, as well as by indisposition, and the very uncommon heat and inclemency of the season, which proved fatal to such numbers of your civil and military servants.

12. Soon after his arrival at Mursheedabad, the Poonah was held with the usual solemnities, the Nabob being seated on the Musnud, as Subahdar of Bengal, and the Governor placed on his right hand, as representative of the Honourable Company, in quality of King's Dewan. The estimate then formed of revenues to be collected for the present year we have the honour to transmit in our proceedings; and we beg leave to refer to a joint letter from the President and Mr. Sykes, for a particular explanation of the manner in which the statement is drawn out.

13. On the collections of the last year, we must observe, that the ballances due are much less considerable than could reasonably be expected, the actual receipts amounting to one crore, forty three lacks, fifteen thousand three hundred and ten rupees\*. Yet from the diligent scrutiny made in the course of our experience into the real value of the lands, an increase is insured for the present year, of near sixteen lacks of rupees†, arising from a more equal assessment only. The new arrangement made of the several articles contained in the estimate, we presume will meet with your approbation, as it points out in the clearest and most concise manner we can suggest, the general amount of the statements for the last and present years, the actual receipts of the preceding year, the disbursements and deficiencies of each separate district, the amount at which some districts have been over-rated, and the increase made of the revenues charged upon others.

14. This method of comprizing the whole estimate into so narrow a compass as to exhibit a general view of your revenues at a single glance of the eye, we humbly apprehend will convey to you more distinct ideas of whatever may deserve notice, than if we transmitted a monthly account of the deficiency of each persons Kistbundec. Your revenues spring from such a variety of fluctuating circumstances, and are charged and collected by ways so different from each other, that explaining the particular cause, period, and amount of each increase or deficiency, would be to compose a history of minute events, which would employ a greater number of your servants than are now

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maintained for the business of the whole establishment. All persons holding lands of the government, enter into an agreement for monthly payments to a certain amount. The agreement for each district specifies, that the collections shall be made at the expiration of ten, fifteen, or thirty days, according to the particular customs of the respective districts. This Kistbundee, as well as the collections themselves, is regulated by the crops, and a number of other contingent circumstances, which compose the value of lands; and all these being in a state of continual change and alteration, we imagine a particular account of each Kistbundee would prove a fallacious guide to your judgment respecting future periods; however, should you in future insist upon it, your orders shall be obeyed.

15. Sensible of the confusion which changing the names of the districts must introduce into your accounts, as well as the frauds concealed under such practices, the President, when he attended the Poonah, strongly recommended to the ministers, that one particular name should always be used to specify the same district. They have accordingly given the strongest assurances, that the names now inserted in the estimate, shall, in future, remain unaltered; and we will use our utmost endeavours to put a stop to so pernicious a custom.

16. As to bringing on the ballances of former years to the rents of the present estimate, in the manner you propose, we humbly conceive it would be productive of many inconveniencies. The frequent removals which the ministers find it necessary to make among the collectors, either on account of inability or misbehaviour, would render outstanding balances so heavy a load on the shoulders of the present collector, that none would be found to accept the office under such conditions. Hitherto, the practice has been to keep apart from the collections the account of ballances, and to enter into a separate agreement with the collector, whereby he becomes responsible for such ballances as upon enquiry shall appear equitable, or may be pointed out to him by the government, or by his predecessor in office. By these means the inconvenience of mingling the accounts of different years is avoided, and a door is shut against the specious pretext for harassing and oppressing the landholders for the recovery of outstanding debts.

17. In the estimate now transmitted, you will perceive how the general customs upon trade are distinguished from those smaller duties, which are included in the valuation of the lands. By general customs we mean those duties levied at public and established Chokies, upon all the greater branches of foreign and inland trade, not included in Duffuck privileges. Besides these are collected lesser duties, upon the articles of life and luxury, sold at the several markets and Bazars, which being comprehended in the rents, it would be unnecessary, and almost impossible to insert under particular and separate heads.

18. Our concern at the enormous charges attending the collections of your revenue, has been repeatedly expressed in our former letters. To this circumstance the President gave such particular attention at the late Poonah, that we flatter ourselves you will agree with us in opinion, the expences cannot reasonably be reduced lower than the rate they now stand specified in the estimate. Dismissing the numerous rabble of troops kept up by the Fouzdars, and other officers of the government, hath not only proved a very extraordinary saving to the revenue, but a great security to the permanency of our authority; therefore, to remove every shadow of pretence for retaining a custom so inconsistent with, and injurious to well regulated government, we have been induced to raise another battalion of Sepoys, for the service of the Bahar collections, whereby we have increased our military strength against such occasions of danger as shall happen, without incurring any additional expence.

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19. The estimate of revenues to be collected this year in the Bahar province, will be settled next month, when the Poonah takes place. With respect to the collections of last year, we have the satisfaction to assure you they have been very closely kept up, and that very inconsiderable ballances will remain outstanding, most of which arise from lands, which had been overcharged in the former estimate. When the Bahar statement shall come to our hands, we propose drawing out, for your inspection, a general statement of all your receipts and disbursements, on whatever account arising, during the space of one complete year.

20. We are sensible of the inconveniencies which frequently attended the entrusting favourites with too great a share of executive authority. The inactivity and injudicious partiality of the sovereigns to their dependents, have certainly given birth to the most dangerous convulsions in the state. But, on the present system of your political and military affairs, we think it impossible that danger can ensue from the degree of confidence and trust reposed in any officer of the government. On the contrary, whilst the sword and revenues are held by us, it will be found absolutely necessary to strengthen, with all our authority, the hands of those officers employed in the collections, to enable them to discharge the duties of their office, and counteract the numberless frauds and contrivances to elude payment of the revenues. It was from a sense of this necessity, of his attachment to us, and of his extensive acquaintance with the whole business of the finances, that we devolved on Mahomed Reza Cawn, so large a proportion of the weight of government, and particularly of the collections; being convinced by experience of the truth of your remark, "That an Englishman will ever be unfit to follow the subtle native through all his arts, to conceal the real value of his country, to perplex and to elude the payments."

21. The cultivation of the mulberry-shrub, and increase of the article of silk, being of the utmost consequence to the extension of your investment, the President, when he attended the Poonah, recommended in the strongest manner to the ministers, Zemindars, and landholders, this object of giving all possible encouragement for clearing and cultivating such lands as will best answer the intention. The same endeavours will be used by the Collector-General to induce your own farmers in Burdwan and the Calcutta lands to pursue a branch of husbandry that must tend equally to their advantage and to yours.

22. Although sound policy may require we should not be too solicitous to augment your revenues abroad, which, should they be here unappropriated, would serve only to embarrass your affairs; yet the same policy dictates the necessity of resuming to the government all lands and revenues alienated from it by fraud or force, or through inattention in the administration. Of this nature are Jagheer rents and lands, many of which are held by individuals, upon no other tenure than possession acquired under a weak prince, a corrupt ministry, or the distracted situation of public affairs. Where such possessions appear of a recent date, where they are founded upon no public grant, where the possessors are men neither of family, influence, nor character, in such cases our acquiescence would denote a supineness or weakness injurious to the authority of government. We have therefore issued directions to Mr. Rumbold, in quality of collector of Bahar, to cause all persons holding Jagheers to register their Sunnuds in the head Cutcherry at Patna, giving, at the same time, the strongest assurances of our intentions to continue to ancient and respectable families, and to those who have just claims, every reasonable indulgence, which may serve to convince them of the justice and moderation of our government.

23. We have frequently expressed to you our apprehensions lest the annual exportation of treasure to China would produce a scarcity of money in the country. This subject becomes every day more serious, as we already feel, in a very sensible manner, the

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\* 187,500 l.  
† 1,125,000 l.



the effects of the considerable drain made from the silver currency. Experience will ever yield stronger conviction than the most abstract and refined reasoning.

24. Whatever sums had formerly been remitted to Dehly were amply reimbursed by the returns made to the immense commerce of Bengal, which might be considered as the central point to which all the riches of India were attracted. Its manufactures found their way to the remotest part of Hindostan, and specie flowed in by a thousand channels that are at present lost and obstructed. All the European companies formed their investments with money brought into the country; the (1) Gulphs poured in their treasures into this river; and across the continent, an inland trade was driven to the westward to the extremity of the kingdom of Guzzerat.

25. How widely different from these are the present circumstances of the Nabob's dominions! Immense treasures have lately been carried out of the provinces by Cossim Ally Cawn, which may possibly be reserved as a fund to excite future troubles. Each of the European companies, by means of money taken up in the country, have greatly enlarged their annual investments, without adding a rupee to the riches of the province. On the contrary, the increase of exports to Europe has proved so great a restraint upon the industry of private merchants, that we will venture to affirm the ballance from Europe, in favour of Bengal, amounts to a very trifling sum in specie. We know of no foreign trade existing at present, which produces a clear ballance in money, except that carried on with the ports of Judda, Mocha, and Bassora, from whence not fifteen lacks\* in bullion have been returned in the course of four years.

This year the Dutch have imported nine lacks §; the two preceding years, their investment, as well as that of the French company, was provided by money paid into their treasury for assignments by bills on their constituents in France and Holland; whereas, by an estimate obtained from Chinsura, it appears that formerly the Dutch imported annually from thirty-six to forty lacks †, taking the amount at a medium for ten years. Your own exports in bullion from England did not, one year with another, fall short of twelve or fourteen lacks ††, while the country was at the same time gaining an increase of money from the investments made by the Danes, Austrians, and Prussians. Upon the whole, specie was then brought in to the amount of ninety or an hundred lacks ‡ yearly; it now goes out to the amount of twenty-six lacks\*\* every year in public money, if we include our remittances to the other Presidencies as well as those to China, besides very considerable sums carried on private account; and this loss is ballanced by a trade with the Gulphs, which, at the highest estimation, cannot exceed five or six lacks †† a-year. In fact, were no money issued upon account of your China trade, the current specie must annually decrease, unless foreign trade shall revive and flourish, so as to produce a more considerable ballance in treasure.

27. Such, permit us to assure you, is the present state of the trade and currency of these provinces. What the issue may be of such untoward symptoms of decline we will not presume to determine. This only we will remark, that unless we had palliated the evil by introducing a gold currency, and thereby increased the circulating riches of the country, every individual must have been deeply affected with the scarcity of money. In proof of this assertion, we need only appeal to the quantity of gold mohurs received and given in payment by every merchant, who formerly transacted all business in silver rupees; nor does this proceed from choice or convenience, but from necessity and the actual decrease of silver money; neither can it proceed from the exportation of silver for the purchase of gold, since the profits arising from that exchange would barely pay the interest of money, a point which was thoroughly considered when the par between silver and gold was calculated, on our adopting the present scheme of gold coinage.

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(1) The two Gulphs of Mocha and Persia.  
 \* 187,500 l.      § 112,500 l.      † From 450,000 l. to 500,000 l.      †† 150,000 l. or 175,000 l.  
 ‡ 1,125,000 l. or 1,250,000 l.      \*\* 325,000 l.      †† 62,500 l. or 75,000 l.



28. The circumstances of your affairs require we should explain ourselves with freedom, and point out wherein we conceive your own orders have served to encrease this growing disease, for which a speedy and effectual remedy is required. It is true, you have been pleased to indulge your servants with a larger remittance than you allowed the preceding year; but by lowering the exchange, and cutting off interest for a complete year after bills are presented, you throw every advantage on the side of foreign remittances, and in a manner oblige all who are not possessed of very opulent fortunes to have recourse to the French and Dutch. To free merchants, and your servants who have been more than a year out of your employment, the terms are so very disadvantageous, and the proportion they can be allowed so small, that we much fear lest many will be tempted, and find means, in despite of our utmost endeavours, to remit the whole or a part of their fortunes in specie, which would still prove more injurious to the country than even remitting by foreign funds.

29. All these particulars being fully weighed and considered, we imagine you will be of opinion with us, that the balance, whatever it may be, of trade in favour of the country, will very inadequately compensate for the loss of those sums, which have issued at all quarters from this province. It is indeed difficult to ascertain exactly what this balance really is, since it can neither be determined by the arbitration of exchange, where no exchange with foreign countries exists; nor be computed from the customs, where the whole trade doth not pass through one regular channel. We can only judge by the bullion imported; and that is much too inconsiderable to ease the apprehensions we entertain of the most alarming consequences.

30. Those disputes, in which we find ourselves unavoidably engaged with the agents of the other European companies, become also a subject of the most serious attention. We have, by every reasonable indulgence and concession, endeavoured to silence their clamours, but without effect. While the manufactures of the country are insufficient to answer the demands of each company, there must arise differences. The French and Dutch seem equally desirous with us to enlarge their investments beyond the former amount; insomuch, that were the natives utterly excluded from those privileges to which they have a natural and unquestionable right, it is matter of doubt whether there would be a sufficiency for the companies. Your servants too, who are denied every other means of improving their fortunes, cannot with any degree of justice be shut out from all participation of a trade in which they have ever been indulged. Neither is it possible, nor may it be thought reasonable, that free merchants permitted by you to reside and trade at the Presidency, should be deprived the usual advantages, whereby only they are enabled to carry on any commerce by sea.

31. Under these difficulties you must expect the complaints of natives and of foreigners will grow louder every day, unless you should determine to sacrifice that essential point to your interest; the remitting home by large investments the benefits of your acquisitions. In the present state of things we see no remedy except one, which may be thought ideal, namely, the entering into an agreement with foreign companies for providing their investments to a certain annual amount. This we mention rather as a hint, upon which you may possibly improve, than as a measure we shall presume to adopt, until a certain plan shall be adjusted between the companies at home, and recommended to their agents abroad. Most certain it is, that some conciliating steps taken in Europe can alone prevent the jealousies and differences subsisting in this country, from terminating in an open rupture, as soon as the French shall find themselves sufficiently established on the \* Coast, and powerful at the † Islands, to enter upon such enterprizes.

\* The Coast of Coromandel.

† The Island of Mauritius, Bourbon, &c.

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32. By advices lately received from the Coast, they have already resumed their former practices of secretly exciting disturbances, by a clandestine underhand correspondence with our enemies. A letter to us from the Secret Department at Fort St. George, intimates suspicions that the French on the island of Mauritius are actually corresponding with Hyder Naick; and private letters of a later date affirm, that several French officers are gone over to Hyder Naick and the \* Subah; which, if true, leaves not the least room for doubt of their being countenanced by their superiors. The letter referred to from Madras being long, we have not been able to get it transcribed in the book of letters, without detaining the dispatches.

33. Upon Mr. Becher's arrival he took his seat in Committee, agreeably to your appointment. During the time Mr. Ruffel held his seat, we must, in justice to that gentleman, acquaint you, that he pursued the business of the Committee, and your interests, with great zeal and capacity.

34. As most of the transactions of this Board stand fully expressed on the face of our proceedings, we shall decline entering upon a review of particulars, and beg leave to refer to the proceedings themselves, which are now under dispatch. We have the honour to forward the President's country correspondence; a duplicate of our Letter by the Mercury Packet was transmitting by the Hector, lately dispatched.

35. The Secretary requests your excuse, that several of the public papers go home-written in different hands, which could not be avoided, on account of the death and sickness of some of the gentlemen employed in the office.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, J. CARTIER, R. BECHER, A. CAMPBELL.

No. X.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort William, Oct. 6, 1767.

The detention of the Lord Holland, owing to the sickness that prevails among his people, affords us an opportunity of acquainting you with such particulars of the situation of your affairs on the Coast as are come to our knowledge since closing our dispatches under date the 25th ultimo.

The Subah of the Deccan having joined his forces to those of Hyder Ally, the united army was moving towards those passes which open into the Carnatic, in the neighbourhood of Trinamalley and Changama, and to the westward of Pondicherry and Fort St. David's. In the letters from the Coast the numbers of the enemy are not specified; but from the best accounts we have obtained, those of the Subah are no way formidable, and the troops under Hyder Ally do not exceed ten or twelve thousand men.

To this enemy the Presidency have opposed an army consisting of eight hundred Europeans, five thousand of the Company's sepoys, and a train of sixteen field pieces, under command of Colonel Joseph Smith. Colonel Wood has under him another body of troops composed of five hundred Europeans, and five thousand of the Company's and Nabob's Sepoys, with ten or twelve pieces of cannon.

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\* The Subah of the Deccan.

It was intended to effect a junction before they endeavoured to bring the confederates to a decisive action. In the mean time Colonel Smith declined coming to an engagement, that nothing might unnecessarily be put to the hazard; but as the Colonel had positive orders to fight, and could not be at a great distance from Colonel Wood's detachment, we are in daily expectation to hear of a battle. Nor are we very solicitous about the event, if the officers perform their duty; since a finer army in numbers and discipline was never at any time sent by the Honourable Company into the field.

The detachment of three battalions of sepoys sent from hence for the defence of the northern Sircars, must by this time, we flatter ourselves, have reached Vizagapatam; and probably the report of so considerable a reinforcement will operate powerfully on the conduct of the Subah, who hath not for many years beheld so great a force transported from one Presidency to another. With this detachment, joined to the troops already in the Sircars, we hope the gentlemen at Madras will be able to prosecute the proposed expedition to the Subah's capital, which will not only oblige him to draw off great part of his army from the Carnatic, but cut off his resources, and spread general consternation over the face of his country.

Bengal being for the present in a state of perfect tranquillity, we have determined to lend the most vigorous support to the measures they are pursuing on the Coast. For this purpose we are, at their requisition, preparing with the utmost expedition all the shipping in the river, to transport to Mazulipatam, or Fort St. George, the whole of the first brigade, commanded by Colonel Joseph Peach; but as the season is far advanced, and it will require some time to clear out the Europe ships and embark the troops, we have directed three of your sloops to be got in immediate readiness to convey to Madras two hundred Europeans for the security of the Presidency.

It is in consequence of advices received that the garrison is much weakened by detachments sent off to Colonel Smith, that we entered upon the resolution of embarking this detachment in vessels which, from their size and construction, are likely to make the quickest passages so late in the season. Experience hath shewn us, that to secure your investments and collections, it is necessary not only to keep off actual danger, but to guard against all apprehensions for the safety of the Presidency.

From these vigorous measures we doubt not but the Subah will have reason to repent his temerity, and be reduced to such concessions as will leave the gentlemen at Madras to prosecute their schemes for the extirpation of Hyder Ally, whose growing power, sooner or later, threatens danger to the Honourable Company's possessions in the Carnatic.

We are sorry to acquaint you, that several parts of the country have been much exposed to inundations from the overflowing of the river, whence Mr. Sykes is apprehensive lest the investment and revenues may suffer. Yet as those accidents are always the most alarming on their first appearance, we entertain great hopes the damage will prove less considerable than is imagined.

Mr. Sykes requests you will accept his most grateful acknowledgements for the favourable opinion you are pleased to entertain of his conduct, and his assurances that his utmost diligence shall be exerted to merit the continuance of your favour.

The dispatches from the public department, by the Lord Holland, were closed and ready to proceed down the river, on the 26 ult. when Captain Nairne reported to the Board the sickly condition of his ship, and that not three seamen were able to stand the deck. This unfortunate circumstance has occasioned a delay of several days, during which we have used our utmost endeavours to furnish him with men, by

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taking up all vagrants and stragglers from ships, who are in themselves a nuisance to the settlement. As the people are now recovering fast, and the present appearance of the monsoon is extremely favourable, we flatter ourselves the Lord Holland will still clear the bay with ease, and suffer, in course of her passage, no considerable loss of time from the past delays.

Since closing our dispatches of the 25 ult. we received from Colonel Smith a report of some brass cannon, which report was made a number in the public packet, and we hope will engage your serious consideration. As the best testimony of the badness of the metal, and misconduct of the founder, we shall direct the cannon to be sent down, and will forward it to England by the first conveyance. All the small arms we have this year received, appear to be of so good a quality, that although you have paid an advanced price, yet from the service they will perform, it is to be presumed the Company will in the end find themselves gainers by changing their contracts.

We have the honour to remain, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, R. BECHER, A. CAMPBELL.

No. XI.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort William, December 16, 1767.

Since our address to you by the Lord Holland, a duplicate of which goes a number in the packet, scarce any material change of circumstances in Bengal has occurred. Your affairs, civil, military, and political, continue to flow in the same prosperous channel, and have at present the appearance of much stability.

You will, however, observe from our proceedings, that Colonel Smith's letters to the select Committee, represent as extremely suspicious the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah's inclination towards the English Company. This judgment the Colonel founds upon the diligence which the Nabob exerts in forming his army, and establishing his influence, as well as upon general rumour that he is preparing for a rupture.

Without supposing Sujah al Dowlah entertains designs, either contrary to the faith of treaties, or inconsistent with the most obvious dictates of common prudence and policy, we are of opinion these appearances, from which Colonel Smith draws his conjectures, may be as naturally explained upon the general principles adopted by all the powers of India. Like other Princes in his situation, he wishes to recover that degree of influence he once held in the empire, and by uniting with us in regulating the affairs of the Deccan, he proposes to himself the surest method he could suggest for obtaining his purposes. All his letters to the President, since the war broke out upon the Coast, are filled with plans of operations, and schemes of alliance, which tend to his own aggrandizement, by means of our support. The friendship of the English he considers as the foundation of success; neither can we imagine, after the late experience he has had of our superiority, that he will venture upon a fresh trial of our strength, before he has fully recruited his army, replenished his treasures, established himself in his country, and cemented a friendship with powers able and willing to support his views.

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Yet although we are induced by these reasons to treat Sujah al Dowlah with great delicacy, and carefully to conceal every suspicion of his fidelity, we think it requisite to observe his conduct with circumspection, and check in the beginning those symptoms of ambition that may in time become dangerous. The President has with this view tendered our acknowledgments for his offers of assistance; but at the same time assured him, that the war on the Coast was by no means an object of our united strength, nor a sufficient cause why he should increase his forces at a great expence, which might serve only to produce conjectures to the prejudice of the friendship and harmony that subsist between him and the Company.

As the Nabob has himself recommended our keeping a brigade in his country, and continuing in possession of Allahabad, we entertained no doubt but he would readily comply with the President's request to stop his levies and reduce his forces, since we considered a proposition so incompatible with any views he might have to a rupture, as an earnest of his sincerity; and we have now the pleasure to acquaint you, that he has already entered upon the measures recommended.

In order, however, that not the least apprehension of danger should remain, we directed Colonel Smith to keep the most watchful eye upon the Nabob's conduct; and have also determined that the first brigade shall remain in their present station, until we have the most satisfactory assurances of security to these provinces.

Before this letter can reach your hands, you will probably receive by the Hector a detail, from the Presidency of Fort St. George, of their operations against the Subah and Hyder Ally. Our advices from thence have not lately been explicit enough to convey a distinct idea of their present situation and future prospects. We understand the advantage obtained over the enemy has proved less decisive than was at first imagined; and that Hyder Ally is now acting in the field, while the heavy rains oblige the troops of the Presidency to remain in cantonments. Such appearances of vigour in a country power are uncommon, and give reason to apprehend the war may be protracted to a much greater length than will prove convenient to your affairs; although, with respect to the issue, we cannot entertain a doubt. The detachments we have already sent, joined to the forces of the Presidency are, with any tolerable conduct, more than sufficient to beat all the Indian powers from Cape Comorin to Dehly. For this reason we have suspended the proposed embarkation of the remainder of the first brigade, that we may not unnecessarily incur an extraordinary expence, and expose the troops to fatigue and dangers that may be avoided: but they shall be held in readiness to proceed at a day's notice, whenever circumstances may require their service.

Private advices from the coast intimate, that matters will soon be accommodated with the Subah; and from the silence upon this subject observed in the public letters, we imagine that means are devising to separate him from his present alliance, in order they may be the more disengaged to prosecute the war against Hyder Ally. Should these conjectures be well founded, we have only to wish the Subah had been rendered more sensible of the importance of our friendship before he had experienced our generosity. It was always our opinion, expressed in the strongest terms to the gentlemen at Madras, that no peace in which mutual stipulations were allowed, would be permanent; that \* Nizam Ally should first be reduced to absolute dependence; that measures should be taken to confine the ambition of our neighbours at Pondicherry to the precise limits of the treaty; and that the most exact knowledge of the Subah's character and connections should be obtained, before he was restored to his dignity. What degree of influence these sentiments may produce in the counsels of your Presidency at Fort St. George, we cannot at present determine; but as we have hitherto acted in the most perfect harmony, it is probable our arguments will be allowed

\* The Subah of the Deccan.



showed their perfect weight. The letters which have passed between us, as they stand recorded on the face of our proceedings, will explain our sentiments more particularly.

In consequence of the demands upon us from the coast, we have been obliged to refuse those reinforcements to Captain Kinloch, for prosecuting the Napaul expedition, which he thinks necessary for succeeding in the attempt; and as the enterprize must now be deferred to a more convenient opportunity, Mr. Rumbold has orders to recall the detachment, keeping possession, however, of certain lands bordering on the Bettea country, which belonged to the Gourcullah Rajah, so rich and fertile as amply to indemnify the charges incurred. We have reason to believe there has been some misconduct in the officers employed, or forgery in the intelligence which gave birth to this expedition, else Captain Kinloch, with the force he commanded, must have succeeded in relieving the Rajah, and opening that communication with Bahar from which we expected very considerable advantages to the commerce of this country. The strictest enquiry shall be made into every circumstance, and you will be made acquainted with the particulars, we hope, by one of the ships of this season.

In our proceedings we have entered an account of the actual collections of the revenue in the province of Bahar, during the course of the last year, and also an estimate of revenues to be collected agreeably to the Kistbundee of the present year. Without any remarks from us, these accounts are themselves sufficient testimony that the collections have been regularly kept up, and every way answerable to the expectations we gave in our letter by the Lord Holland.

We send numbers in the packet, the broken sett of our proceedings from the last dispatch to this date, to which we beg leave to refer for such points as demand your more attentive consideration.

Before we close this dispatch, it is proper you should be acquainted, that, at their request, we furnished the Presidency of Fort St. George with three lacks\*; and will in a few days send them a farther supply of five lacks†. The scarcity of silver, which already prevails, obliges us to make this remittance in gold, notwithstanding we are sensible that a very considerable loss will arise, upon account of the high valuation of the gold mohurs. We foresee the difficulties before us in making provision, agreeably to your orders, for supplying China with silver bullion even for this season; and have therefore requested the gentlemen at Madras to purchase for that purpose all the silver they can procure: since, notwithstanding the Mocha ships are arrived, the silver imported into the river, during the whole course of the year, scarce exceeds a lack of rupees‡. We have before repeatedly requested your attention to the consequences of this exportation of bullion; and we now beg leave to recommend the subject to your most serious consideration, assuring you, that should we find it at all practicable to make the usual remittances next year to China, the measure will prove fatal to your investment, and ruinous to the commerce of Bengal, by giving the entire command of the silver currency to foreign nations, who very politically refuse to receive gold into their treasuries for bills.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, R. BECHER, A. CAMPBELL.

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S U P.

\* 37,500 l.

† 62,500 l.

‡ 12,500 l.

## S U P P L E M E N T.

To the above advices we beg leave to subjoin, that we have received authentic information the French Council at Chandernagore have reduced their exchange on bills granted on their constituents, to twenty-six pence for the current rupee, or one penny lower than the exchange allowed to your servants, stipulating, at the same time, that only bills for half the amount paid in shall be granted for this season, and interest upon the remainder, at the rate of six per Cent. per annum, until bills are given the ensuing year.

This policy in them we must regard as a convincing proof of the truth of those arguments urged in our letter by the Lord Holland, that lowering your exchange would throw the entire command of money into the hands of foreigners, and enable them to form large investments, by means of early advances, in despite of all our endeavours. They have now in their treasury, at a low interest, a sufficient sum for beginning the ensuing investment some months sooner than otherwise they could advance a rupee; and this additional advantage accrues to them from reducing their exchange, that where you gain one penny upon the exchange of the rupee, in the limited sum allowed to be remitted from hence, they gain two pence in the exchange upon the much larger sums employed in making their investment. Every means in our power shall be exerted to convey to you the fruits of your late acquisitions; but while all possible advantages rest in the hands of our rivals in trade, we must expect to encounter many disappointments and difficulties.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, RICHARD BECHER, A. CAMPBELL.

No. XII.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort William, Jan. 5. 1768.

Our last address, under date the 16th ultimo, waited on you per Norfolk, and a duplicate thereof we have the honour to transmit by this conveyance.

We have as yet no reason to deviate from our opinion with regard to Sujah al Dowlah's conduct. The expressions in his letters to the President, of his attachment and fidelity to the engagements he has entered into with us are as warm as ever; and he declares, that the troops he lately levied were intended for the sole purpose of acting in conjunction with your's in the Deccan, had his offers of service been accepted. We expect, however, he will give us a more convincing proof of his assertions, by a speedy reduction of his forces, which, the President has been informed, he has begun.

In consequence of advices received from the gentlemen at Madras, of Hyder Ally's having again taken the field, we immediately determined on sending Colonel Joseph Peach to Mazulipatam, with a complete company of grenadiers belonging to his regiment, fifty artillery-men, one twelve-pounder, two six-pounders, on howitz, and royal, with an ample supply of stores for immediate service. This detachment, with the European troops before sent, and those of the Presidency stationed in the Sircars, will form a corps of more than five hundred Europeans rank and file, exclusive of the artillery

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artillery and Sepoys; a force, we doubt not, very sufficient to reduce the whole province, if such a plan should be adopted. Colonel Peach accordingly embarked a few days after with his detachment in the ship *Egmont*, the commander whereof had orders to land them at Mazulipatam, and afterwards to proceed to Madras with gold to the amount of five lacks of rupees\*, and other consignments he had on board for that Presidency.

As the detachments we have lately sent from hence make a considerable reduction of our force, it is possible that some of the country powers may venture to make attempts on these provinces. This is a circumstance that has not escaped our mature consideration; for, regardless of the danger which may threaten us at home, and considering the convenient situation of our troops employed in the Deccan between the two Presidencies, we have acquainted the gentlemen at Madras, that we reserve to ourselves the power of recalling the troops under this establishment whenever the most pressing exigency of our affairs may require it; and the President has, in his instructions to Colonel Peach, directed him to pay an implicit obedience, should it be judged expedient to send him such an order.

By private letters since received from Fort St. George, under date the 23th of November, we learn, Hyder Ally, so far from being intimidated by the victory lately obtained over him by your troops, breathes nothing but vengeance, and is resolved to trust his future hopes to the issue of a second engagement; that your army, consisting of one thousand Europeans, seven battalions of Sepoys, and sixteen pieces of cannon, has taken the field under the command of Colonel Joseph Smith, and is marched to the relief of Amboor, a strong fortress, against which the enemy had erected seven batteries; that Colonel Wood had also marched from Trichinopoly with a detachment of five hundred Europeans, four battalions of Sepoys, and twelve field-pieces, to form a junction: and the same advices, which are indubitable, intimate, that the President and Council there had accepted some proposals made to them by the European officers of Hyder Ally's army, by which they engaged to revolt, with all his European cavalry and Japais regiments, or to turn his cannon against him on the day of action.

The remainder of the first brigade, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Pemble, is gone into cantonments at Ghyretty, where it is near at hand to reinforce the detachments already sent to Mazulipatam, or even to proceed to Madras, should the situation of their affairs there require our further assistance.

The President has again received letters from Janoojee and Ragoo-naut Row, demanding payment of the Chout; and we are informed that the latter of those chiefs has assembled an army at Berar, with which he purposes to enter Hindostan. Altho' we are not under the least apprehensions from that quarter, we communicated this intelligence to Colonel Smith, who still remains with the third brigade at Allahabad, and have desired him to keep a watchful eye over the actions of the Maharattas.

We have also received advice, that Rajah Narraindoo has compelled Mr. Lowe, the Resident at Ganjam, to retire to Tezagapatam, and put a stop to the intercourse between the two Presidencies through his country.

We must request, that you will be pleased to supply us with cannon for field-service by every occasion, the number we have now in store being only ten, which is insufficient to supply the demand made on us by Colonel Smith for the service of the army. The utility of this article, and the fatal consequences which may attend the want of it, are, we persuade ourselves, too obvious to need our enlarging on the subject.

A general statement of our revenues, and account of the disbursements for the last year, commencing on the 1st of January, 1767, shall be drawn out as soon as the different abstracts can be collected, and, we hope, will be transmitted to you by the

last ship of this season. This, we flatter ourselves, will be satisfactory, as you may thereby perceive, at one point of view, the state of your receipts and issues for the whole year.

Mr. Campbell being necessitated to proceed to Europe in the ship now under dispatch, has resigned his employ of Secretary to our Board. We must here, in justice to that gentleman, assure you of the high sense we entertain of the zeal, attention, and abilities, with which he has pursued your interests, during the course of his long services in this branch of your affairs.

We have thought proper to nominate Mr. Ffloyer to succeed him, who has accordingly received the charge of his office, and has a seat and voice at our Board in the absence of any one member.

We have the pleasure to transmit you by this packet a complete set of books and papers for the year 1767, as per accompanying list.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, RICH. BECHER, CHARLES FFLOYER.

No. XIII.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort-William, Feb. 3, 1768.

The short interval between the departure of the Europa, by which we had the honour to address you, and the present dispatch of the Earl of Elgin, affords us but little matter to communicate by this conveyance, more particularly as we have been explicit in our advices by the preceding ships of this season.

After a long state of suspense we had been in for the issue of your military operations on the Coast of Coromandel, we were this day agreeably relieved by the receipt of a letter from the Secret Department at Madras, under date the 15th December, advising us that your army had, on the 7th of last month, defeated that of Hyder Ally a second time, and had obliged him to retire with precipitation to Covrepatam. A copy of the letter, which is the only one we have received from that Presidency since the 20th November last, we have the honour to transmit a number in the packet, for your farther information.

The overtures lately made to the President of Fort St. George by Ruccum al Dowlah, for an accommodation between the Company and the Subah, we are glad to perceive were rejected with disdain. They cannot be too cautions in re-admitting to an alliance with them a man whose perfidious conduct is still so very recent. A person so unsteady in his conduct, and ambitious in his nature, can never be the real well-wisher of a power he has so much injured.

We hope ere now the last division of our reinforcement to the Deccan, under the command of Colonel Joseph Peach, is safely arrived and entered upon the scene of action. A force so formidable in itself, and so little expected from a distant settlement, will, we doubt not, strike a terror in the Subah's breast, and induce him to withdraw his forces from Hyder Ally, for the security of his own territories.

By letters some time since received from the gentlemen at Madras, (which being entered on the face of our proceedings transmitted by the Europa, we beg leave to refer

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refer you to) it appeared, that they laboured under great difficulties in the nomination of a Subah to that province, in case Nizam Ally should, by an obstinate perseverance in his unjust measures, oblige them to deprive him of his government; and they were even pleased to request our opinion in a matter of so great importance. We expressed ourselves with that unreserved freedom which we wish may mutually subsist between the two Presidencies; and judging it expedient to secure the King's Firmaun for the nomination of some other person, our President was desired to apply for the same to his Majesty, who has been pleased to comply with his request, and, in a letter lately received from him, he promised to dispatch a blank Firmaun within five days of the date thereof, to be filled up with the name of any person we may judge most proper, for the security and lasting tranquility of your possessions on the coast. This is a power we should be loath to avail ourselves of, excepting in a case of the utmost necessity, and such we fear this will prove, if we can form our judgment from the present situation of affairs.

When we behold one of the finest armies which had ever yet appeared in Hindostan, taking the field against a body of undisciplined troops, we cannot entertain a doubt but your arms will be attended with every desirable success. Hyder Ally has already experienced the superiority of your forces, and now that desertion has taken place in his army, cannot but be apprehensive of the dangers with which he is threatened; and we flatter ourselves, that you will soon be compensated by an honourable and lasting peace, for the war and devastations which have too much of late troubled the repose of the Carnatic. We conclude you will be fully advised, from the President and Council at Fort St. George, of all their proceedings since the commencement of hostilities.

We have very fully represented in our letters of this season, by the Lord Holland and Norfolk, our apprehensions of the fatal consequences which must unavoidably attend the vast exportation of silver out of this country: we now experienced them in a very alarming degree, for it is difficult to procure silver at the Presidency, in exchange even for an hundred gold mohurs. If you will be pleased to examine your treasury accounts, you will there find nearly to half the amount of your treasure in gold; nor can we devise an effectual method for preventing an event which must prove ruinous to the commerce of this opulent kingdom. To have sent to China in gold specie the whole amount of our remittance of \* 24 lacks, would have been incurring a heavy loss, and probably embarrassed your Council at Canton, in the provision of your China investment. We were desirous of embracing every opportunity to check this growing evil, without falling short of the annual supply; and the gentlemen at Madras, in a letter to this committee, having recommended the supplies being sent in gold, provided Arcot rupees were not procurable, silver being then cheap. The Board determined to send only one half in silver, and the remainder in gold. We have the pleasure to acquaint you, that † sixteen lacks have been already forwarded to that Presidency for the China investment, and the remaining ‡ eight lacks will follow in a few days.

Our President has lately received some proposals from the French Governor at Chandernagore, for carrying on the investment of their Company in conjunction with your's, by receiving such a proportion as we may mutually judge equitable, and the whole to be conducted by your Gomastahs. Should this proposal, on mature deliberation, be found eligible, by preventing the frequent disputes which will ever unavoidably arise while Gomastahs are employed on the part of both nations; and that the provision of your investment will in no shape suffer, we shall, as a preliminary article, insist upon their importing bullion for the providing of their investment, which,

\* 300,000 £.

† 200,000 £.

‡ 100,000 £.



which, without such a clause, they may not do for some years to come; for, notwithstanding every precaution on our part, whilst remittances stand as they now do, it will be out of our power to prevent their fully supplying themselves with whatever sums they may require for bills on Europe.

The country is at present in a perfect state of tranquility; but as this is the season for the Maharattas, and other country powers, to take the field, we cannot yet, with the least degree of certainty, judge of the measures they may pursue; for which reason we conceive it is necessary to keep the third brigade still at Allahabad; but so soon as this necessity ceases, you may be assured it shall be withdrawn.

By this conveyance we have the pleasure to transmit to you the broken sett of our proceedings, and other books and papers, as per accompanying list, and have the honour to be, with great respect, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, R. BECKER, CHARLES FFLOYER.

No. XIV.

*To the Honourable Court of Directors, &c. &c.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort-William, February 9, 1768.

We embrace the opportunity of the Northington's dispatch, to acquaint you with such material occurrences as have happened since our last advices, under date the 3d instant, duplicate whereof we have the honour to transmit a number in this packet.

The town of Chandernagore having last season proved unhealthy, from the great quantity of water which settled therein, the gentlemen thought it necessary to have a ditch made round it, with drains to carry off the water into the Ganges. This gave rise to a report which was communicated to the officers of the government, as the first step towards erecting a fortification, and they accordingly complained of it as such to the President. Upon Mahomed Reza Cawn's arrival in Calcutta, shortly after he, and Mr. Chevalier the French Director, requested that an engineer might be sent from hence to survey that work. Captain Martin was accordingly sent to Chandernagore for that purpose, who has given it as his opinion, that it could not, in any degree, be deemed a fortification, or answer any other purpose than what Mr. Chevalier assured the President it was intended for.

We shall ever encourage the Nabob's vigilance, and assist his authority in putting an early and effectual stop to the innovations of our European neighbours; and we think it very necessary to be circumspect over all their actions; conscious that the stability of your valuable possessions depends greatly on their inability to disturb the happy state of tranquility they now enjoy.

By the complete sett of country correspondence, transmitted by the Europa, you will observe that Janoojee, one of the Maharatta chiefs, is very solicitous in his demands for the Chout, which had regularly been paid during the latter part of Alliverdy Cawn's government. Notwithstanding the imperious style of his letter, we could plainly perceive, from the knowledge we have acquired of the customs and manners of the Maharattas, that he was desirous to treat with us for the cession of Cuttack, and of which we have been lately assured by his Vackeel, a person of character and station, and who stands high in the esteem of his master.

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The President, since Mahomed Reza Cawn's arrival in Calcutta, has, in conjunction with that minister, had several conferences with the Vackeel on the subject; who assured them that his master would not listen to any accommodation for the cession of Cuttack, and consideration for the Chout, on any other terms than the annual payment of sixteen lacks of rupees\*, to be accounted for from the time the Company took charge of the Dewanny of these provinces; and the Select Committee on their behalf to be guarantees for the Nabob's faithful performance of the treaty. In support of the propriety of these demands he recited the promise made to his master by Mr. Vansittart in the year 1763, of paying him all the arrears of the Chout, on condition that he did not join his forces to the troops of Cossim Ally Cawn, the then Nabob; and laid much stress upon the assurances given him by Lord Clive, that whenever this treaty should be concluded, the annual sum stipulated for, should commence from the time the Company were invested with the Dewanny of these provinces. After many debates the Vackeel consented, with assurances of his master's concurrence also, that the rents which have been collected in Orissa during the above period, should be set against the annual arrears which he demanded.

By such an agreement, and a proper examination of their accounts, the arrears will be considerably diminished; and although we must expect, from the distracted state of the Maharatta government, that they have not collected the whole amount of the revenues of that province; yet we have reason to believe, that under your government, and the immediate inspection of your servants, they may in time amount to, if not exceed, the annual tribute demanded.

As this was a matter which we deemed of the highest importance, so it has engaged our most serious attention. When we considered the many benefits which must naturally result from thus uniting the Company's territories on the Coast with your valuable possessions in Bengal; a step which will complete the chain of your influence and dominion from the banks of the Caramnassa to the farthest extremity of the coast of Coromandel; a measure that must tend so greatly to the preservation of both settlements, by the mutual support it will enable them at all times to give each other; the removing at once every pretence of the Maharattas for disturbing the peace and tranquillity of these provinces, and the shock it will give to their strength and power whenever it may be found necessary to separate so principal a member as Janoojee, who, during the whole course of his negotiations, has expressed an earnest desire to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with us: all these considerations having been attentively weighed and debated in Committee, we resolved to acquiesce in the proposals of the Vackeel, and to bring the treaty to as speedy a conclusion as possible. Our President has accordingly signified our assent in a letter to Janoojee, and has requested of the Nabob to agree to it on his part. Copies of the proposed agreements on the part of the Nabob and us being entered after our proceedings, we beg leave to refer you to them; and we flatter ourselves our conduct herein will meet with the honour of your sanction and approbation.

In our address by the Norfolk you were made acquainted with our reasons for not reinforcing the detachment under the command of Captain Kinloch, in order to effect the first intention of the expedition to Napaul. We attributed the failure of that enterprize to a misconduct in the commanding officer, and accordingly directed Mr. Rumbold, chief of Patna, to order Captain Kinloch to repair thither, that a court of enquiry might sit on his conduct. But Mr. Rumbold, in his reply to our letter on that subject, having set forth the many unfurmountable and unavoidable accidents which that officer met with in the course of his march, which occasioned the failure of the expedition, we countermanded our orders for recalling him; and directed

\* 200,000 l.

directed him to secure the acquisition of lands in that country, which we hope will fully indemnify the Company for the charge incurred on that enterprize; it being our determined resolution not to make a second attempt, while there is any probability of a further reinforcement being wanted from hence for the assistance of the Madras Presidency.

Mahomed Reza Cawn, who frequently complained to the Presidency of the declining state of his health, occasioned by a continual application to the business of the government, has lately requested our permission for the nomination of some person to assist him, as he may be frequently rendered incapable of attending himself to the business of the Cutcherry, or any other accident should befall him; and recommended Fatty Ally Cawn, who had for some time past been assisting, and whom he should as fully as in his power instruct in the business. We deemed his request but reasonable; and Mr. Sykes informing us that the person recommended was of integrity, attention, and abilities, we readily consented to his appointment.

We must, in justice to Mahomed Reza Cawn, express the high sense we entertain of the abilities and indefatigable attention he has shewn in the execution of the important trust reposed in him; and we cannot but lament the prospect of losing his services from the present declining state of his health.

It is with pleasure we observe, that so small a sum only as rupees \* 46,205. 14. 3 was deemed irrecoverable, from the outstanding balance of the Bahar revenues for the last year, amounting to rupees † 541,327. 11. 6. Mr. Rumbold's conduct in the collections has met with our entire approbation; and we do not doubt, but the tour he proposes to make through the different parts of that province will afford him an opportunity of making a more minute adjustment of the revenues. Mr. Sykes's late journey to the Dinagepore and Purnea countries, affords us a prospect of the good effects which are likely to ensue from a strict examination into the state of the collections. The frauds, embezzlements, and a variety of atrocious crimes committed by the Zemindars and officers of the government invested with the charge of those collections appear in the most glaring light, the timely detection whereof may be productive of a considerable increase of your revenues. We have the accounts at present under examination; and in the mean time have recommended it to the ministers to make very severe examples of the offenders, in order to deter others from the like practices in future.

We highly commend the zeal, attention, and assiduity with which Mr. Sykes has exerted himself for your interests on this and every other occasion, which has fallen under his department.

Having reason to believe that some Europeans still continue in different parts of the country, carrying on a trade there in defiance of the repeated orders of the Select Committee, we have again laid positive injunctions on the chiefs of Subordinates and commanders of the brigades, to apprehend and send down immediately to the Presidency all such persons who may be found without a proper licence from the Select Committee, or the Governor. For thoroughly persuaded as we are, that such a practice is subversive of the peace, tranquillity, and good government of this country, we are determined that our orders shall be strictly obeyed.

Mr. George Vansittart has transmitted to us several abstracts of the collections in the Midnapore and Jellafore provinces, with some other papers relative thereto, written in the Bengal language. We have directed him to send down to Calcutta, the persons from whom those accounts were taken, that they may be sworn to, attested, and recorded in the Mayor's Court. In the mean time the Bengal papers are ordered

\* About 5,775 £.

† About 67,665 £.

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to be translated, and we hope to send them to you properly authenticated, by the Admiral Pococke.

By private advices which the President has lately received from Colonel Joseph Peach, commanding the troops in the Deccan, destined against Hyder-abad, we learn, that they had advanced within forty-four Cofs of that city, after having taken Cemamet, a strong fortress, and another fort called Wellengalt: that the Colonel was only waiting for a supply of musquet ammunition to proceed on his journey; and that the enemy have little or no force to oppose them.

By letters which the President has also received from Madras, we are informed, that Ruccun al Dowlah, the prime minister of Nizam Ally, Subah of the Deccan, had been for some days negotiating with Colonel Joseph Smith, for an accommodation between the Subah and the English; and for this purpose it was said, that Ruccun al Dowlah intended to proceed to Madras, finally to conclude with the gentlemen there a treaty of peace, on the part of his master, who seem, by their last advices, inclined to encourage the advances made by the Subah for that purpose.

We have, since our last dispatch, received several letters from Colonel Smith, concerning his sentiments of the conduct of Sujah al Dowlah; but as we have no reason to alter the opinion we have hitherto entertained of the Vizier, we have only to refer you to the Colonel's letters, which appear upon our proceedings.

We have the pleasure to transmit you by this packet, the broken sett of Committee proceedings since the last dispatch, and other papers as by the accompanying list.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, J. CARTIER, R. BECHER, C. FFLOYER.

No. XV.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort William, March 24, 1768.

The dispatch of the Admiral Pococke, the last of your annual shipping, affords us an opportunity to advise you of the occurrences which have happened since our last address, under date the 29th ultimo, a duplicate whereof we have the honour to enclose.

Munneer al Dowlah's conduct, since his return to Allahabad from the Presidency, has caused a discontent in the mind of Sujah al Dowlah. The authority which he has assumed over the royal house, and particularly of the Vizârut, which the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah was invested with at our request, gives us too much reason to conclude he has filled the royal ear with ideas unfavourable to the Vizier, as well as the solemn engagement we have entered into. When we consider the haughty disposition of a person, whose reputation and influence are very considerable in the empire, we cannot be surpris'd if he takes offence at being deprived of those honours he is entitled to, and which, with a lavish hand, have been conferred upon another; who, in reality, is a servant of the Vizier's, and placed by him near his majesty's person. He has, on many occasions, represented to our President, the uneasiness such a conduct has given him; reminded him of his appointment to that dignity when the treaty was concluded, and signified his earnest desire, through our mediation, to be invested with the authority thus withheld from him by the jealousy of the King,

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and the artifices of a favourite servant. He has repeated assurances that we will religiously adhere to the treaty subsisting between us: and Munneer al Dowlah has been told, that his late conduct has incurred our displeasure; and that we expect, if he regards our friendship, he will make proper concessions to the Vizier, for the disrespectful behaviour he has observed towards him.

Sujah al Dowlah, in his letters to his majesty, solicits to be admitted into the royal presence, and to a share in his councils and administrations; but his solicitations have not yet had the desired effect.

By a letter from Colonel Sir Robert Barker we perceive, with pleasure, the prospect of a reconciliation between the Vizier and Munneer al Dowlah. He therein acquaints us, that the former is desirous of an interview at Faizabad, and we have directed him to prevail upon the latter to accompany him thither. We do not doubt but a meeting will be effected, and that the subject of the present disputes will be terminated to the satisfaction of the King and his Vizier.

We can hardly expect that his majesty will consent to Sujah al Dowlah's officiating near his royal person, nor indeed is that a point insisted on; but we think it but just and reasonable he should be consulted with, and informed of all material transactions at court; as the seal of the Vizârut is in his name, and actually made use of as a signet to the royal mandates.

Should the King persist in his refusal to admit Sujah al Dowlah again to his honours, we shall seriously remind him of the solemn engagements we have reciprocally entered into, for the security of his majesty's person, the defence of Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, and the peace and tranquility of these provinces. We shall also point out to him, the ill consequences which may attend a rupture, which he thus endeavours to effect, with a man formidable as Sujah al Dowlah; and although it is our determination to adhere inviolably to the treaty we have made with his majesty, we must not forget that we are equally bound in friendship to Sujah al Dowlah.

By letters from the secret department at Madras, we have the pleasure to be informed they have concluded a treaty with the ¶ Subah, and that a deputation was sent to him to see it ratified. The President having in private letters from thence received a copy of the terms which have been mutually assented to, we conclude a knowledge of them will afford you satisfaction, and have the honour to transmit them to you a number in this packet.

We beg leave to congratulate you on an event which promises so favourable a prospect of reducing Hyder Ally, and effectually securing your possessions on the Coast. The rebel thus deserted by the Subah, disturbed by the Maharattas, and threatened with the loss of his possessions on the Malabar Coast, by a considerable detachment of your forces, which the gentlemen of Bombay have destined for that service, must soon fall a sacrifice to his ambitious projects; and his ruin will, we hope, establish a lasting peace and tranquility in the Carnatic, and fix your possessions on a permanent and solid basis.

The demands made on us from the Presidency of Madras, for the support of the war, amount to \* 20 lacks of rupees. We have determined to supply them with † 12 lacks from your treasury, and have desired them to appropriate ‡ three lacks for that use from the sums we have remitted thither, for the service of your China investment. They will, by such means, be furnished with an immediate supply of ¶ 15 lacks of rupees, to enable them to prosecute the war against Hyder Ally; and we have promised them a farther sum of § five lacks early in September, should they require it.

The great demands which have been made on this Presidency for supplies of money from every quarter, have reduced your treasury to a very low state, and alarm us for

\* 250,000 L. † 150,000 L. ‡ 37,500 L. ¶ 187,500 L. § 62,500 L.  
¶ Nizam Ally, Subah of the Deccan.

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for the consequences which must inevitably attend such a vast exportation from this country. We are apprehensive that the very great scarcity of silver must affect your investment for the ensuing season, as it is with the utmost difficulty we now procure sufficient for the immediate necessary advances for that purpose.

We have so frequently represented to you the fatal consequences with which we are threatened, by the great exportation of silver from hence, that we are persuaded you will leave no measures uneffected to relieve us from our approaching distressful state.

It is with great concern we observe so great a part of our proceedings filled with disagreeable altercations between Colonel Smith and the Select Committee. We wish to preserve that harmony and unanimity which has so long subsisted between the members of this Board, as we are sensible such a conduct alone can tend to the prosperity of your affairs, and to preserve that degree of subordination which is happily established among your servants. In order, therefore, to remove every cause for future discontent between us and the Colonel, we have very fully pointed out to him the authority which we deem vested by our honourable employers in us and in our President; and we doubt not but such a step will be productive of that harmony in future, which we are desirous to effect.

A difference in opinion amongst us may easily arise, and cannot be deemed a crime in any person; but we wish to preserve it within proper limits, as we can never admit any single member of our Board to act independently, and even without previously consulting us, in matters of the greatest importance. As we entertain the most favourable sentiments of the merit and abilities of Colonel Smith, we cheerfully consent to refer the subjects of our differences to your impartial determination.

We are sorry it is not in our power to transmit you by this conveyance, translates of the Bengal accounts of the Midnapore and Jellafore collections, which we before advised you had been sent us by Mr. George Vanfittart, as they are very voluminous, and require first to be translated into the Persian language, and from thence into English, which our time will not admit of. The abstracts, however, now wait on you numbers in the packet, certified by our Secretary to be true copies of the original papers, transmitted from Midnapore.

We have the pleasure to transmit you Mr. Sykes's correspondence with the Zemindars, and other officers of the government; the broken sett of our proceedings since the last dispatch, and other papers as by the accompanying list.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, J. CARTIER, R. BECHER, C. FFLOYER.

No. XVI.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HON. SIRS,

Fort William, Sept. 13, 1768.

We had the honour to advise you in our address by the Admiral Pococke, under date the 24th March last, of all material occurrences in your affairs under our direction, and to transmit to you our proceedings down to that period of time; a duplicate of those advices now waits on you a number in this packet.

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We have been favoured with your commands bearing dates the 20th November 1767, the 12th January, and 16th March 1768, by the several ships of this season, to which you may be assured all due obedience shall be paid, unless a deviation from any part of them may be deemed most conducive to your interest. Sensible of the important trust reposed in the Select Committee, their warmest endeavours have been exerted to uphold the influence you have happily acquired; and to secure upon the most permanent foundation, your great and valuable possessions in these provinces. We are happy to perceive the success with which their labours have been crowned, has rendered it unnecessary for you to continue to us those superintending powers with which they have heretofore been vested. The concluding of treaties, disbursements of money, and the supreme power over your military, will therefore in future be conducted by your President and Council; and we shall continue in the management of your political concerns, and the collection of the Dewanny revenues, within the limitation prescribed by your late orders.

The President and Council having referred to us the 55, 56, and 58 paragraphs of your letter to them, of the 20th November 1767, we forwarded the same to the resident at the Durbar, with directions to transmit to us all his accounts of the revenues adjusted to the 31st July, in time, if possible to be laid before that Board, and sent you by this opportunity.

The 23, 26, 30, 31, and 32 paragraphs of your commands to us, dated 16th March, have likewise been sent to Mr. Sykes. We have directed him to represent to the ministers the impropriety of their holding lands under the country government; and that it is expected they will discontinue that practice in future. We directed him also to draw out an account of the charges of collections in the Dacca province, and an account of all disbursements whatsoever, which have caused deductions from the annual amount of its revenues; which, when transmitted to us, shall be forwarded for your particular information.

We have recommended to him to obtain information from the ministers, how far the introduction of our laws of inheritance, which you have been pleased to point out to us, may affect the claims of the country government over the natural rights of the native.

The Poonah was held at Murshed-abad, with the usual forms and solemnity, the 14th May last; the President being unable to assist thereat in person, by reason of his ill state of health, Mr. Cartier proceeded up to the city on that occasion, and officiated in his stead. The estimate then formed of the revenues, to be collected in the present year, is entered upon the face of our proceedings, which we have the honour to transmit by this conveyance; and we beg leave to refer to the letters addressed jointly from Messrs. Cartier and Sykes, for a particular explanation of the manner in which the statement is formed.

Those gentlemen deferred the holding of the Poonah as long as it could prudently be done, without endangering the current collections, in order to bring in as much as possible of the outstanding ballances of last year. They are as small as we could reasonably expect; and have arisen from the remarkable inundation of last season, and other casualties, unavoidable in the collection of revenues in a country of such vast extent. You will be pleased to observe, that among the ballances incurred, is one lack \* of rupees, occasioned by a deficiency in the revenues of Dinagapore; notwithstanding Mr. Sykes assures us, he has paid the greatest attention to the collections of that province, from a suspicion of many fraudulent practices having been committed there by the Zemindars and other officers of the government, and the very oppressive measures they have pursued towards the farmers of those lands. Every possible endeavour has been used in obtaining the balance from the late collector of that

\* 12,500 l.

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that province. He at first seemed willing to pay that sum; but at length absolutely refused, unless he was reinstated in the management of Rungpore and Dinagepore, and permitted to take those countries on his own terms. So insolent a refusal, and a proposal so injurious to your interest, induced the ministers to dismiss him from his employment; and we are exerting our utmost endeavours to recover the ballance due.

Mr. Rooke is, for the present, at Dinagepore, in order to convey such informations to the resident at the Durbar as he may obtain, of the mal-practices pursued by the officers entrusted with the management of the collections in that province: but we have strictly forbid that he interferes in any degree whatsoever with the country government; and we have directed that he remain no longer than is absolutely necessary for that service.

The accounts of Meerza Cossim, the late Fouzdar of Houghly, are still under the examination of the ministers. Frauds have already been discovered therein, to the amount of \* 120,000 rupees; of which sum, † 100,000 rupees have been recovered into the treasury at Murshed-abad.

Mr. Sykes has represented to us the inconvenience he must labour under in transacting the business of the Durbar, from the Council's having appropriated Midnapore house to the use of the chief at Cossimbazar; which place he has for some time past made his principal residence, by reason of the unhealthy situation of Mooty-jeel. We could not, with the least degree of delicacy to that Board, take this matter again into consideration; and he was therefore told it should be referred to the decision of you, our honourable employers.

The Bahar collections have this year been nearly adequate to the preceding. Mr. Rumbold advises us; that the revenues being almost collected, he proposes making a tour through that province, accompanied by Rajah Seétabroy, and to settle the Bundabust for the ensuing year, from which tour we flatter ourselves that we shall acquire a more exact knowledge of the state of that province.

The Nabob, Sujah al Dowlah, having complained in his letters to the President of the misconduct of Gomastahs trading in his dominions under the sanction of the English name, we did not hesitate to give him an early proof of our regard to his representations; and accordingly came to a resolution of prohibiting all your servants, as well as other Europeans residing under your direction, from carrying any trade, directly or indirectly, beyond the provinces, after a certain time limited for the adjustment of their outstanding concerns, under pain of confiscation of his goods, and dismissal from your service, if a covenanted servant; and if a free merchant, or other European, the immediate loss of your protection. Such orders have been issued, and such precautions taken in the posting of officers at the different stations on the rivers, as have enforced this regulation in the most effectual manner.

Having on all occasions most religiously fulfilled the articles of our treaty with the Vizier, we entertained hopes that our attachment to his interests would dispel every suspicion which his jealousy of our superior influence might probably have created in his breast; but so far from having produced that happy effect, we have too much reason to believe that his unbounded ambition will make him regard us rather as his rivals for power, than his steady friends; and that his attachment to us proceeds from his inability to deprive us of that reputation we have established in an empire, in which he and his family have borne the most exalted stations in the royal house.

The Nabob continues to be extremely solicitous to be invested with the full authority of Vizier, and to enter upon the functions of that office. The King is equally

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\* 15,000 l.

† 12,500 l.

averse to the Nabob's request, and positive in refusing him any other power than the nominal dignity. Our mediation has been solicited by them both, and our representations have not been wanting; but the imperious conduct of the Nabob towards his royal master, and the enmity subsisting between them, will, we apprehend, prove an insuperable bar to their reconciliation.

We cannot but with concern observe, that our sentiments with regard to Sujah al Dowlah's conduct greatly differ from those we had the honour to transmit to you by the ships of last season. Events since that period, will, we doubt not, justify the change; and make it a duty incumbent on us, as we regard the welfare of the Company, to adopt every prudent measure for evading the blow it is not impossible he may be meditating against their valuable possessions in these provinces. When we considered the very rapid progress he has lately made in his levies of troops; his extraordinary vigilance in the discipline of his army; the reports which we have received of his inviting auxiliaries into his service, at a time when perfect tranquility seemed to reign throughout the empire; the connections he is forming with different powers; the establishing a foundery, which has already supplied him with a quantity of cannon for field service; and his amazing improvement in the making of small arms, which are by no means inferior in quality to the very best exported to India: all these were circumstances which naturally demanded our most serious attention, and compelled us to resolve upon losing as little time as possible in arriving to some degree of certainty with regard to his future designs.

As previous steps towards the security of your brigade stationed at Allahabad, we immediately came to a resolution of establishing a magazine of provisions in that fort for their maintenance, and on sending up a supply of \* ten lacks of rupees for their subsistence, as soon as the state of the Murshed-abad or Patna treasury should enable us to appropriate so large a sum for that purpose.

Sensible of the vast importance of the fort of Chunar to Sujah al Dowlah, in case he should come to an open rupture with us, we have directed Colonel Barker to reinforce the garrison we have at present therein, should he have reason to judge such a step necessary from the future operations of the Nabob. It is a matter that requires the utmost delicacy, and as such we have recommended it to the Colonel: who, we are persuaded, will take every precaution in effecting it, should it become necessary.

The next and most important measure adopted, was the appointment of a deputation to proceed to Allahabad, to represent to Sujah al Dowlah, in person, the suspicions which his late conduct has created; and to endeavour, by a candid investigation of facts and friendly argument, to convince him of the inviolable faith with which we have on our parts adhered to the treaty; and require his reasons for so considerable an augmentation of his force, at a time when even the most remote danger to his possessions was not to be apprehended; and that we have taken this method of communicating to him our sentiments, which we hope will convince him of the sincerity of our attachment, and our earnest desire of continuing the friendship which has subsisted since the treaty. But if, contrary to our most earnest wishes, he should be deaf to every remonstrance of this nature, the deputation is then empowered to request his majesty will order the immediate reduction of his force, as a step essentially necessary for his safety and our own, and to acquaint the Vizier that we are determined to enforce an obedience to the orders of his royal master; since we hold it absolutely and indispensably necessary to prevent any one neighbouring power acquiring such degree of strength or power, as may enable him to disturb the general tranquility of the empire. This measure will not, however, be pursued, until every persuasive argument is become of no effect.

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The more effectually to succeed in our negotiations when the rainy season shall be past, we intend to direct the second brigade to march to the Caramnassa. We are of opinion that when the Nabob perceives our fixed determination to bring this matter to an issue, it will make him reflect seriously on the impropriety, not to say folly, of his conduct.

The President most readily tendered his services on this occasion, notwithstanding his ill state of health for some time past; but the Select Committee not deeming it necessary to put him to the inconvenience of undertaking so long a journey, appointed Mr. Cartier and Colonel Smith two members of the deputation, and applied to the Council for the nomination of Mr. Ruffel as a third; for there being only three remaining members of the Select Committee (the number you have directed constantly to be on the spot to transact the business of this department) another member from our Board could not with propriety be sent. Those three gentlemen will accordingly proceed up the country as soon as the Valentine's dispatches shall be closed. The instructions with which they are furnished will plainly evince our earnest desire of preserving the peace inviolate, and to accommodate matters with the Vizier on the most friendly terms; and we are persuaded that the gentlemen, to whom we entrust this important negotiation, will exert their zealous endeavours to accomplish the wishes of your Select Committee, and to fix the general tranquility on a permanent basis.

Be assured, gentlemen, it is with the utmost reluctance that we find ourselves reduced to the necessity of making hostile preparations against any power of Hindostan; but more particularly against a prince, whose attachment and fidelity to our cause we have attempted to engage by every friendly office in our power. The security of your territorial possessions call aloud for these measures; and we should be wanting in duty and fidelity to the valuable trust reposed in us, if we remained inattentive, whilst so respectable a power is daily increasing. Our resolutions upon this important point have not been the work of an hour, they have resulted from repeated and mature deliberations. To them, therefore, as they stand recorded upon the face of our proceedings, we beg leave to refer you; and we hope the measures deemed necessary to be pursued will have the honour of your approbation.

From the abovementioned circumstances you will no doubt perceive the impracticability of removing the third brigade from its station at Allahabad, which has continued there at the particular requisition of the King and Sujah al Dowlah. We must, on this occasion, express our great astonishment at the positive orders you have lately sent us, for withdrawing that brigade, under pain of being rendered responsible for all the consequences which may ensue from its continuance. Such an absolute restriction, without permitting us upon the spot to judge how far from time and circumstances such a measure may be pursued, must, we apprehend, on some future occasion be productive of the utmost evil consequence to your affairs. In the present case for instance, did we not regard your interests above every other consideration, you might possibly, by an immediate execution of your orders, be reduced, in the space of a few weeks, from the most flourishing situation to the lowest distress. Sujah al Dowlah would then have the King at his mercy, and might obtain that right to your possessions, by which you now hold them. He would then have no curb on his ambition; and being thus left at large to pursue his hostile intentions, might, with ease, enter these provinces with a numerous body of cavalry, harass your troops, without putting it in their power to bring him to an action; and destroy those very countries from which you receive such immense revenues; but as our army is now stationed, the third brigade is a check on all our neighbours, and more particularly on the Vizier.

We



We are also concerned to find that our resolution, on the approach of Abdalla, to raise a body of Mogul horse, does not meet with your approbation. We came to this resolution in consequence of Colonel Smith's representations of the absolute necessity of entertaining a corps of cavalry, should there be a prospect of real service. We judged it indispensibly necessary to give the Colonel this power; at the same time we strongly recommended to him not to make levies, unless the situation of affairs should absolutely require it. You will find that our recommendation had all the effect we could desire; since on the rumour of Abdalla's return, the service did not require that you should incur the least unnecessary expence, nor was a single horseman entertained.

But we are obliged to enlarge on this subject from the present situation of your affairs. It never will be our intention, in any case whatsoever, to raise a body of horse so numerous as to oppose the thousands of cavalry that may be brought against us; but we cannot conceive it would be warrantable to risk not only the persons of your commanders in chief, and principal officers of your army, but perhaps such convoys on the fate of which the success of our operations might solely depend, to the very precarious fidelity of the troops of another power. You have only three hundred horse in your pay; a number by no means sufficient for the ordinary guards and patrols of the camp. Without cavalry it would be impossible for your officers to conduct their operations; since they could not at any time reconnoitre the enemy's situation, without marching a large corps of infantry for a covering party; and making this a common practice, would harass your army beyond measure. The securing of convoys is a point of too much importance to trust to any other troops than those in your own pay. In short, it seems the opinion of all the principal officers of the army, that in time of service a small body of cavalry is indispensibly necessary. However, you may rest perfectly assured, that on this, as well as all your other orders, we shall never depart from the system you have prescribed, unless the service should absolutely require it; and then we shall observe the greatest œconomy.

Colonel Barker informs us that Abdalla is making preparations for marching again towards Hindostan. That he left Cabool in May last, and joined his army, which had taken the field; and that a part of it, reinforced by the neighbouring powers, is marching towards Cashmêr, Multân, and Lahôre; but we do not find this intelligence confirmed by later advices.

Jewhar Sing, the chief of the Jauts, was assassinated on July last, by an unknown hand. We do not hear that his death has caused any great commotions, his brother, Row Rutten Sing, having succeeded him without opposition; and has wrote to our President, expressing his hopes of the continuance of that friendship towards him, as subsisted with his predecessor. The Nabob Sujah al Dowlah is preparing to march his army to the assistance of Achmed Cawn Bungish, one of the Rohilla chiefs, as he intimates, at his particular requisition.

By letters from the secret department at Fort St. George, we observe they are pursuing with vigour their operations against Hyder Ally. The main body of their army, joined by a detachment of Colonel Campbell, are encamped within twenty-five miles of Bengulou; a strong fortress, on which the rebel places great dependence, having subdued the several forts laying between their army and their own garrisons. Hyder Ally is also encamped near that place with his whole force, consisting of eleven thousand cavalry and infantry, and determined it seems to defend it to the last extremity. The siege we doubt not is e'er now commenced; and as the extirpation of Hyder Ally will greatly depend on the success of your arms in that enterprise, we shall remain in a state of anxiety, waiting for the issue.

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The great number of cannon and stores they have acquainted us is necessary to enable them to carry on the siege, has induced us to resolve on sending them a supply of shot by the first conveyance which offers for the Coast; and as they still continue to represent to us their urgent occasions for money, we shall also embrace the same opportunity to send them as ample a supply as the state of our treasury will admit of.

The detachment under Colonel Peach in the Deccan has been lately employed against Narraindoo, and the other refractory Zemindars of the Chicacole Sircar. He has possessed himself of a fort belonging to the former, which was evacuated on his making a practicable breach; and he, with his scattered army, is retired to his strong holds among the mountains. The Colonel is at present at Kimedey; and the gentlemen at Madras, upon a rumour of Nizam Ally's disaffection to their cause, have thought it necessary to keep that detachment, either to remain as a check over the rebellious conduct of the Zemindars, or for the preservation of the Sircars, should the Subah attempt any hostile measures against them.

The President and Council at Bombay, at the request of the Madras Presidency, fitted out an armament, consisting of three ships, many small vessels and boats, with five hundred Europeans, and eight hundred Sepoys, against Hyder Ally's possessions on the Malabar coast, which they reduced on the first of March, together with the greatest part of his fleet. The rapid successes of this armament would have been attended with the greatest consequences, in support of the measures pursued by your army on the Coast, had they been permanent. But the return of Major Gowin and Mr. Watson to Bombay soon after, with a principal part of their marine force and some Europeans, on account of the approaching rainy season, encouraged Hyder Ally to march a great part of his forces to Mangalore in person, with which he threatened the re-capture of this important settlement. The major part of the garrison, tho' considerable in strength, struck with a panic at his approach, instead of making resistance as soldiers, most scandalously abandoned their post, and retired to Tillicherry, and the remainder suffered themselves to be taken prisoners in the fort, with all their ammunition and warlike stores. Thus was the Mysorean restored on a sudden to those valuable possessions, which the loss of must have greatly disconcerted him in his military operations on the Coast. An event highly favourable to his cause, as the neighbouring powers may possibly be impressed with an idea of his superior skill and courage, and will hardly now be prevailed upon to join our arms against him.

Their defeat, and the losses incurred by that expedition, have reduced the garrison at Bombay so very considerably, as to disable them from attempting a second enterprise, unless reinforced from your other settlements. They have represented this matter very fully to the Presidency at Madras, and requested of them to apply to us for assistance, should they be unable to afford them any from thence. On any such application being made to us, we shall readily grant them every assistance that will be compatible with our own situation.

The President and Council having determined on not returning the ship Admiral Watson to Europe, we thought it most adviseable to send her round to Bombay, whither she will prove an additional force to their marine, should they attempt a second enterprise against Hyder Ally, and if not wanted for such service, she might either be disposed of there to equal advantage as at this port, or sent round to Madras with a cargo of cotton, to assist that Presidency in the remittances for their China investment. For this purpose we recommended to the Council their ordering the necessary repairs to be made to her, and she is now under dispatch.

The French at Chandernagore having of late taken up large sums of money in silver specie, and transmitted the same to Pondicherry, we were apprehensive that such a proceeding must be productive of dangerous consequences to this country, unless a stop was put to it in future, and therefore recommended to the ministers of the government to prohibit all exportation of silver from these provinces, and to impose such penalty on disobedience as they might think proper. And it being also necessary to represent to his majesty the many evils arising from the very small quantity of silver imported for some time past by the French, Dutch, and other European nations into his dominions, we earnestly entreated him to send such orders on this subject, to the Subah-dar of these provinces, as he might judge most expedient for the ease and happiness of his subjects.

We have kept in remembrance the orders you were pleased to send to the President and Council, for transmitting to you such intelligence as they may be able to obtain of the French nation at the islands. We are seeking an intelligent person to send thither, under a pretence which may give the least cause for suspicion of our designs; and from thence to proceed to England, in order to communicate to you the discoveries he may have made. Many difficulties occur to us in the prosecution of such a scheme, but none greater than the fixing upon a proper person for the occasion; if we succeed in that, you may be assured of our readiness to carry your orders into execution.

When we consider the very large sums of money with which the French agents at Chandernagore have already been supplied from Calcutta, for bills granted on their Company in France; the draughts made this season on individuals at this settlement, to the amount of \* thirty lacks of rupees, payable to the Council at Chandernagore, and others on Madras for † ten lacks, payable to their agents at Pondicherry; we are very strongly induced to suspect they are reserving a fund in India for some future occasion, it being well known, they are already amply supplied for carrying on their investments of this year.

We are also apprised of ten ships being destined from France this season, seven of which the French intimate are to be sold, and to remain in India. That they have already about four thousand of his most Christian majesty's troops at the islands; and it cannot admit a doubt but that many of those vessels are taken up for the transportation of a further number. So alarming a force, at a place from whence it is difficult to procure the least information of their designs, has induced us to have a vigilant eye over our fortifications, which have been almost intirely put a stop to, from the want of artificers and materials; we have recommended to the Council to prohibit all private buildings and repairs being carried on in Calcutta, or its environs, after the first of November next, in order that no future impediments may be met with in putting the new fort in a posture of defence as expeditiously as possible.

It requires no great depth of judgment to foresee, that the assembling such a number of forces at the French islands, can bode no good to your settlements in India. Nor are we without our apprehensions, that whenever the French are in a condition to cope with our nation in Europe, they will make some attempt in India; and even this may happen, previous to a declaration of war. And as from the situation of the islands, they are sole masters of their own time of operations; it is more than probable, that the first intelligence of their intention will be the appearance of a French fleet in Balasore road.

As we judged it most advantageous to have gun carriages, as well as all wood and iron work required for the service of the new fort, constructed by contract; we received proposals from three substantial persons residing in Calcutta, and deeming reasonable

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reasonable the terms they offered, we directed the Committee of works to enter into contracts with them accordingly; and we shall be careful to have this work inspected, that it may be executed in the strongest and best manner. The expence of materials will be thereby reduced to a degree of certainty, and we hope greatly diminished.

It is with great concern we acquaint you, that differences of opinion have arisen between the President and Colonel Smith; but as they are in general of such a nature as fall more particularly under your cognizance, and stand fully recorded upon our proceedings, we beg leave to refer them to your decision.

The Colonel, upon his resuming his seat at our Board, expressed his astonishment at a minute delivered in by the President, on the 10th February last, wherein he stood accused of having counteracted the measures pursued by the President in the course of his country correspondence, and perceived that the same had been transmitted to you without his previous knowledge. The assurances he then gave us of his ignorance of the transaction, which gave cause for such an accusation, was so entirely satisfactory to us, that we not only condemn the false and ill-natured representation of Munner al Dowlah to the President on this occasion, but are under much concern lest our opinions thereupon, which were transmitted to you by the Admiral Pococke, should induce you to entertain sentiments unfavourable to the Colonel; and it is with pleasure we embrace this early opportunity to assure you, that so far from entertaining such an idea to his prejudice, we can with the utmost confidence affirm, that he has convinced us of his earnest desire to co-operate with us, in any transaction that may redound to your honour and interest.

We hope, and have reason to flatter ourselves, that, in future, deliberations will be conducted with that harmony so desirable to ourselves as individuals, and so highly essential for the well governing of your affairs.

Colonel Smith having expressed his strong desire of returning to Europe by one of the early ships of this season, we represented to him, that his presence was necessary until the issue of our negotiations with Sujah al Dowlah was known. On this representation he cheerfully assented to proceed up the country as one of the members of the deputation. But as he has requested you should be informed of his intention to resign his commission as soon as your affairs will permit, we deemed it necessary to give you this information, and at the same time take the liberty of recommending, in the strongest manner, Colonel Sir Robert Barker to your favour; and we hope that so many years distinguished services, his general good character, his abilities as an officer, and his attachment to your service, will induce you to confirm him in the appointment of the command of your forces, after Colonel Smith's departure.

We have, as yet, received no more than seven hundred recruits this season from Europe, of the number destined for this settlement, notwithstanding all your Coast-and-Bay ships are safely imported. We must suppose that the remainder are on the Bombay ships which you have ordered to touch at Madras, and have therefore requested of the gentlemen there to forward them to us by the first opportunities after their arrival; as, without them, it will be impossible to form your military establishment in the manner you have been pleased to direct.

You will perceive, by the treasury account transmitted to you by this conveyance from the President and Council, that it is entirely out of our power to comply with your discretionary orders for sending five hundred thousand pounds in specie to Europe by the ships of this season. To the great supplies we have furnished your Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, your supercargoes at Canton, and to the considerable increase of your investment here, must be imputed the very low state of your treasury. Experience confirms us in the sentiments we have repeatedly expressed to you concerning the exportation of bullion from those provinces, and it becomes a matter



of still more important consideration, as foreign nations, who were accustomed to import such large quantities of bullion for the purchase of their cargoes for Europe, are no longer under that necessity; since by bills from, and by draughts on Europe, they obtain an ample sufficiency for all their occasions. And here we cannot but remark, that the very great reduction you have been pleased to make in the rate of exchange, will undoubtedly contribute to the prolongation of this evil.

We have the honour to transmit you a number in this packet, a translation of the account collections in the province of Midnapore and Jellafore, in conformity to your former directions, attested by the Mayor; together with a return of the army; the country correspondence; and the broken sets of our proceedings and letters, received and sent since the last dispatch, for your particular information; and have the honour to subscribe ourselves, with great respect, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, R. SMITH, R. BECHER. C. FFLOYER.

P. S. Colonel Smith signs the foregoing letter to the Honourable the Court of Directors, with this reservation, that he does not intend thereby to contradict any opinion that he has already entered on record.

No. XVII.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HON. SIRS,

Fort William, November 21, 1768.

No material occurrences have happened in your affairs here since the dispatch of the Valentine, when we had the honour to address you under date the 13th Sept. last; duplicate and triplicate thereof now wait on you by the ships Verelst and Kent.

Messrs. Cartier, Smith, and Ruffel, set out for Allahabad, on the business of the deputation, soon after the departure of the Valentine; and we hope are ere now arrived, having left Patna the 7th instant.

The important trust reposed in them has made them desirous of acquiring, during the course of their journey, every possible information of the state of affairs above; and the same motive has urged us to give them from time to time our unreserved sentiments on such further measures as appeared to us necessary for them to pursue; leaving to them, however, upon the spot, the power of carrying them into execution, or otherwise, as they may judge most conducive to the good of your service. When we considered that the principal difficulty they may probably encounter will be in persuading the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah to a reduction of his force; we recommended to those gentlemen to consent to the Nabob's retaining troops to the number of ten thousand infantry, and ten or twelve thousand cavalry. From this force we can have nothing to apprehend; and we think it will be sufficient to enable him to preserve that respect from the neighbouring powers, which he has hitherto maintained. To a man of his ambitious and vain-glorious disposition, there cannot be a greater disgrace, than the public knowledge of such a reduction must necessarily occasion. We have therefore signified to the deputies that we think so mortifying a circumstance may be evaded, by their prevailing on him to make a tender

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of the remainder of his troops as recruits to your brigades. Such a measure would prevent the general odium he must otherwise incur from the several powers of Hindostan, and, instead of it, must convince them of his steady attachment to your interests.

We flatter ourselves, that matters will be amicably settled with the Nabob, as it must evidently tend to your interest to preserve an alliance with a person of his high station and power in the empire. Nothing has been omitted on our parts to induce him to participate of your friendship; but time alone will shew how far a confidence may in future be placed in him.

We have, on many occasions, most earnestly solicited you to send abroad the best recruits you could procure for your military establishments, so much depending thereon, that it is the most essential point of security to your possessions. We therefore take the liberty of offering it as our opinion, that your recruiting service can only be properly conducted by officers of integrity and experience appointed for that purpose in England; who, sensible of the important services they may render to the Company by an attentive discharge of their duty, would cheerfully embrace the opportunity of recommending themselves to your favour, by providing good and able-bodied young men, who would be of real service to your armies abroad; and the very heavy expences annually incurred by you on this occasion, would no longer be ill bestowed. It is with concern we inform you, that Colonel Smith hath reported your recruits of this season, in general, to be very indifferent. Of those already arrived, there are barely sufficient to form two of your regiments, agreeably to the regulations you have been pleased to prescribe; and they are appointed to complete, as nearly as possible, the second and third brigades.

A division of the first brigade remains at Mongheer; and another, under the command of Colonel Joseph Peach, is still in the Deccan; from whence the gentlemen at Madras have given us hopes they will be speedily returned to us.

It is with much concern we observe, that the Secret department at Fort St. George still labour under great inconveniences from the want of money to enable them to pursue their operations with that vigour which they deem essentially necessary for the reduction of Hyder Ally. They were even apprehensive of being driven to the necessity of appropriating to that use one hundred and eighty thousand rupees \* of the sum then lying in their treasury for the China investment.

As our treasury was at that time replenished by gold mohurs of the late currency, which the President and Council had thought proper to recall therein, we shipped on board the Admiral Watson and the Plassey schooner to the amount of eight lacks † of rupees for that Presidency. This, with three lacks ‡ we sent in the snow Asia, which was drove by stress of weather into Pegu, we hope, will prove a seasonable supply. We also sent them, by the Admiral Watson, five thousand eighteen, and three thousand twenty-four-pounder shot, and should at the same time have supplied them with the article of gun-powder, which they have since requested, had we known they had wanted it before that ship's departure. We then proposed to send them two hundred barrels in the Plassey schooner; but on consulting with our Master-attendant, it was judged that the season was too far advanced to admit of her being detained on that account.

They have detained at Madras Mr. Lewis Smith, a cadet arrived there this season in the Dutton, and destined for Bengal, as he was judged capable of rendering them service in the engineering branch. The gentlemen inform us that it is their intention to request you will be pleased to fix him upon that establishment; and we take the liberty

\* 22,500 l. † 100,000 l. ‡ 1,375,000 l.

liberty of recommending him to you for that purpose, as you have so handsomely provided us with officers in that corps.

Such of the recruits destined for Bengal as have been landed at Madras, are stopped there for the immediate service of that Presidency. As those gentlemen alone can judge how far the exigency of their affairs required their taking a measure so contrary to your intentions, we could do no more than represent to them, that the number we received was insufficient for the purposes you intended them; and to request they would send round to us the remainder as soon as they could be spared.

We cannot, in justice to you, our honourable employers, and to every individual residing under your government in Bengal, avoid representing once more to you the extreme distress which this country is unhappily reduced to from a want of silver specie. It is almost beyond conception, and with difficulty will be credited but by those who experience the ill effects it daily produces. The day is at length arrived which we so early foresaw, and has brought with it that load of inconveniencies which we have repeatedly apprized you of. This settlement, for some months past, has, in fact, been in a state of bankruptcy. Trade is totally put a stop to; and even the most reputable of your servants can with difficulty procure silver sufficient for the payment of their servant's wages. To these evils is added another, the more serious, as it precludes even the most distant prospect of the re-circulation of money; we mean the very considerable draughts which have, this season, been made on individuals from Europe, in favour of the French government at Chandernagore, and of which we had the honour to advise you in our last address. There is now in Calcutta a servant of the French Company, with those very bills which are nearly all become payable, receiving on that account every rupee which can possibly be amassed by individuals, and sending it to that settlement. He has orders from his superiors to accept of no Company's bonds in part of payment, by which it is apparent, that their intention is to take every advantage of our distress.

Permit us also to refer you to the present state of your treasury. You will thereby perceive a total inability to discharge many sums, which you are indebted to individuals for deposits in your cash, as well as to issue any part of the considerable advances required for the service of every public department. We need not then observe the apparent danger which threatens your investment for the ensuing season, neither the favourable prospects of our rivals the French, who, by having so early a command of money, must necessarily be enabled to make the more early advances.

The Dutch, unwilling to trust to the precarious resources of an exhausting country, have, since our last advices, very judiciously imported some bullion to Bengal; and though the sum may not exceed three lacks\*, yet it is of the greatest utility to the forwarding their investment.

You may be convinced, that the value of your territorial acquisitions have not been decreasing, since the collections are now greater than they ever have been since your investiture of the Dewanny. But be assured, that the benefits arising from them must be of short duration, whilst a scarcity of specie prevails as at present, and is daily exhausting. You must expect, unless the evil is speedily removed, to collect your revenues in the commodities produced in the country, without having a prospect of vending them at any rate, as the merchants will be totally deprived of the means to purchase them.

This, gentlemen, is the present distressful and real situation of the country; and, we flatter ourselves, that, by taking a comparative view of our distant prospects with the politic advantages reaped by the foreign nations trading here, who grasped at all

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private monies from individuals, you will no longer deem us reprehensible, if a decrease in the amount of your future investments, and a debasement of their quality should prove the consequence, since you must be sensible, that early advances alone can in this country insure the one and the other. The heavy payments of your revenue are not made till late in the season; and, unless we have a year's advance in your treasury, no advantage can be taken in its provision.

Excuse us, therefore, if we think it a duty indispensable in us, to exhort you, in the strongest manner, to pursue such measures as may oblige foreign nations to import bullion into this sinking country.

We have been the more explicit on this subject, in order to evince the impossibility of the Council's sending any silver this season for the use of the China investment; for, what with the further demands we must expect will be made on us from the Secret department at Fort St. George, those now upon us to a very great amount, the providing of so considerable an investment, and the unavoidable expences of this Presidency, we are very apprehensive that little or no money will remain in your treasury, for some time at least, to answer any emergency.

We have directed Mr. Sykes to send us down a supply from the City with all possible expedition, and he gives us hopes of receiving six lacks of rupees\* in a few days. That gentleman having requested our permission to resign his post at the Durbar, by reason of his ill state of health, and to return to his duty at the Presidency, we have referred his request to the President and Council, for their nomination of a successor.

We have the honour to transmit you the broken set of our proceedings, and letters received and sent, since the last dispatch, as per accompanying list of packet, and to subscribe ourselves, with the utmost respect, &c.

H. VERELST, RICHARD BECHER, CHARLES FFLOYER.

No. XVIII.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort William, January 6, 1769.

We had the honour to address you last, under date the 21st November, in two copies by the ships Verelst and Kent, a duplicate whereof now waits on you by the Queen.

It is with great pleasure we embrace the opportunity which the present conveyance affords us, to inform you that our deputies to his majesty and the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah have hitherto met with every desired success in the course of their negotiations. His excellency gave them the meeting at Benâres, where many days passed in conference, on the subject of the late jealousies subsisting between us, which at length happily terminated in the conclusion of a new treaty with him, on the 28th of November. The steady measures adopted and pursued in thus bringing the Nabob to an explanation, have not a little contributed to his ready acquiescence to the most essential parts of our just pretensions; and the tender regard which the gentlemen of the deputation have shewn for his honour in the reduction of his forces, at the same

time

\* 75,000/.

time that they have consulted the future security of these provinces, we flatter ourselves, will meet with that approbation from you which we have testified to them on that occasion. By the stipulated reduction of the Nabob's troops, he is still permitted to retain a number which will render him respectable among the powers of Hindostan, though in no degree sufficiently formidable to trouble the repose of these provinces. This, we may hope, will rather be productive of a confidential regard on our part, than create in us future suspicions of the Nabob's ambitious views, since it admits not a doubt, that he can now form no projections but what we shall have in our power to controul.

The President has been informed, that the Nabob accompanied the deputies to Allahabad, and was received in the royal presence in quality of Vizier, with every mark of distinction due to his station in the empire, and afterwards returned to his dominions, with his majesty's permission to return to Allahabad at the approaching festival of the Mohamedans. We hope this will tend to conciliate the long differences which have subsisted between them on the subject of the Vizârut.

When we considered the very peremptory orders you were pleased to send us, for confining solely our views within these provinces, though sensible how impolitic an immediate obedience to your commands, and how far they must at present be from answering the salutary purpose of a solid and permanent security to your valuable possessions; yet we were desirous of embracing the opportunity of our deputies being so near the royal presence, to make such an attempt towards the execution of your orders as appeared to us most likely to effect your purpose; and we have therefore recommended to their consideration, how far his majesty's giving up Korah to Sujah al Dowlah, in exchange for the Sircars of Ghazipore and Benâres, and the Nabob's ceding to him the fortres of Chunar, may be suitable to one and the other.

From the temper of mind and situation of Sujah al Dowlah, we flatter ourselves, he will be inclinable to cultivate our friendship, and no longer prove refractory or deaf to our remonstrances, and his majesty not less attentive to our advice. The situation of the present royal domains, lies too much within the country of Sujah al Dowlah; insomuch, that should we even come to an open rupture with him, to support his majesty as allies to the throne, we must march through an enemy's country, and thereby subject our troops to many very apparent inconveniencies. The present annual revenues of Korah, exceed those of Ghazipore and Benâres, six or seven lacks \* of rupees; this may prove a temptation to Sujah al Dowlah, particularly if he considers how very compact his territories will from hence become.

The Nabob has frequently, since he ceded the fort of Allahabad to his majesty, complained of the want of some place for the security of his family, and a capital for himself. The King's restoring that fortres, may be a strong inducement to the Nabob to embrace this proposal, and to give up Chunar in exchange, which will be a strong barrier to us when in possession of his majesty. The Pergunnah, at present possessed by the Bundelcund Rajah, may be appropriated for his Majesty's use, to make good the difference between his present possessions and those of Bulwant Sing, provided they are not thought to be at too great a distance for his purpose; if that should be the case, Tarrâr, or some lands contiguous to Bulwant Sing's country, may then be asked for from Sujah al Dowlah, as a compensation for the territories ceded by his Majesty.

If such a scheme can be effected, our troops may be withdrawn into these provinces; the King may possibly follow them, and thereby will be saved, not only the annual drain of treasure for the payment of the tribute, and the subsistence of your troops, which has, with other demands, nearly exhausted the wealth of this country, and reduced us to the greatest distress; but the currency of silver specie will be in-

\* 75,000 l. or 87,500 l.

creased, by an increase of the number of countries, as well as of the number of them. Should any further increase then the more of his majesty's power and authority for them, for

It is probable that this a disgrace, long favourite by a junction with accumulations must create in the future injunctions

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In our letter transmitted to J peace, and the of though his dem Vackeel, that make, being depending. We consideration, a tate, as we deem valuable possessions berations were, the President and now drawing our glish Company. our proceedings tion to assure y



increased, by an importation of the sums collected from the revenues of Ghazipore, &c. countries, as well as those arising from every emolument the throne may enjoy. Should any future hostile preparations be made against his majesty's arms, we may then the more easily unite our forces against our common enemy, as the proximity of his majesty's possessions would be a second barrier to our arms, and with double security for them, from all the inconveniencies of war.

It is probable from superstitious motives, that his Majesty may be induced to think this a disgrace, as it carries with it the appearance of a retreat from his capital, his long favourite object. But to this we might represent his more immediate security by a junction with us; the imaginary prospect of our marching at some future time, with accumulated treasures and force in his support; the ideas which such an union must create in the courts of Hindostan, and the necessity we are under from the positive injunctions we have received of recalling the third brigade from Allahabad.

Another objection may be made to this plan by his majesty, setting forth the impropriety or dishonour of exchanging his present royal possessions for those of a Zemindarry, guaranteed by us, whose rents cannot be increased, and where no Jagheers can be granted. To this may be represented the annexed Pergunnahs, at present possessed by the Hindaput Rajah, or such lands as may be farther granted him; which, protected by us, will enable him to bestow rewards on those whom he may chuse to honour with a provision; and the more ready and immediate payment of the rents from Bulwant Sing, will enable him more honourably to support his army, than he now does by his present mode of payment. We have communicated the foregoing observations to the deputies at Allahabad, and have desired they may be regarded more as hints, than bearing a tendency to any digested plans, and we hope soon to receive their opinion on them; for it must be from the lights we may obtain from them, that we shall form a judgment of the practicability of those measures.

The present distressful state of this country, proceeding from the scarcity of silver, has induced us to direct those gentlemen to issue their orders for receiving all sums which may be procured in Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, for defraying the expences of the third brigade stationed there, and that the paymaster do grant bills for such sums received on the military paymaster-general in Calcutta as usual, at five days sight. And it has been also recommended to them to prevail on his majesty to accept gold mohurs of the late currency, in part payment of the tribute, at a reasonable exchange, for which purpose we have sent them some coined at the mints of Calcutta and Murshed-abad, in order that this matter might be more easily adjusted.

In our letter under date the 29th February last, we informed you, that we had transmitted to Janoojee, one of the Maharatta chiefs, some proposals for a treaty of peace, and the cession of Orissa. We have lately received his reply to them, and although his demands appear too high for us to accede to, yet we are assured by his Vackeel, that he will very cheerfully acquiesce in every reasonable demand we can make, being desirous of putting an end to a negotiation which has been so long depending. We have therefore taken the subject a second time into our most serious consideration, and have finally resolved on such proposals being made to that potentate, as we deem most consistent with your honour, and the future security of your valuable possessions, as well in Bengal, as on the Coast of Coromandel. Our deliberations were, in consequence of your late orders, submitted to the consideration of the President and Council, and having been by them approved, articles of a treaty are now drawing out, in order to be executed on the part of the Nabob and of the English Company. For further particulars relative thereto, permit us to refer you to our proceedings, which wait on you by this conveyance; having only on this occasion to assure you, that we have paid a strict attention to those orders wherein you

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direct that no treaty be entered into, but with the principal power; and that Janoojee is the only person with whom we can with propriety enter into a treaty, cannot be doubted, since the treaty for the payment of the Chout was first entered into by Alliverdy Cawn with his father Ragoojee, and was on his death confirmed by Janoojee alone.

At the time we were deliberating on the terms proposed by Janoojee, we received advices from the secret department at Fort St. George, relative to the operations of the war against Hyder Ally, and expressing their apprehensions of Mahadavarow's marching into the Carnatic to his assistance; which circumstance is corroborated by advices lately transmitted to them from Mr. Broome, Resident at the Maharatta court at Poonah. This situation appears to us so critical, that to ensure a lasting peace and tranquility on the Coast of Coromandel, we were of opinion, the utmost efforts of this Committee should be exerted, in support of the present war against Hyder Ally, and that every means should be made use of to prevent his increase of power, by a junction with the Maharattas; a junction which would not only render the event of the war dubious, but would likewise deprive the Company of the revenues they now collect from the Carnatic, and oblige us to drain this exhausted country of still greater supplies of treasure; which must in such case be consumed in the course of a long and tedious war, instead of being applied to the purposes of your several investments in India.

From the late conduct of Hyder Ally, we cannot see a prospect of the gentlemen at Madras being able to conclude a peace with him upon honourable terms, or which can promise to be secure and permanent. For, in the present situation of affairs, should the war be put an end to, Hyder would be left more formidable than he was at the commencement of it. His credit would be exalted in all the courts of Hindostan, from his having singly withstood the utmost efforts of the English arms on the Coast; and the fame of our's would consequently be diminished by their receding from the contest, after so long and obstinate a struggle; and nothing less could be expected than a recommencement of troubles on the part of Hyder Ally, as soon as he had recruited his forces, and brought the Maharattas and Nizam Ally to unite their forces to his. Such an event might be productive of the most dangerous consequences to your affairs: for Hyder, politic of discerning, would be cautious to avoid any oversights or errors he may have committed in the course of the present war; he would, no doubt, be active in improving the discipline of his troops; and, actuated by a spirit of revenge, and sensible also that the security of his own possessions could only be insured by our ruin, no efforts which policy or courage might suggest, or which ambition or despair might inspire, would be wanting on the part of that potentate.

A still more cogent reason bids us beware of his growing power. By advices from Madras, under date the 31st August, it appears, that the gentlemen there entertained strong suspicions that the French at Pondicherry, were carrying on intrigues at his court, and that they had promised him assistance from Europe, or the island of Mauritius; and when we reflect on the grand preparations of that nation at the latter place, the number of its forces there, and the increase of its shipping in India, it is most probable that the French may join Hyder Ally, should this opportunity of subduing him be lost. Such a circumstance, added to those already mentioned, might involve your affairs in India even beyond a possibility of retrieving them.

However desirous the gentlemen at Madras may be to put an end to so destructive and expensive a war, we apprehend they have not within themselves those resources requisite for effecting it, without hazarding your possessions at some future time. We are therefore the more readily induced to come to an immediate conclusion, if possible,

fible, of a treaty of Orissa. For whom he is essentially in your power, a diminution of strength; and if, in the event, his possessions, other internal resources, and their forces as a city. And for the Maharatta strength, as in the powers of Hyder Ally, repose and security.

The nomination of forces now stationed, be effectually a march towards, proposed to us, accepting his possessions through the King's Sunnud, seconded by the may be useful should the tranquillity of the soon compel ruin.

The strong of Hyder's host, Ally, and the cabinets of all European rivaled elucidation.

It is therefore that a fortune we have here Ally, upon such for the future Coast of Coromandel on our part, to affairs, and which

Although where your we your affairs that we have hit upon your present must, in some Such are the when we laid

sible, of a treaty offensive and defensive with Janoojee, observing, as a basis, the cession of Orissa. His well known jealousy of and differences with Mahadavarow, (against whom he is endeavouring to support an independency) must secure him most effectually in your interest. A treaty thus concluded, will cause a division of the Maharatta power, a diminution of their territorial possessions, and consequently of their natural strength; and the friendship of Janoojee secured by the annual payment of a stipulated sum, his possessions will become a barrier to these provinces, against the incursions of other internal western powers, without subjecting us to the necessity of applying for their forces as auxiliaries, and thereby exposing your possessions a prey to their rapacity. And further, it cannot be doubted but such a treaty will sow dissensions among the Maharatta chiefs, and may thereby occasion such a mutual decrease of their strength, as may bring them to a level with, if not in subjection to, some of the other powers of Hindostan, which will leave your extensive territories in a perfect state of repose and security.

The nominal authority of the King, the power of his Vizier, and that part of our forces now stationed at Allahabad, may, if your affairs on the Coast should require it, be effectually interposed; as the bare report of such a junction, aided by the feint of a march towards the territories of Mahadavarow, which lay open, and must be exposed to us, should he march to Hyder's assistance, may not only deter him from accepting his offers, but may induce him to consult the immediate safety of his own possessions through our friendship. The force of Janoojee, who has lately solicited the King's Sunnuds for such lands as he may conquer from Mahadavarow, joined or seconded by the detachment under the command of Colonel Peach, in the Deccan, may be usefully employed, should Mahadavarow take the part of Hyder Ally; or should the Subah wantonly and weakly engage in new enterprizes against the tranquility of the Carnatic: so formidable and unexpected a junction in this quarter, must soon compel Hyder to terms of accommodation, if not subject his territories to certain ruin.

The strongest motives for our having adopted these sentiments, are the deprivation of Hyder's hopes and our fears, of his effecting a junction with the French, Nizam Ally, and Mahadavarow; by which step the influence you at present possess in the cabinets of all the powers of Hindostan, would most probably revolt to our natural European rival, and the consequences of such an evil are too apparent to require elucidation.

It is therefore our unanimous opinion, founded upon the most mature deliberation, that a fortunate issue to a treaty with Janoojee, would be productive of the advantages we have herein pointed out, and most probably of speedy concessions from Hyder Ally, upon such terms as the gentlemen at Madras may judge necessary to impose, for the future safety and tranquility of your possessions, or those of your allies, on the Coast of Coromandel; therefore, we have resolved, that no delays shall be occasioned on our part, to effect a purpose which tends so evidently to the advantage of your affairs, and which necessity alone has compelled us to adopt.

Although we are desirous to assist the gentlemen at Madras on every occasion, where your welfare is concerned, yet it is alone the urgent and very critical state of your affairs there, that can possibly induce us to deviate from that system of policy we have hitherto observed, and would gladly continue, of confining our views to your present possessions, and of avoiding all distant and extensive operations, which must, in some degree, subject your acquisitions to danger, by a division of your force. Such are the sentiments we communicated to your Presidency at Fort St. George, when we laid before them the measures which appeared to us most proper to be pursued

fued in the present situation of their affairs; and we requested their opinions thereon, before we finally determined on a matter of such importance.

As the most minute transactions of your Select Committee since the departure of the Verelst and Kent are entered upon the proceedings which we have the honour to transmit to you by this conveyance, we beg leave to refer thereto for your further information.

The snow Asia, on which we informed you, in our last advices, the President and Council had embarked \* three lacks of rupees, for the Presidency at Fort St. George, is returned hither with her treasure. Your ship Dutton has carried † six lacks of rupees, of the late gold currency, to Madras, to answer their urgent occasions; which, with the remittances by the Admiral Watson, and Plassey schooner, will we hope prove a considerable relief to their distress.

Mr. Sykes has resigned his seat at the Select Committee, and purposes, on account of his ill state of health, to take his passage to Europe in the Queen. We must, in justice to that gentleman, express our entire satisfaction of his conduct during the time he was employed in the station of resident at the Durbar, and our concern at the necessity which compels him to quit your service.

Mr. Becher, who was appointed by the President and Council to the post of resident at the Durbar, has proceeded to this station.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, F. SYKES, CHARLES FFLOYER.

No. XIX.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort William, Feb. 3, 1769.

Nothing material having occurred since our last advices, under date the 6th ult. a duplicate of which we have the honour to transmit to you, we flatter ourselves will sufficiently apologize for the conciseness of this address; more particularly as we have omitted no opportunity, during the course of this season, of making you fully acquainted with every matter of importance which has come under our consideration.

The resignation of Mr. Sykes having caused a vacant seat in your Select Committee, Mr. Alexander was appointed to fill it; and has accordingly taken his seat, after having taken the usual oath of secrecy administered to him.

Mr. Cartier is returned to the Presidency, and has laid before us the original treaty lately entered into by the deputation with the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah; together with a separate agreement written by the Nabob himself, wherein he promises to reduce his forces to the number specified in the treaty within the space of three months. It is with pleasure we inform you, that his majesty expressed great satisfaction at the treaty, and was graciously pleased to ratify it with the royal sign manual.

We should do injustice to Messrs. Cartier, Smith, and Rufel, were we not to express our entire approbation of their conduct during their late deputation; and we doubt not, but you will be pleased to regard it in the same point of view.

By this conveyance we have the honour to transmit to you a complete sett of our proceedings; and of letters sent and received for the last year.

We have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, J. ALEXANDER, C. FFLOYER.

\* 37,500 £

† 75,000 £

No. XX.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort William, March 4, 1769.

This serves only to advise you that we embrace the opportunity of the present dispatch to transmit you a duplicate of our last address by the ship *Salisbury*, under date the 3d ult. together with the broken sets of our proceedings of letters, sent and received, from the commencement of the year to the date hereof.

By the *Shrewsbury*, the next and last of your ships for dispatch this season, we propose to address you fully on the subject of your affairs entrusted to our management, till when we must beg leave to refer you to our proceedings and letters, transmitted during the course of this season.

We have the honour to remain, &amp;c.

H. VERELST, JOHN CARTIER, J. ALEXANDER, C. FFLOYER.

No. XXI.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort William, April 6, 1769.

We embrace the opportunity of the *Shrewsbury's* dispatch, which is your last ship for Europe of this season, to inform you of such occurrences as were not noticed in our two last addresses, under dates the 3d February, and 4th ult. and also of such material circumstances as have happened since the *Talbot's* dispatch.

When the deputies were appointed to proceed to Allahabad, we took into consideration the great drains of silver annually made from these provinces for the payment of your troops on that station; which, with many other demands, had nearly exhausted the wealth of this country. We considered also, that his majesty had frequently represented to the President, through Munneer al Dowlah, the Naib Vizier, that Rajah Hindaput had long usurped certain districts in the Bundelcund country, which formerly composed a part of the Subah of Allahabad, and which he was extremely desirous of re-uniting to the royal domains. The opportunity which then presented itself was deemed favourable for investigating this matter; and we accordingly recommended to the deputies, in our letter of instructions, to propose to his majesty our assisting him in the recovery of those districts, on condition that he would appropriate a part of their revenues for defraying all expences of your troops whilst they remained without the provinces. To this proposition his majesty very cheerfully acquiesced.

But it appearing from the subsequent researches of the deputation, that the royal claim could not clearly be established, we did not chuse to pursue a plan likely to lead us into distant enterprizes, which the strictest justice did not authorize us to undertake; lest we should thereby run the hazard of involving your affairs at some future time into those difficulties we have ever made it our study to avoid. Colonel Smith has acquainted us with the result of his own enquiries into this matter; but deeming



deeming that also insufficient, we have suspended all thoughts of an expedition in that quarter.

We have not a doubt but his majesty will be very solicitous for the recovery of the usurped districts, and will leave no measures unattempted to effect an object so very flattering to his hopes. His visit to the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, at the very time he appeared most earnestly intent on this project, gives us cause to suspect, that instead of mere compliment, it tended principally to the concerting a plan of operations for some future attempt against the Bundel-cund country. We apprehended that the Vizier, when he found us determined not to grant our assistance to his royal master, would not fail to urge him on the enterprize, by a tender of his forces and assistance; or might perhaps endeavour to obtain his majesty's Sunnuds for such conquests as he himself might make in that country. Certain it was, that the King had no force to enable him to undertake such an enterprize himself; and therefore we could not pretend to say how far his pride or necessity might lead him into errors. When we considered the open and avowed enmity which had so long subsisted between the King and the Vizier, we could not think he would be so regardless of his own personal safety, as to arm a man of Sujah al Dowlah's disposition and boundless ambition, with so great a power of the royal house as an extension of territory must necessarily give him. But still we thought it necessary to guard against such evils, though we did not really apprehend them; and accordingly directed Colonel Smith to assure his majesty, in either of the before-mentioned cases, that we should immediately withdraw all your troops within the provinces; and, if the latter was likely to take place, the Colonel was to acquaint Sujah al Dowlah, that on the march of any part of his forces into the Bundel-cund country, we should regard him as a violater of the general tranquility, and an invader of those countries the throne pretends a claim to.

Colonel Smith thought it expedient to attend his majesty in the visit to Faizabad. He was present at the conferences held between the King and his Vizier; which produced the strongest assurances of forgiveness and oblivion of past injuries, on the one part, and of the utmost loyalty and fidelity on the other.

In our letters of the 6th January last, we fully acquainted you with a plan, which then appeared to us practicable, for effecting an exchange of the royal domains, for the countries of Ghazipore and Benâres; and in order to proceed on a matter of such delicacy and importance with all possible circumspection, we communicated our sentiments to the gentlemen of the deputation, and desired them to give us every information they could procure for our guidance. Their opinion stands recorded upon the face of our proceedings; and we readily concurred with them, that whilst the troubles continued on the Coast it would be improper to attempt the execution of such a project.

Though we have reason to think the Nabob-Vizier has not regarded, with the most strict and exact punctuality, the performance of his engagements in the dismissal of those troops which exceed the number he has stipulated to keep up, yet we do not find he has raised or added a man to his army since the treaty at Benâres; so that we have not the least doubt, what with casualties and natural deaths, but his army will be reduced, in a short space of time, to the state we wish to see it. The Vizier himself steadily asserts, that he has performed every thing he agreed to do, and claims some merit on the occasion. To charge him openly with dissimulation, when the detection is so difficult, would be imprudent, and equally impolitic, particularly so at a time when he professes the warmest friendship and attachment to us, and no other part of his behaviour contradicts such assurances. Rest assured, honourable Sirs, that although we may not rigidly demand the performance of articles as to a man, yet we shall watch the motions of this ambitious and volatile prince, so as to prevent him

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The gener Abdalla towa have compell operations, a the Nabob S bruary, infor and seemed d the Governor utmost pleasu towards his o resolution of these province into execution

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him in future from being dangerous to your possessions; being more inclined that he should place a confidence in us, by a frankness of behaviour, when it can be assumed without danger on our side, than be deprived of it by a diffident and cautious conduct.

The general rumour which has, for some time, prevailed of the approach of Shaw Abdalla towards the King's frontiers, has been one of the principal motives which have compelled us to keep the third brigade at Allahabad, both as a check to his operations, and as a security to the territorial possessions of his majesty, and our ally the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah. Colonel Smith, in his advices of the 18th of February, informed us that the Shaw had advanced a part of his army near to Lahôre, and seemed determined to pursue his march to Dehly; but by the Colonel's letter to the Governor, under date the 19th ult. which we have just received, it is with the utmost pleasure we perceive that Shaw Abdalla is preparing to retreat, and possibly towards his own dominions. A circumstance so very favourable to our determined resolution of embracing the first safe opportunity to recall the third brigade within these provinces, that we now only await a confirmation of this intelligence to carry into execution the positive orders you have sent us on this subject.

It is with the utmost confidence we can assure you, gentlemen, that those orders should have instantly been obeyed, could we have done it consistently with the duty we owe you, and with the solemn engagements entered into with your allies. To conciliate the minds of his majesty and the Vizier, and to curb the ambitious projects and hostile intentions of the latter, were the first motives for continuing the brigade at Allahabad, after the receipt of your orders. To enforce, if necessity required, the performance of the Vizier's late treaty with us, to be in readiness to support the Madras administration, if the security of your possessions on the coast of Coromandel should require our making a diversion against the Maharatta power, and to be a check on the ambitious projects of Shaw Abdalla, should he have determined to attack the frontiers of your allies, were considerations which next urged us to detain your troops in the only station where they could be of essential service to your affairs.

Let us, therefore, flatter ourselves, that the causes assigned for having hitherto suspended the execution of your orders, will evince that the measures adopted proceeded from absolute necessity, and will acquit us of any imputation of disrespect, or inattention to your commands.

Sorry we are to inform you that your affairs on the Coast wear a most unfavourable appearance, and are even reduced, by the repeated successes of Hyder Ally, to the lowest ebb of distress. The Madras Presidency, sensible of the many dangers which surround them, have given us a most pathetic account of their situation; nor can we expect from the advices they have lately transmitted to us, a very speedy issue to the long, dangerous, and expensive war in which they are engaged, until the treasures of their Presidency and our own shall be nearly exhausted. To give them every possible support from hence, we have deemed it indispensibly a duty we owe to you, our honourable employers; for being servants of the same masters, and being engaged in one general cause, we have regarded the welfare of your settlement of Fort St. George equally with our own. The same principal still actuates us to devise possible means, which may conduce to their security, and the welfare of your possessions.

Little did we imagine, after the very large supplies which have been sent them this season for the support of the war, that their necessities would so increase as to compel us to curtail the investment, which the Council have given you the greatest reason

son to expect from this Presidency in the ensuing year. But such is the only means which can be devised for enabling us to grant them any effectual assistance.

We are advised that Hyder Ally has made proposals for a peace, but so dishonourable to the Nabob of Arcot, and inglorious to your arms, that they were deemed inadmissible. The gentlemen, however, desirous of accommodating matters, if possible, rather than continue so hazardous and expensive a war, have replied to his hard conditions; and, in their turn, proposed to him such terms as they thought most conducive to your interests. As they expected the result of these negotiations would be a continuance of the war, which would considerably increase their military expences, they wished to be ascertained of the resources which they might expect from hence, in order that they might form a plan accordingly for their future operations; and, at the same time, informed us of the state of their finances, which they concluded would enable them to keep an army in the field for the term of three months. The sums of money we have by several late conveyances remitted to Madras, of which they had not been apprized at the time of their last dispatches, together with two lacks of rupees \*, which were sent them on the Experiment, a country ship, immediately on receipt of their last advices, pretty nearly equalled the amount which they calculated for three months disbursements of their army; so that we have every reason to believe, that the safe arrival of our several late remittances will enable them to keep the field against Hyder Ally until the month of September next, independently of other resources, which may arise from the sale of their expected imports, farther loans from individuals residing under their government, and a possibility of the Nabob's making farther payments on account of the revenues of the Carnatic.

That they might be at some degree of certainty in regard to future resources from this quarter, we have given it as our opinion that they may depend on being supplied with an annual sum of twenty-four lacks of rupees †, to commence from the month of October next, so long as it is to tend to the actual support of the war they are at present engaged in, provided we are not compelled to enter into warlike operations in defence of these provinces; and that, should their future necessities increase, it may be possible, by putting a stop to our investment, to augment our supplies to thirty lacks ‡. At the same time that we thus candidly offered our opinion on the assistance they may expect from us in case of need, we could not but inform them of the very distressed state to which this country must inevitably be reduced, by such considerable exportations of its specie.

You have before been informed that our principal object in bringing matters to a speedy conclusion with Janoojee, was to divert Mahadavarow from entering the Carnatic to the assistance of Hyder Ally. The advices lately transmitted to us from Colonel Smith have for the present relieved us from apprehensions in that quarter; since we find he has directed his operations towards the province of Berar, and seems seriously intent on crushing the power and influence of Janoojee. We have therefore thought it highly impolitic at this juncture to continue our negotiations with this chief, as his fate must actually be decided, long ere any of our forces could reach him, even should we have deemed it necessary, as a check on Mahadavarow's growing power, to march your troops to his assistance. If Mahadavarow should prove unsuccessful in his attempt, and should resume his former intentions of entering the Carnatic, it will then be time enough to think seriously of a league with Janoojee.

Mr. Rumbold having in his letter to us, setting forth the present state of the Bahar province, represented the necessity of making some deductions in the revenues of that province,

\* 25,000 L.

† 300,000 L.

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province, we embraced the opportunity of Mahomed Reza Cawn's being on a visit to Calcutta to consult his opinion on a matter of such importance. It was a measure he thought absolutely necessary to be taken, and his reasons in general coincided with those of Mr. Rumbold.

The experience that gentleman must have acquired during the time he has been vested with the charge of the Bahar collections, and the general knowledge of Mahomed Reza Cawn in all matters relating to the Dewanny revenues, induced us to consent to such deductions being made from the general statement of that province at the last Poonah, as may be deemed irrecoverable, or such as may prove an immediate relief and encouragement to the Ryots in the future cultivation of their lands. We hope this act of lenity will impress them with a favourable opinion of the government, induce them to exert their industrious labour to promote its welfare, and enable them to pay their rents more regularly in future.

Mr. Kelfall has represented to us, that he labours under many inconveniences in the provision of your investment, from not being vested with the charge of the Dacca collection. We have replied to his representation, by acquainting him, that as you had been pleased to approve the mode adopted by the Select Committee, for conducting the business of the Dewanny revenues, we could not deviate therefrom without your orders, and that we should refer his letter to your consideration and decision.

The Governor having informed us, that Mahomed Reza Cawn was particularly desirous of his presence at the city, to enquire into sundry matters relative to the collections of the Bengal province, and of his readiness to comply with the request; we approved of his intention, and he has accordingly proceeded on his journey.

We have the honour to transmit you by this packet copies of Mr. Sykes's country correspondence, as resident at the Durbar, to the time of his delivering over the charge of that station to Mr. Becher, together with a duplicate of our last letter, the broken sett of our proceedings, and other papers since the last dispatch, as per inclosed list of the packet; and to subscribe ourselves, with the utmost respect, &c.

JOHN CARTIER, JAMES ALEXANDER, CHARLES FFLOYER.

No. XXII.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort William, April 27, 1769.

Since the dispatch of the Shrewsbury, by which ship we had the honour to address you, under date the 6th instant, we have received advice from your Presidency at Fort St. George, that they had concluded a peace with Hyder Ally, on the 4th instant; and that he, in consequence, was immediately to quit the Carnatic.

When we consider that the Thames will be the only sea conveyance of this season, by which the gentlemen at Madras can transmit to you such important advices, and the possibility of her losing her passage to England, or of meeting with other accidents which may attend her late dispatch, we cannot hesitate to embrace the opportunity,

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which

which now presents itself in the dispatch of a French ship from Chandernagore, of thus briefly informing you of a circumstance which so nearly concerns the welfare of your possessions on that coast. To this we are the more strongly induced, from the entire confidence we repose in the prudence and fidelity of Mr. John Sumner, one of your late covenanted servants on this establishment, who being compelled to return to his native country for the recovery of his health, has obtained the Council's permission to embark in this ship, it being the only remaining sea conveyance of this season. But as foreign ships must be ever distrustful channels for the conveying of public and important advices, we hope to stand excused for not transmitting you the particulars, which we doubt not you will receive by land from your Presidency at Bombay or Fort St. George.

Mr. Sumner, to whom this address is entrusted, has been directed to destroy it, if he perceives any danger of its falling into foreign hands.

We have the honour to subscribe ourselves with the utmost respect, &c.

JOHN CARTIER, JAMES ALEXANDER, CHARLES FFLOYFR.

Extracts of Letters from Mr. VERELST, to the COURT  
of DIRECTORS, during his Government in BENGAL,  
relative to the commercial and political interests of that  
country.

No. XXIII.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

GENTLEMEN,

Fort William, March 17, 1767.

It is with pleasure I can inform you, that the present situation of the country, and of the Presidency, leaves me but little room to doubt that we shall, for some time, at least, enjoy the most perfect tranquility abroad, and concord at home. The preparations to disturb the repose of the empire, which are making by the Duranny \* king, appear to me too distant to affect us, or our allies, for this season; and it is highly probable, that he will never venture to advance nearer to us than Dehly. The latest advices inform us, that he is still distant from Dehly about two hundred and fifty miles: it is likewise reported, that he has dispatched his deputies to demand the revenues of the different provinces of the empire; and that an agent is now on his way to Bengal with a commission to the above effect. For my own part, when I consider the prodigious length of the march, the numberless difficulties which must be encountered; the opposition of the Seiks; the jealousy that must seize the many independent nations who separate us from Abdalla; the advanced season of the year; and especially the great reputation in arms which we have established over all India, I have but little apprehensions that he will be able to create any disturbance this year.

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I am more inclined to believe, that a prince who has the reputation of policy, will never stake his fortune on the precarious issue of an attempt that must be attended with dangers and difficulties, more than proportioned to the advantages he can expect from success. Prudence, however, requires, that we should not indulge in too much security; nor be wanting in those measures which are necessary to inspire with confidence our ally Sujah al Dowlah, the King, and those other country powers whose interest leads them to oppose Abdalla, and to form a barrier to the Nabob's dominions.

We have, for this purpose, resolved upon a plan, the particulars of which appear on the face of our proceedings the 23d of February, with a view, that all our military operations might be maturely concerted before Colonel Smith repaired to the army; and that nothing might remain but the immediate execution, should we find the enemy are likely to advance to our frontier.

The motion of the five battalions of Sepoys to Seragepore, sufficiently indicates to all the country powers, our determined resolution not only to stand upon our own defence, but to extend our protection to all those who are connected with us in friendship, or engaged to us by treaties, so far as may be consistent with our own security and interest. Yet we shall avoid issuing orders to the second brigade, and the remainder of the third, to join the above detachment, until the circumstances of our intelligence render it absolutely necessary, as this motion might alarm the minds of the people, and, in some degree, impede the collections, and other public business.

As to the Maharattas, we have nothing to apprehend from them in this quarter; their chief, Ragoonaut Row, is in full march to the southward; and, by our last advices, had reached Narva Gaut, but with what views we cannot yet determine.

Janoogee, the Maharatta chief of Naugpore, seems well disposed to cultivate our friendship, and promote the negotiation respecting the cession (upon certain considerations) of Cuttack to the Company. You have already been informed of the end proposed in this treaty; to negotiate which, I have at the Committee's recommendation, wrote for Janoogee's Vackeel to proceed to the Presidency; and you may depend on my utmost attention to your honour and security in every step I shall take in so important a transaction.

From the valuable cargoes already shipped in the Cruttenden, Britannia, Anson, Albany, and Nottingham, as well as the goods provided for the Mercury, and those that will be lying on hand in the warehouse for want of tonnage, you will perceive that our utmost endeavours have been exerted to produce an increase of your investment: nothing, in my power, indeed, shall be wanting to forward a measure, by means of which alone you can hope to receive the full advantages of your increased revenues; but I am sensible many obstacles will occur from the great flow of money now in the hands of foreign nations, and from the uncommon scarcity of weavers that prevails at present at all the factories and Aurungs; whether this *uncommon scarcity of weavers* proceeds from the troubles in which the country was so lately overwhelmed, or whether it arises from the general decline of trade at all the ports in India, it is certain that a great number of the manufacturers in cloth have deserted their profession, to seek for subsistence from a less precarious calling: hence follow those unavoidable disputes which so frequently happen with the French and Dutch, who leave no means untried to seduce the weavers from our service.

The chief and council of Cossimbazar have been apprehensive they should be under a necessity of raising the wages of their workmen, or of renouncing all hopes of increasing the investment. Such a step would prove prejudicial to your affairs, unless we could, at the same time, come to some equitable compromise with the other European establishments, to check an evil equally felt by themselves.



We are now taking every possible step towards securing a still farther increase of your investment for the ensuing season. All the factories and Aurungs are fully supplied with the necessary advances, and there is at present the greatest prospect that the business will be conducted with zeal and alacrity.

The same attention will be paid to the collections of the revenues; to enforce, regulate, and establish which, both with respect to the ballances of the present year, and the statements of the ensuing general Poonah, I propose next month taking a tour of the provinces, for as long a time as the affairs of the Presidency will admit of my absence. This measure was recommended by Lord Clive to the Committee; and, I flatter myself, it will be the means not only of increasing the revenues, but of conciliating the minds of the people to our government, as it will furnish us with the means of redressing grievances, and correcting abuses, which must otherwise have escaped my knowledge.

H. V.

No. XXIV.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

GENTLEMEN,

Fort William, March 28, 1768.

The several occurrences since I had the honour to address you by the Nottingham, stand so fully recorded on the proceedings of your Council and Committee, that a second address from me would appear unnecessary, were there not some subjects which I could wish to point out to your more particular attention; and others, which, though of consequence, do not fall under the cognizance either of the Council or Committee.

It is to their proceedings I would refer you for proofs of that harmony, with which your affairs have been conducted during my government. Their example has been imitated by the younger servants in both civil and military departments; who, desirous of convincing their employers, that their past faults have been occasioned by the heat and extravagance of youth, apply themselves with diligence to the discharge of their several functions. Nor can I with justice to these gentlemen omit remarking to you, that in general where errors have arisen, they have proceeded more from their extreme youth and inexperience, than from any inclination to do wrong; as such, I flatter myself they will be overlooked.

The only difference of opinion that has given rise to altercation, you will see recorded in the proceedings of the Committee, in their correspondence with Colonel Smith commanding your forces. As his ideas of the conduct of Sujah al Dowlah, and of the political measures which have been pursued, have constantly differed from ours, I judge it incumbent upon me, for your information, and for the justification of our conduct, to lay before you a compendious statement of the different powers of Hindostan, by whom our own, or the public tranquility can be essentially disturbed; a statement, which will fully evince the security of the Honourable Company's possessions here, and the stability of the system which has been so happily adopted.

The first and great cause of our security is, the general indigence of the Mogul empire; the invasion of Nadir Shaw gave the first stroke to its power and opulence, but it fell not so heavily as is commonly imagined. It gave a mortal wound, it is true, to the overgrown wealth and arrogance of the Omras; but, as the blow was not pursued, its effect was not immediately felt beyond the capital. The eruption of the Maharattas ensued, their wide extended ravages laid desolate almost every thing on the south side of the Ganges, from near the frontiers of Bahar, on the east, to Sirhind on the north and west. Their undistinguishing rapine plunged cities and

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countries in one common ruin, and the empire must have sunk under their oppression, or fallen a prey to their ambition, if the defeat at Paniput had not put a period at once to their power and devastations. The expeditions of the Shaw Abdalla succeeded, which, though neither so extensive, destructive, or bloody, as those of the Maharattas, still conduced greatly to exhaust a declining state; and, though his sphere of action was chiefly confined to the Panjab and confines of Dehly, yet the vast sums he levied must have been severely felt throughout a country which produces no silver, and but very little gold. So large a decrease of specie naturally produced a decay of trade, and a diminution of cultivation; and, though these evils have, in some measure, been palliated in our provinces by the annual imports of bullion, yet in the most flourishing interior parts, such as Benâres, Mirzapore, &c. the fact is notorious, and beyond dispute.

The natural consequence of these circumstances has been, that the different powers find their finances narrow, and their treasures unequal to the maintenance of a respectable army, or the prosecution of a war of any duration. Whenever, therefore, they are urged by ambition or necessity to enter on any expedition, they assemble new levies for the purpose with the most unreflecting precipitancy; they risk every thing on one campaign, because they have seldom resources for a second, and come to an engagement at all events, because the consequence of a defeat are less terrible than those which must ensue from the desertion, or sedition of an ill paid and disaffected army. As their troops then are chiefly raw men and aliens, they are without attachment to their general, or confidence in each other: a variety of independent commanders destroys all subordination and authority; and the certainty of beggary and starving, from the common accidents of war, throws a damp on the most ardent bravery.

These circumstances, I apprehend, gentlemen, have been very principal sources of our repeated victories over these immense Asiatic armies, which have fled before a handful of your troops; and these will, I trust, either deter others in future, or ensure success against any who may be desperate enough to brave a force like ours, so strengthened by discipline, and rendered formidable by uninterrupted successes.

A second, and no less powerful reason for the security of our situation, is the discordancy of the principles, views, and interests of the neighbouring powers; and which must ever defeat any project of accomplishing, by an association, what the wealth or power of a single one must prove unequal to. The majority of the present princes of Hindostan have no natural right to the countries they possess. In the general wreck of the monarchy, every man seized what fortune threw into his hands; and they are, therefore, more studious to secure what they have already obtained, than to grasp at new acquisitions. Hence, the principal disturbances which have lately happened in Hindostan, (Sujah al Dowlah's invasion of Bengal excepted) have been accidental broils raised by the Maharattas, Seiks, and the Shaw Abdalla, whose views were rather extended to plunder than to territorial possessions. Conscious that the maintenance of their usurped authority depends on their preventing any of the members from being too much depressed, or too much elevated, they are become jealous and suspicious of each other, and ever ready to throw in their weight against any one whom they see rising too high above the common level. For this reason, they at first looked on our successes with an evil eye, 'till our generosity to Sujah al Dowlah; our attention to our treaties and public faith; and above all, our moderation in not pursuing our victories, begot a confidence in us they had not in their countrymen, and made them rather ambitious of our friendship than jealous of our power.

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Thus circumstanced, it will always be easy for a watchful and active administration on our side, to hold the general ballance of Hindostan, and crush every combination in the bud, by spiriting up some neighbouring power, who may be either ill-disposed, or at least not favourable to the confederates. A very little acquaintance with the disposition of the natives, will shew their ardour for change, where they have a prospect of support; and the situation of Allahabad, and the station of a brigade there, renders this plan still more practicable. Its situation makes it, in some measure, the key of the surrounding territories; and its vicinity to the several countries of Sujah al Dowlah, the Rohillas, Jauts, and Maharattas, enables us to penetrate their views with more certainty, and in case of necessity, to enter any part with our army in ten or fifteen days, where we can have either an ally to support, or an enemy to punish. It is for these reasons, we have been obliged to retain a brigade out of the provinces. Our repeated resolutions in Committee, will, I doubt not, evince our earnest desire to fulfil your orders on this head, and the necessity itself excuses us for keeping it there as long as these reasons shall subsist.

Such, gentlemen, seem to be the general causes of our present security here; but they receive additional strength, from the particular characters and situations of the several potentates themselves.

The King, Shaw Allum, acknowledged emperor of Hindostan, retains little of the authority or dominions of his ancestors, but what he has derived from us. The provinces of Korah and Allahabad yield him a revenue of about twenty-seven lacks\* per annum, at a rack rent; this is almost exhausted, to support rather the name, than the substance of an army, whilst the Bengal tribute defrays the expences of his court and household, and enables him to live in an affluence, if not with a splendor, he never before enjoyed. His abilities are rather below mediocrity, and his character seems rather calculated for private life than a throne. He is religious, as a man; affectionate, as a father; and humane, as a master; but, as a prince, he is weak, indolent, irresolute, and easily swayed by the counsels of self-interested men: I can not, however, think we have any thing to apprehend from these dispositions; the remembrance of what he experienced, when dependent on Sujah al Dowlah, has created in him such a diffidence of Hindostan connexions, as will effectually prevent him trusting himself to any of them again; and, at the same time, he probably entertains a distant hope, that the hand which has already raised him to his present independence, may one day be extended to restore him to his throne and right.

The Nabob, Sujah al Dowlah, is our next ally; and, if gratitude can be any tie on an Hindostan heart, we have every reason to consider him as connected with us by the most indissoluble bonds. His dominions, except the Zemindarry of Bulwant Sing, lie on the north of the Ganges, and extend to the hills; and, though they are more thinly peopled than is common in this country, have been so much improved by his late regulations in them, as to produce annually near one crore and twenty-five lacks of † rupees. His increase of strength has kept pace with his increase of revenue. He has near eleven battalions of Sepoys of all sorts, a good body of horse, and has made considerable additions to his artillery and magazines; but, as his whole revenue can never support a force which can be really formidable to us, so it will always be in our power to direct the force he has to such purposes as may best conduce to the interest of the Honourable Company and the general peace. The Nabob's education, and perhaps disposition, have led him to be vain, aspiring, and impatient. He is active, but desultory; his judgment rather acute than sound; and his generalship and policy more plausible than solid. From pride, or jealousy, he is afraid to employ men of abilities or rank, in the several departments of his govern-

\* 337,500*l*.† 1,562,500*l*.

ment; he plans with a multiplicity of views, and his best designs impede each other, so that he is unable to form new projects, or to execute some, and his inactivity is a most careful and slow instrument to accomplish the views of the umpires of Hindostan, who give them any room.

The Rohilla dominions of his late dominions of his late Cawn Bungish, are of great importance; such a fact, independent of the power from one side, unite in their coalition seems hardly possible to be computed at above native hardiness, have generally been and the people should be considered rather as

The territories to the westward of Jumna; and beyond the territories thirty-five or forty and his ordinary far advanced in the various infractions: yet, with a policy. He makes fortunes, and is a merchant from respected among an attack on their revenue and for custom, adopted

The country of Sujah al Dowlah, Etwah, and for tent of it towards counts are but or sixty lacks or or eighteen thousand that low cunning makes him par war. With all a bold, giddy

\* 437,500

ment; he plans, directs, oversees, and executes every thing himself; so that the multiplicity of business, and his daily encreasing infirmities, oblige him to leave his best designs imperfect and crude. His ambition, it is true, is always inciting him to form new projects, but his volatility induces him to be continually abandoning some, and his impetuosity often renders the remainder abortive. In a word, from a most careful review of his character and conduct, he seems a much properer instrument to accomplish the Company's main point, the maintaining themselves the umpires of Hindostan, than an enemy, who, from his strength or situation, could give them any material uneasiness or trouble.

The Rohilla chiefs succeed, as several of them are immediately contiguous to the dominions of his majesty, or of Sujah al Dowlah. The principal ones are Achmed Cawn Bungish, Hafez Rahmet Cawn, and Nijib al Dowlah, besides several of less importance; such as, Dunnedy Cawn, Sardar Cawn, &c. Though all these are, in fact, independent of each other; yet, as being of one tribe, and deriving their power from one stock, (Ally Mahomed Cawn) it is generally supposed they would unite in their common defence; although, from their dispositions and situations, it seems hardly possible they could be brought to act unanimously. Their joint force is computed at about eighty thousand effective horse and foot; but these, from their native hardiness, their dexterity with the sword, and skill in the use of war rockets, have generally been ranked in higher estimation than the ordinary Hindostan troops; and the people in general, from some circumstances in their political constitution, may be considered rather as a rising power, at least in national strength.

The territories of Achmed Cawn Bungish, immediately border on the Korah country to the westward; they lie chiefly, if not entirely, between the Ganges and the Jumna; and his capital, Furruk-abad, is situated on the Ganges, about fifty cofs beyond the territories of Korah; his revenues, at the highest estimation, amount to \* thirty-five or forty lacks of rupees, but the receipts do not probably exceed † thirty, and his ordinary force may be about eight thousand horse and foot: he is now pretty far advanced in years, and unfit for active life, both from an incurable lameness, and the various infirmities which a long course of every species of debauchery has brought on: yet, with all his vices, he is a man of strong parts, extensive experience, and deep policy. He makes several generous allowances to men of noble families and decayed fortunes, and is a great encourager of trade, by using every endeavour to protect the merchant from the natural turbulency of his subjects; on these accounts, he is much respected among his tribe, and is generally considered as their leader in case of an attack on their community, though the other two principal chiefs exceed him both in revenue and force. He has no children to succeed him, but has, after the Rohilla custom, adopted one of his slaves, and given him the title of Daim Cawn.

The country possessed by Hafez Rahmet Cawn joins to the western limits of Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, and lies entirely on the north of the Ganges, except Etwah, and some other straggling Pergunnahs, which lie on the Jumna. The extent of it towards the north and the west cannot be accurately determined, as our accounts are but imperfect and from report, but it produces a revenue of at least \* fifty or sixty lacks of rupees, and enables him to maintain a standing army of about fifteen or eighteen thousand horse and foot. His character has little to distinguish it, except that low cunning, intrigue, and deceit, so general in this country; and his avarice makes him particularly cautious of risking his treasures by engaging in disputes or war. With all his parsimony, he is not very rich, and his son, Anaut Alnah Cawn, a bold, giddy youth, without education or parts, draws all he can from him to sup-  
ply

\* 437,500 *l.* or 500,000 *l.*† 375,000 *l.*‡ 625,000 *l.* or 750,000 *l.*



ply his own extravagance: the father is between forty and fifty years of age, but healthy and strong, and the son about twenty-three or twenty-four at most.

The possessions of Nijib al Dowlah are bounded by Sirhind on the west, and, beginning on the Jumna about seven Cofs east of Dehly, they take a sweep quite across the peninsula, and to the northward of the Ganges, so as to join Haffez Rahmet's and Dunnedy Cawn's western frontier. He has, also, some districts in the confines of Dehly to the south of the Jumna. The revenue of such an immense tract of country, in one of the most fertile parts of the empire, would be prodigious; but the greatest part of it having long been the seat of war, and of the depredations of the Maharrattas, Seiks, and Abdalla, it is much impoverished, and does not yield above eighty or ninety † lacks per annum. Considerable, however, as this is, his treasury was never very full. He has been obliged for many years to keep a strong army for the protection of his dominions and his family, against the continual incursions of the Seiks, &c. and the large contributions he was obliged last year to pay the Shaw Abdalla, has now probably drained it entirely. His troops are generally twenty thousand, or more; and, as he has been almost continually at war, are veteran and brave. As a man, and a prince, he is perhaps the only example in Hindostan of, at once, a great and good character. He raised himself from the command of fifty horse to his present grandeur, entirely by his superior valour, integrity, and strength of genius; and has maintained himself in it with universal applause, by a spirited and well grounded system of policy. Experience and abilities have supplied the want of letters and education; and the native nobleness and goodness of his heart have amply made amends for the defect of his birth and family. He is a strict lover of justice; a most faithful subject to his emperor, and has long been the sole defence and support of the Royal Family at Dehly. His wisdom and conduct were no where more manifest than in his transactions last year with the Shaw Abdalla. He found himself obliged to join him, or expose his country to an immediate invasion, and, therefore, complied with the necessity; but, at the same time, so protracted their councils, and threw so many secret obstacles in the way of their designs, that after several months, the Shaw finding his troops mutinous for want of pay or plunder, himself harrassed by the Seiks, the heats begun, and the rains approaching, was obliged to return home with disgrace, and rest contented with a sum of money infinitely inferior to what his expedition had promised. Another man, in such a situation, would probably have lost his life or liberty; but Nijib al Dowlah, by his prudence, at once saved his dominions, and extricated himself. He is now about sixty years old, and his constitution much worn down by fatigue and sickness; so that it is probable he will soon be succeeded by his eldest son, Zabelah Cawn, aged near thirty-five, who, to all his father's virtues, joins the improvements of a liberal education.

It would be unnecessary to trouble you with a detail of Dunnedy Cawn, Sardar Cawn, and the other inferior chiefs. They can have no political consequence; but as their dominions are surrounded by those of the more powerful Sirdars, they must, of necessity, adopt whatever plan of action the others may think expedient to embrace.

The dominions of Jewhar Sing, or the Jaut country, extends in the peninsula from Agra to within a few Cofs of Dehly on the west, and near Etwah on the east; they are possessed likewise of a large tract to the south of the Jumna; and, besides a number of inferior places of strength, have three forts which are deemed almost impregnable. The revenue of Jewhar Sing is, on a moderate computation, near two crore of ‡ rupees per annum, besides the astonishing sums his father Serage Mahl had amassed. But, though he is so much superior to his neighbours in wealth, his strength

† 1,000,000 l. or 1,125,000 l.

‡ 2,500,000 l.

is not proportioned to his arms, and he has attacked on a proportion of cautious of enemies, others, may be of the great in vain-glorious, bravery in his in the commerce is computed at forts; and So pend upon.

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\* 1,250,000  
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is not proportionable; his people, from their cast and occupation, are unaddicted to arms, and he has, therefore, on all occasions where he has been attacked himself, or has attacked others, been obliged to call in foreign auxiliaries: these carry off a large proportion of his excess of wealth, and must, if he has any thought, render him cautious of engaging much in war, lest the same arms he uses for the destruction of others, may be ultimately turned against himself. His character, like the majority of the great in Hindostan, is that of a man absorbed in pleasure and luxury; weak, vain-glorious, aspiring, without experience or abilities. He discovered some personal bravery in his late engagement with the Raje-poots, but little prudence or conduct in the commencement of the war, or method of carrying it on. His standing army is computed at about twelve thousand horse, a large body of foot, who garrison his forts; and Somroo, with his rabble of Sepoys, is the general he seems most to depend upon.

The power with which he is now at war, is Maha Rajah Madhu Sing; and his ambition, which led him to the invasion, cost him, five months ago, so signal a defeat, that he has been obliged to call in the Seiks to his assistance. His adversary has done the same with the Maharattas; and should their divisions permit them to answer the summons, in all probability after the ensuing rains the dispute may become obstinate and bloody: whatever may be the event, it can scarcely affect us; and the most probable consequence seems to be, a confirmation of the general tranquillity, as these four principal powers will be too much enfeebled, by their mutual efforts against each other, to be speedily in a condition of giving the public any disturbance.

Maha Rajah Madhu Sing possesses a large district to about the south-west of Dehly, and his revenue is estimated at about a crore of \* rupees. Few princes of Hindostan can compare with him for the antiquity of his family, or the fame of his ancestors. His subjects are chiefly Raje-poots, born to war; they are the cultivators of his lands in peace, and the undaunted defenders of these lands when invaded. Proud of their ancient glory, they disdain to fly, and rush with intrepidity to certain death or victory. In the late engagement with Jewhar Sing, their horse rode up through the fire of above ninety pieces of cannon, and all the musquetry of the Sepoys, till they came to swords; and, though thrice repulsed, renewed the attack, which met with the success their bravery deserved, and night alone saved the remains of the Jaut's broken forces. What renders this noble spirit still more laudable is, that it is chiefly exerted in the defence of their families and master; nor do I recollect an instance in the annals of Hindostan, where they were subdued themselves, or attempted the conquest of others.

The Maha Rajah is more remarkable for his family than talents; and though neither weak nor deficient, yet his abilities can hardly entitle him to eminence or fame. His standing army is but inconsiderable, because, as I observed before, all his subjects are his soldiers; so that, however amply he is provided for his own security, his system is no ways calculated for foreign expeditions.

We have been so long acquainted with the Maharattas in the Deccan, that it would be superfluous to make any observations on their situations, to gentlemen so well informed of it from the presidencies of Madras and Bombay; and I should not have mentioned them at all, except as possessors of some districts which lie on the south of the Jumna, and contiguous to the † demesnes of our § royal ally. Their neighbourhood, however, can never give us cause of apprehension, as the smallness of their force there leaves them rather open to invasions themselves, than puts it in their power to molest others: and the late advices from Bombay and Madras, will

\* 1,250,000 l.

† The province of Korah and Allahabad.

§ Shah Allum, the present emperor of Hindostan.

clearly point out how impracticable it must be for the Maharattas, under their present intestine divisions and jealousies, to send any formidable reinforcements to so remote possessions with hostile views. I shall close this head with one general remark, that as the Maharattas are notoriously the soldiers for hire, their arms will probably be ever at our devotion, because our revenues can best enable us to come up to their price.

As the country of the Seiks commences as far west as Sirhind, their distance would be a sufficient reason for omitting them in this detail, did not their astonishing rise from the lowest ebb of national weakness, to a most respectable pitch of power, make it necessary just to touch on them. In the reign of Ferruk Seer, their tribe was not computed at above one thousand persons; but their admission of converts of all persuasions into their religion, has, in so short an interval, swelled their force to above eighty thousand men fit for arms; and put them in possession of all that fertile country between Sirhind and the river Atoch. In a political view, they seem rather a barrier for Hindostan against Abdalla, or any other western power, than a people aiming at conquest; and their military conduct on the § Shaw's late expedition, gave full proof of their ability to repel, if not ruin an invader.

This, gentlemen, is the state of the Hindostan powers, which I have taken the liberty of submitting to your cognizance. I believe it will be found exact, though not minute, and be sufficient to demonstrate, that, as every advantage of revenue, discipline, force, and unanimity is on our side, so the opposite disadvantages must prove fatal to any power who may attempt to be your enemy. I must refer you to the country correspondence for farther particulars, as well as for the confirmation of what I have here advanced. You will there find pleasing proofs of the anxious desire all the powers I have enumerated, express for our alliance and friendship; and you will clearly perceive from thence, how easy it must be for us to maintain our present character as umpires of Hindostan, by counteracting any hostile designs against ourselves or our allies, by our influence at a distance, or by our force when near. This has been the system I have ever strenuously recommended to the Committee; the maxim I have invariably pursued myself; and this, I trust, will continue in future to be crowned with the desired success.

I could have wished the \* gentlemen on the Coast had been more deeply impressed with this idea, so that the reinforcements sent from Bengal, instead of being scattered and dismembered, might have struck the important blow we meditated against the † Subah. In this case, Hyder-abad, weak and defenceless, must have fallen an easy prey before the Nizam could have even received intelligence of the expedition; and, as the capture must have more universally enforced a conviction of our power, so the generous restitution of it to a repenting enemy, must have highly exalted our moderation and disinterestedness.

You will observe, from the Committee proceedings, that a jealousy has long subsisted between the courts of his ‡ majesty and Sujah al Dowlah. A seeming attention in us to one more than to the other, will ever awaken apprehensions; and, however nice and delicate our conduct may be, imaginary cause for uneasiness will always be found. His majesty has lately, through our interposition, listened to an accommodation with the § Nabob; and, by a letter just received, has confirmed his reconciliation, by conferring a dress on the ¶ Vizier.

The very large and valuable cargoes laden on board the several ships of this season, will, I hope, be a convincing proof of the great attention that has been paid to so

§ Shaw Abdalla, the Duranny king.

\* The presidency of Madras, on the coast of Coromandel.

† Shah Allum, the present emperor of Hindostan.

‡ Nizam Ally, Subah of the Deccan.

§ Sujah al Dowlah, the Vizier.

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important a part of your affairs. The several invoices amount to no less than five millions eight hundred and ninety-six thousand \* rupees, and a ballance of goods remains in the warehouses of four hundred and forty-nine thousand † rupees, which makes the total of your investment this season six millions three hundred and forty-five thousand ‡ rupees. So considerable an increase, at a time when the other nations were equally anxious with ourselves to extend their trade, could not be effected without many disagreeable complaints from both the French and Dutch factories; though many of them, upon examination, proved frivolous, and others without foundation. They must do us the justice to acknowledge, that we have acted towards them with moderation, and have often assisted them by our influence with the country government in points that were not detrimental to your interest; nor has this increase been unattended by complaints from your own servants, though, I must confess, with much more justice: and my duty to my employers, no less than humanity to the sufferers, calls upon me to lay before you a distinct representation of their case. The incursions of the Maharattas in the time of the Nabob Alliverdy Cawn, the disputes we were forced into with his successor, Serajah al Dowlah, and the war we sustained against the bloody tyrant Meer Cossim, have kept these provinces in a continual state of confusion, and introduced all the evils attendant upon war. Cultivation was neglected, manufactures were destroyed, and numbers of weavers and winders were obliged to procure subsistence from a less precarious employment. We have, indeed, enjoyed a few years of rest, and the country every day feels more and more the benefit arising from it. Plenty has succeeded to famine, and security has induced the natives to apply themselves again to labour, and to commerce; but the manufactures are scarcely increased, the Aurungs are not so well peopled as they were twenty years before; and yet your demands, and those of the other nations, are beyond what the country is able to supply, was every species of cloth to be purchased. The amount of your orders is above a || crore and twenty lacks, the Dutch wish to have § forty, the French are endeavouring to procure \*\* twenty-two, and the Danes and Portuguese †† fifteen.

The French and Dutch Companies, by granting remittances only for such sums as have been paid into their treasuries in silver, have been amply supplied with money; and they have as amply furnished their agents at the Aurungs with the proper species of rupees, whilst we have been put to difficulties in that account. To obviate these in some measure, and to comply with your orders to the utmost of our power, we have been obliged to curtail the private trade of your servants at every Aurung to a degree almost of annihilation.

Deprived of that principal branch of commerce by which alone the shipping trade can be supported, interdicted trading in salt, whilst we behold all the foreign nations, as well as natives, enjoying the benefit of it, under feigned names and various pretences, too intricate to be unfolded, and too deeply laid to be checked or brought to public view, prohibited all other means of accumulating money, with small salaries, and no emoluments, from whence is a servant to raise a fortune in Bengal? I declare, I have as great an opinion of your present set of servants in general, as of any one body of men: but with such a prospect before them, having the government of a rich and populous kingdom, and the amount of millions passing through their hands, they must be more than men to stand the fiery trial: were they to resist the temptation, I greatly fear that zeal and vigour so necessary for the prosperous

\* 663,300 l. † 50,512 l. ‡ 713,812 l.

|| 1,350,000 l.—§ 500,000 l.—\*\* 275,000 l.—†† 187,500 l.—Total, 2,312,500 l. sterling ¶.

¶ Here, rupees of the English are estimated at two shillings and three pence each, being current; those of foreign nations, at two shillings and six pence each, being silver.

management of your affairs, would be wanting; but, should it be too powerful, I tremble for the consequences.

This, I am sensible, is not the state to which you would wish to see your service reduced, but it really is the state at present; you have been pleased to promise your servants some consideration in lieu of the salt, and they wait with anxiety your resolutions.

I have thus, gentlemen, performed what my duty required at my hands; if I have any where expressed myself with too much warmth, the nature of the subject will, I hope, sufficiently plead my excuse.

It was this heavy restriction upon private trade, that induced some of the gentlemen clandestinely to extend their commerce into the territories of our ally Sujah al Dowlah, but the ill conduct of some of the Gomastahs having occasioned complaints from the Nabob, I immediately issued orders for their recall, and have taken effectual measures for preventing that trade in future.

The increasing scarcity of silver has been so fully set forth in the proceedings of the Council and Committee, that nothing but the urgent necessity of the settlement could tempt me to remind you of it in this letter. Gold is not current at the Aurungs, and we shall with difficulty be enabled to raise a sufficient quantity of silver for the provision of the ensuing year's investment. A farther remittance to China is entirely out of our power to supply.

The extent of your territorial possessions in Bengal requires a considerable body both of Europeans and Sepoys to be maintained for its defence. The latter corps is constantly kept completed, but the number of the former is far short of the fixed establishment. The recruits of the last season were not even sufficient to supply casualties. As the keeping the brigades and artillery complete is of the highest importance to the safety of these provinces, I must entreat of you, gentlemen, to encrease the number of the annual recruits for Bengal.

The indent for cannon and small arms, I likewise hope, will be fully complied with; of the former, many may prove useless on the very first trial, and the latter are liable to so many accidents, from the dangerous navigation of the river in transporting them to the army, from the ignorance, the carelessness, or the desertion of the Sepoys, that an ample reserve in our magazines is absolutely necessary; no less than one thousand six hundred of the last supply were lost in the river a few days since, which, I fear, we shall never recover.

An agate quarry has been lately discovered among the hills near Mongheer: as the stone appeared to be of a proper quality for gunflints, I ordered a quantity to be made, and have directed five thousand to be sent to the second brigade, and the like quantity to the remainder of the first brigade, and the troops in garrison; if, upon trial, they answer my expectation, I shall recommend to the board the providing two millions of them to be kept in store for the supply of any future emergency: they are cheaper than the flints from Europe, the expence being only four \* rupees for a thousand; but, lest they should not prove serviceable, or the vein be insufficient for a constant supply, I would beg leave to recommend that the indent for this season be complied with. I have sent by Captain Riddle one hundred, taken promiscuously out of the heap, for your examination and opinion.

The Committee proceedings will inform you, that we have been treating with the Maharattas for their cession of the country of Cuttack: this negociation has been greatly protracted, but I am in hopes of seeing it very soon concluded. It is customary with these people to spin out treaties to an immoderate length: avaritious in the highest

\* Ten shillings.

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degree, they endeavour by every artifice to encrease their exorbitant demands; and, faithless themselves, they are suspicious of the faith of others. The advantages of such an accession of territory are too obvious to require being particularly pointed out. The mutual assistance the † presidencies can yield each other, unsubjected to the precariousness of the seasons, and the accidents so liable to snipping, is not one of the least we shall derive from completing the chain of your possessions from the banks of the § Caramnassa to the extremities of the coast of Coromandel.

I have the honour to enclose you a general statement of your receipts and disbursements of cash during the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven. It is calculated more for speculation, than to be depended upon for its exactness; though I am certain you will find it deviating but slightly from the truth, should any error appear.

To confirm what I have before urged of the necessity of your encreasing the number of recruits destined for this presidency, I do myself the honour to enclose a state of the European forces, drawn up to the first of this month, and compared with one made the 30th of June last; from which you will observe that three hundred and ninety were sick, and six hundred and seventy were wanting to complete the establishment, before the arrival of the recruits of last season; and though none of them were lost either by death or desertion during their stay at Calcutta, we have at this time three hundred and sixty-six sick, and three hundred and five are still wanting to complete: an amazing deficiency, when it is considered that the sickly season is not yet begun.

A number of gentlemen are employed in a survey of these provinces. The boundaries are almost finished, and they are now taking the sections of the several countries. In September next, I hope to have the pleasure of sending you a complete plan of all your possessions in this part of India. In tracing and examining such an immense tract of country, the greatest part of which affords not the least conveniency to an European, the expence must necessarily be great, but the benefit of such an undertaking will be an ample compensation for the charges that are attendant upon it.

You will be pleased to receive a general return of your forces, both European and Sepoys. As I have not lately received any return of the detachment to the Coast, I have been obliged to omit it.

I flatter myself you have, ere now, made choice of a gentleman to succeed me in the government: the weakness of my constitution renders such a measure absolutely necessary, if it is not already effected. My gratitude to the Company would not allow me to hesitate a moment in complying with their orders, should they judge it expedient for me to make a longer stay in India; but a series of nineteen years dedicated to their service has so entirely destroyed my constitution, that another year's residence in Bengal would, in all probability, prove fatal. Should my ill state of health oblige me to vacate the chair before I am honoured with your answer, I shall quit it with the less reluctance, as the gentleman next to me in the service, (Mr. Cartier,) bears so worthy and unexceptionable a character: and I take the liberty of recommending him to your particular notice.

Allow me, gentlemen, to conclude with a private request for myself, and I the less fear a denial, when I reflect, that it is the first I have ever taken the liberty to make; that you will indulge me with the remittance of such part of my fortune as may be remaining in India at my departure, through your cash.

H. V.

† The two presidencies of Fort St. George on the coast of Coromandel, and of Fort William in Bengal.

§ The river Caramnassa is the north-west boundary of the province of Bahar, and divides it from the late Rajah Bulwant Sing's country.

To



## No. XXV.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

Fort William, September 26, 1768.

I had the honour to address you under date the 28th of March, by the ship Admiral Pocock, and endeavoured then to give you as full a statement of your political and commercial concerns, as my health and a short respite from public business would permit. I will now proceed on the same plan to lay plainly before you every matter which seems worthy of your knowledge or attention. I have always deemed this direct correspondence between the President and the Court of Directors of the most serious import to the Company; because, having the primary superintendance of the several departments, he must be best acquainted with the immediate springs of every material event; and because, as an individual, he can communicate his sentiments with that freedom and unreserve which the delicacy of public addresses will not with propriety admit. It has ever been my principle, and, I trust, will be ever my practice, to give truth as I find it, even where that truth might appear unfavourable to myself, or disagreeable to you: I look on myself as accountable for all my public acts to you, to my king, and to my country; and I will never disguise facts to court approbation, or conceal them from an apprehension of censure. For this reason, I hope my present representation will have that weight in your opinions which I could have wished our public ones had been honoured with on some late consequential points. Your Governor and Council, I may safely affirm, ever merited the preference which seems to have been given to private authorities; and, I am persuaded, a short reflection will easily evince how injurious such a suspicion is to your servants, how unworthy of your impartiality, and how dangerous to the Company's affairs in general. The intelligence of individuals can be derived only from partial lights, and communicated mainly with private views. Your servants, on the contrary, are immediately present on the scene of action; they have free access to every source of information, and can neither aggrandise or vilify advantages or losses, without certainty of detection and forfeiture of good name. Whatever benefits, therefore, may be expected to accrue from a comparison of public and private advices, they will be found by experience to be no balance to their inconveniences: such a jealous attention to their actions may, perhaps, prove a curb to a corrupt administration, but it will certainly furnish them with a plausible excuse, while a manifestation of distrust will inevitably fetter the activity and resolution of the most upright government. As your servants, we are accountable for every act and measure; but it is surely hard that our conduct and integrity should be arraigned on the ill-founded testimony of sanguine or discontented men! I am sensible how much the delicacy of your situation, and the violence of opposition must have influenced you in this point; and I hope you will excuse my warmth on the occasion. A little time will either justify or condemn us; and I trust the present \* dispatch will demonstrate whose representations have been most authentic and impartial.

The King Shaw Allum remains much in the same situation, both as to his affairs and dispositions. The memory of what is past continues to render him fearful of forming Hindostan connections. Formed, as I have observed, rather for private life than a throne, he insensibly begins to acquiesce in the enjoyment of competence and independency: and his rooted jealousy of Sujah al Dowlah, and of his encroaching power,

\* By the ship Valentine.

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binds him to us more strongly, as well from apprehension as necessity. He professes on all occasions, and I believe sincerely, to be influenced only by the English counsels; and though his re-establishment at Dehly is casually the subject of his conversation and letters, yet a reference to Col. Barker's correspondence will point out how far his resolutions in this matter are from being immediate or determined.

In the situation of the other potentates of Hindostan, no great alteration has taken place, except the decease of the Raje-poot and Jaut chiefs. Maha Rajah Madhu Sing died a natural death, after concluding a sort of truce rather than peace, with Jewhar Sing and the Seiks; and Jewhar Sing was assassinated in June by a Raje-poot, four of whom had been commissioned by their principal Sirdars for that purpose, from an apprehension of his views on their country, after the rains, on account of the youth and weakness of their new ruler Pertee Sing. No commotions, however, have been produced by this accident. His brother Ruttun Sing (a weak and indolent debauchee) has peaceably succeeded him, though it is not improbable that very weakness may prove a temptation to his neighbours, or the enterprising Maharatta or Seik, to attack him at a proper opportunity. Divisions have also been manifested among the Rohillas. A formidable insurrection was raised in Achmed Cawn's country, which obliged him to apply to his majesty and Sujah al Dowlah for assistance; though tranquility has since been restored to his territories, by the defeat of the rebel Abedullah Cawn, without any foreign interposition. The powers farther to the westward appear tranquil and settled. There is no appearance of any new expedition from the Shaw Abdalla. And the Seiks will, in all probability, not adopt active measures this season, as they have received money from Madhu Sing, Jewhar Sing, and Nijib al Dowlah, to purchase their friendship, or rather to buy off their ravages. The only probability of their return must be from the invitation of the Jauts or Raje-poots, should the Maharattas make any attempt upon them. And their interfering in this case, will rather add to our security, than give us reason for alarm: because, by their support of the weaker party, the contest must become more equal, and the only enemy we have to fear in India, be greatly weakened thereby, without the mediation either of our arms or influence.

The state and order of your provinces, revenues, commerce, and service in general, are matters next in consequence to your political security; and, as such, require the most urgent representations on my part, and the most dispassionate attention on yours. The animosity of public faction, the extravagant hopes of the partial and sanguine, and the unjust misrepresentations of the designing and discontented, have contributed to exaggerate the advantages of all above their real, or even possible, amount; they have conspired to draw on us the public odium, and mislead the impartiality and propriety of your most positive orders!

When the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa came under your jurisdiction, they were much sunk in opulence, population, and manufactures, from their ancient importance. The almost continual irruptions of the Maharattas, under the government of Alliverdy Cawn, and the avarice of the ministers under the supineness of Serajah al Dowlah, the necessities of Meer Jaffier, and the iron hand of the rapacious and blood-thirsty Meer Coffim, struck equally at the property of the rich, and industry of the poor: and while it reduced the one to indigence, compelled the other to seek safety in flight. If, to these, we add, first, the immense amount in specie and jewels to the value of between three and five crores of \* rupees, secreted or carried off by Coffim, after his several defeats had obliged him to relinquish all hopes of a reinstatement: 2dly, The royal tribute of twenty-six † lacks, and the expence

\* Between 3,750,000 *l.* and 6,250,00 *l.*

† 325,000 *l.*

expence of about twenty lacks for a brigade, both paid annually out of the provinces, and consequently out of the sphere of our immediate circulation : 3dly, The annual amount of our own, and the other nations investments, for which no value is received into the country : 4thly, The large exports of bullion to China, and the different presidencies during the three last years : And lastly, the unavoidable misfortune and capital drain, the immense sums paid into the cash of foreign nations, for bills on their respective Companies. I say, the aggregate of these several exports must appear inevitably and immediately ruinous to the most flourishing state, much less be deemed tolerable to a declining and exhausted country ! Yet it is in this situation the Court of Directors, and the nation in general, have been induced to expect prodigious remittances in specie, from a country which produces little gold and no silver ; and where any considerable imports of both have, for a series of years, been rendered unnecessary to the trade of foreign Companies, by the general demands for draughts on Europe. It was therefore to be wished, and was more than once proposed, that when these lands came under our management, we had lowered, for a time the stated rents of most districts, as an incitement to cultivation and improvement, rather than have made the smallest attempt to an increase. Many, however, and powerful reasons, conspired to influence the administration in the measures they adopted : the necessity of providing a certain fund for emergencies, in a country fruitful in revolutions, the certainty of no supplies from home, or the other deficiencies, and the probability of large demands from both ; all pleaded powerfully for retaining things on the footing we found them, and for postponing a relaxation of revenue, till these great purposes were fully accomplished. The event has justified our pre-conceived opinions, though the necessities of the country remain unrelieved and unremedied. Distressed as we are, at present, for the means of the necessary remittances to the Coast and Bombay, for the provision of future investments, and even the defraying of current expences, what must have been our situation, had our collections been less rigid and ample ? Excuse me, gentlemen, for suggesting here another reason, not less cogent, though of a private nature : If, when your servants have exerted themselves in every extension of your revenues and investment consistent with the immediate safety of the country, all their efforts fall so short of the ideas you have formed, and of the public expectation, what could they have hoped, had they framed their measures for present retrenchments and distant advantages ? Might not your whole administration here, with justice, have apprehended their being sacrificed to an irritated and misinformed Court of Proprietors, who might have regretted the injury, when the reparation was beyond their power ? Do us the justice, gentlemen, to reflect how unreasonable such a risk of our fortunes and characters must appear after a tedious service, and the manifold injuries of the climate, more especially where our own opinions and integrity are all the evidence we have to produce in our support.

Permit me to give you my most serious opinion, founded on almost nineteen years experience in the various branches of your revenues, and in various districts of your possessions, that it is totally beyond the power of your administration to make any material addition to your rents, or remit a single rupee in specie home ; and that, unless the most efficacious and speedy measures are entered upon by you to necessitate the foreign nations to an importation of bullion, equal to the amount of their homeward cargoes, and effectually to divert the capital sums paid for their bills into the channel of your own remittances, money will soon become so scarce as to oblige us to collect many of the rents in the produce of the lands instead of specie, and our

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utmost exertion of endeavours be deemed happy, if we can any ways gather together a sufficient supply of cash for the provision of your investment, and the current expences of this presidency. A reference to the immense drains I have mentioned, and a ballance of trade against the country equal to the sum of our vast investments, and those of all the other nations, will easily account for this distress, and justify my assertions.

The extent of the Dutch and French credit exceeds all conception, and their bills are even solicited as favours. The precise sums received by them for some years I have endeavoured to ascertain, though hitherto without success; but if we only form our idea from the bills drawn this year from Europe on individuals here and Madras (exclusive of what has been received for bills on their Company) the amount will appear prodigious and alarming. Advices of draughts and letters of credit have been already received to the amount of twenty-eight \* lacks of rupees on Bengal, and ten † lacks on the gentlemen of Madras; and I have the most certain information that their treasuries at Pondicherry and Chandornagore are amply furnished with all provision for both their investments and expences for three years to come. You have often complained of the increase and superiority of the French, &c. investments; but your orders and regulations have furnished them with the most extensive means of both. It is in vain to threaten dismissal from your service, or forfeiture of your protection, for sending home money by foreign cash, while you open no door for remittances yourselves. Such menaces may render the practice more secret and cautious; but will never diminish, much less remove the evil.

But it is not from their accumulation of money alone, both here and on the coast, that I think the French designs require a very serious attention; but because their preparations at the islands, and the number of ships they send out to remain in the country, leave us little room to doubt they are meditating an important and early blow in this quarter. How far the procuring a squadron of men of war to be stationed in India, is in your power, or consistent with your plan, I know not; but allow me to recommend it as a measure highly conducive to your security.

Though I had not, at that time, an adequate idea either of the opulency of the French, or so immediate a prospect of our own distress for specie; yet, with a view to restrict their supplies for the ensuing year, I formed a plan in the beginning of May last, for receiving all monies tendered to our treasury, and giving bills on Europe, payable in three annual proportions; the whole to bear an interest of six per cent. till such bills were granted; and the ballance, after the first year, to bear an interest of three per cent. till paid. The universal concurrence I knew the proposal would meet with, induced me to prepare a minute on the subject for the consideration of the Board, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose for your information, and proof of the utility of such an arrangement. Before we had any opportunity of entering on so important a debate, from the absence of Mess. Cartier and Becher, the arrival of your orders, by the Admiral Watson, obliged me to quit my former intentions, however thoroughly I remained convinced of their necessity. Had the resolution depended solely on myself, I would have risked your severest displeasure, from a consciousness of doing my duty, and promoting your true interest; but when your prohibitions were so positive, when your prejudices appeared so strong, and your confidence in us so small, could I have proposed to the Council drawing on you for 150,000 or 200,000 pounds sterling, when you expected a remittance to the amount of 500,000, without subjecting every member of that Board to certain disgrace, and dismissal from you, had they acquiesced in my measures?

\* 350,000 l.

† 125,000 l.



But though it has been impossible for us, in our present situation, to follow your directions in the remittances of so large a sum in specie; as much, I think, as the power of men could effect has been done, and is still doing, to enable you to realize in Europe as much as possible of your property here. The mode, indeed, has been different from what you had prescribed; but, I flatter myself, it will be found, on trial, most beneficial to the Company's affairs, and the nation in general. If you will recur to the state of your investment four or five years ago, it will be found on an average, not to exceed 34\* lacks of rupees; the last year we provided you the amount of 64 † lacks; and I am in hopes to be able to transmit you, by the ships of this season, goods to the value of one complete million sterling. When it is considered, that this is an increase of of near 600,000 pounds sterling, that your possessions will be less impoverished by an export of their produce than specie, that the nation will be benefited by the duties on so large an import, and that the Company, instead of a loss of 20 per cent. on bullion, will reap a considerable profit on the sales of these cargoes, I doubt not our conduct and industry will meet your and the nation's most sincere approbation.

To enable you to form the most perfect idea of the military improvements of the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, I send you, by Captain Purvis, a musket, which was one of his first attempts; and also a lock, which is of his last and best manufacture.

H. V.

No. XXVI.

*To the Honourable the Court of Directors, &c.*

Fort William, April 5, 1769.

There has no material alteration taken place in the King's affairs, or in those of the other powers of Hindostan, since the date of my last letter. His majesty is still at Allah-abad, and has shewn some disposition towards a reconciliation with his Vizier, and honoured him with a visit of compliment at his capital Faiz-abad.

We have had some alarms of an intended invasion of Hindostan, by the Shaw Abdalla, at the invitation of the Rajepoot chiefs, in order to revenge themselves of the Jauts, for their unwarrantable attack of their country last year, under Jewhar Sing. Later advices, however, assure us, that he has been obliged to march back, in order to reduce one of his principal chiefs, who had revolted; and that the risque he runs of having his Candahar dominions attacked by ‡ Kerim Cawn, in his absence, will probably make him cautious how he ventures so far from his own frontiers.

Yet, though we have little reason for fears from abroad, the internal state of our provinces is a matter of real concern; and, unless provided for by speedy and effectual measures, they must moulder into ruin of themselves, without the intervention of any enemy. A little attention to the nature of the riches of Bengal, and a comparison of the various sources of wealth or distress in the former and present systems of government, will evince this beyond dispute. Though our provinces afford no gold, silver, or precious stones, yet the vast variety and abundance of the produce of the lands, and the excellence of the manufactures of the inhabitants, leave them no great occasion for imported commodities; and, at the same time, invite foreign merchants to purchase and export these goods and manufactures, from

\* 382,500 l. † 720,000 l. N. B. These being Current rupees, are estimated at two shillings and three-pence each, ‡ The present emperor of Persia.

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their superior cheapness and quality. I have observed, that the natives had occasion for few foreign commodities, either for convenience or for luxury, and, consequently, a very small proportion of their trade could be carried on by barter, and the rest only by giving specie for goods. The extent also of this traffic was prodigious; and besides the large investments of the different European nations, the Bengal raw silk, cloths, &c. to a vast amount, were dispersed to the West and North, inland; as far as Guzzerat, Lahôre, and even Ispahân. In proportion, therefore, to this diffusion of commerce, the quantity of specie in the country necessarily increased, the farmer and workman were enabled to answer the demands of government with ease, by the readiness of their sales; and every extension of industry at home, or trade abroad, was a new opening to an advance of the general opulence.

From this view, then, of the state of trade heretofore in these provinces, and by setting the sum of the charges of merchandize, and other necessary disbursements against the sum of the imports, it will clearly follow, that the whole amount of the trade of the provinces was a clear gain to them, by an exchange of their produce for bullion.

How far the imports and expences ballance each other, you have ample means of conviction in your own hands, by a comparison of your export goods and bullion with your factory disbursements, and homeward investment, till the revolution in 1757; and if they should prove so in your extensive commerce, the circumstance will hold much more strongly in the inland trade of the Mogul and Guzzerat merchants; who had the duties of the government to pay, and whose goods were transported chiefly by expensive land-carriage. If these facts are admitted, we can be no longer at a loss for the source of the prodigious ancient riches of Bengal, as there flowed in every year an increase of specie equal to the export trade of the country; and of the immensity of this, we must conceive the most consequential idea, when we find from the Pachoutraah or custom-office books, at Murshedabad, that so late as Alliverdy Cawn's time, and after so many internal revolutions and foreign ravages, nearly the value of seventy \* lacks of raw silk were entered there, exclusive of the European investments, which were not registered in them, as being either duty-free, or paying at Houghly. Here then we trace the grand and true fountain of the wealth of these Subahs, and the splendour of their Nazims; but, besides this, there were also several collateral streams which served, in their turn, to feed and swell the principal one. The advantages accruing from so beneficial a commerce, enabled, as we have seen, the farmer and manufacturer to discharge their stipulated revenue to their prince; and these revenues again did not center, nor were sunk in his coffers, but returned through various channels into the general circulation. Large Jagheers were granted to men of noble families, or particular favourites; whole districts were allotted to the other branches of the reigning family, at a rate vastly below their real value: large armies of horse, &c. were maintained either for show or security, at an enormous expence; and even the luxury and pomp, ever customary among the potentates of the East, contributed in some degree, by encouraging a spirit of expence, and dissipating large sums among the people in general; which, if they had remained shut up in the treasury, would have been a loss to the currency, and no present advantage to the proprietor. By these means, therefore, and the advantage of trade already mentioned, an extensive and brisk circulation of specie was kept up every where; the farmer was easy, the artizan encouraged, the merchant enriched, and the prince satisfied.

\* 875,000 L.

It would not be easy, neither is it of any importance in the present enquiry, to ascertain the precise æra in which all these began to decline; but so far is certain, that the decline was neither sensibly felt by the country, nor perceptible to us, 'till after the \* revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier. This threw such considerable sums into the hands of the Company, as to render their importing bullion for their investment unnecessary; and the large fortunes obtained, in consequence, by individuals, who were precluded the course of remittance through your cash, filled the treasures of foreign nations, in exchange for bills on their respective Companies; so that, ever since the country came into our possession, they have been enabled to rival us in trade, in our own territories, with our own money.

The former channels then of opulence to the country beginning to stagnate, it was left to be maintained by the old stock of specie; which, for a series of years past, had flowed into it; and this, by a variety of unforeseen events, sunk more rapidly than, in the ordinary course of things, it might otherwise have done. The elevation of Meer Jaffier was attended with ruin to many of the principal families, dependent on the late reigning one; and much confusion and interruption to the trade of the country merchant, by advancing our interest therein, in preference to his. When a second † revolution took place in favour of Cossim Ally Cawn, he soon found the fatal tendency of this superior influence; his endeavours to put the other merchants on something of an equal footing with us, produced continual disputes between his officers and our agents; and the precariousness of his situation, with an ambition of rendering himself speedily independent, by a rapid encrease of military strength and finances, made him sacrifice the most opulent inhabitants to his avarice, and drain the country by every severity of exaction, to secure a fund for his future designs and exigencies.

From the best authorities I have been enabled to obtain here, and from the fairest calculations, it seems probable that Cossim Ally was the cause of a loss of near five ‡ crores of rupees in jewels and specie to the country, which he either expended in drawing Sujah al Dowlah to his assistance, or carried off and secreted for his future provision.

If we consider that the treasures of the Nizamut were so low, on his accession, that Meer Jaffier had been necessitated to cede large districts to us, in lieu of sums due, whilst his own troops were almost mutinous for want of their pay and arrears; and if, to this, we add that Cossim remained in quiet possession of his new dignity no longer than three years, we must at once see that this immense sum was levied immediately from the provinces in this short interval, over and above the heavy current expences, and be sensible how large a proportion this vast drawback must have been to the country's capital of specie. The § restoration of Meer Jaffier, and the grant of the || Dewanny to the Company by his majesty, rendered the fresh imports of bullion, either by us or foreign companies, less necessary to the maintenance and prosecution of trade, from the same original cause which had existed in 1757; and the increasing restrictions and disadvantages with which the free trade of the native, Guzzerat, or Mogul, was daily fettered and loaded, succeeding that confusion which frequent revolutions had occasioned, either produced certain bankruptcies, or deterred the more circumspect from embarking at all in commerce to a certain loss. Here, then, the channel of trade, which had before poured the principal riches into Bengal, began to turn a drain upon it; the whole centered in the Europeans, whose commerce was, at all times, least to the advantage of the country, because their im-

\* In the year 1757.  
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ports were largest in proportion, and their duties less; and who, now, added to these a new loss, that of making larger exports than ever, at the country's sole expence. Of the destructive extent of this loss, the following rough comparison of the imports of bullion by the European nations, and their exports of commodities and bullion, for three years past, will awaken the most alarming idea.

I M P O R T S.

	Rupees.	£. Sterling.
Bullion imported by the Dutch at the highest estimate during that term, at 10 lacks per annum	3,000,000	or 337,500
Ditto, by the French, — — —	0,000,000	
Ditto, by the English, — — —	0,000,000	
Ditto, by the Guzeratties, Moguls, &c. — — —	0,000,000	
Ditto, in gold from Bassora, Mochia, &c. on private account, at 6 lacks per annum — — —	1,800,000	or 202,500
Ditto, by the Danish Comp. at 2 1-half lacks per ann. — — —	750,000	or 84,375
	<u>* Rupees,</u>	<u>5,550,000</u> or <u>624,375 £.</u>

E X P O R T S.

English Company, in 1766 and 1767, at the lowest calculate, — — —	10,700,000	or 1,203,750
Ditto, in 1768, — — —	7,000,000	or 787,500
Ditto private property, at the rate of 5000l. per ship, and 5 ships per ann. for 3 years, at a medium, — — —	600,000	or 67,500
Dutch Company, 1766 and 1767, 3 ships public and private, amount at the lowest 10 per ship, — — —	6,000,000	or 675,000
Ditto, 1768, 4 ships, — — —	4,000,000	or 450,000
French, 1766 and 1767, 5 ships, at 10 lacks each, — — —	5,000,000	or 562,500
Ditto, 1768, 4 ships, ditto, — — —	4,000,000	or 450,000
Danes, 1766 and 1767, 1 ship, at 8 lacks each year, — — —	1,600,000	or 180,000
Ditto, 1768, 2 ships, at ditto, — — —	1,600,000	or 180,000
† Specie exported out of the provinces for payment of the king's tribute and a brigade at Allah-abad, at 50 lacks per annum, for 3 years — — —	15,000,000	or 1,687,500
Private exports to China, at 2 lacks per annum, — — —	600,000	or 67,500
	<u>56,100,000</u>	<u>or 6,311,250</u>
From which deduct the imported bullion, agreeable to the above estimate — — —	5,550,000	or 624,375
	<u>50,550,000</u>	<u>or 5,686,875 £.</u>

I do not, here, include the export trade in general of the private European merchants, notwithstanding it is very considerable, because, though they bring in little

\* This statement is in Current rupees, which are estimated at the exchange of two shillings and three-pence each.

† The brigade accounts for one year not having been completed when this statement of their expence was formed, this part of the annual drain of specie was thereby rather over-rated.

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bullion, yet, as they import commodities equal to what they carry out, the country is neither much hurt nor much benefited by their traffic, till the merchant comes to realize his gains, in order for his return to his native country, and then the amount of them becomes an addition to the ballance against the country, by being paid into some European Company's cash for bills; and, by this means, rendering it unnecessary for them to import bullion at a risque for the provision of their investment. Neither do I include, in this account, the large sums sent by us to China, Madras, or other presidencies; because these reduced the Company's treasury rather than the country, and because they were equally lost to the country if they remained in the treasury, and did not enter into our disbursements or investment, as if they were exported. The King's tribute, on the contrary, and the expence at Allah-abad, are really so much loss to the circulation, because, as they form a large proportion of our necessary disbursements, so being now made out of the provinces, they must be a similar loss to the current specie. It will hardly be asserted that any country, however opulent, could long maintain itself, much less flourish, when it received no material supplies, and when a ballance against it, of above one-third of its whole yearly value, was yearly incurred. But besides this, there are other concomitant circumstances, which have contributed to diminish the riches of the country, and must, if not remedied, soon exhaust them. I have observed, that one great advantage the country formerly reaped was, the diffusion of its revenues by large grants to different families, and by the expensive luxury of its governors. But now the whole amount of the lands is swallowed up in one gulph—your treasury; nor does any part of it return into the circulation, except the sums issued for our investment and necessary expences; so that there ensues an annual loss to the currency, equal to the difference between the aggregate of the investment and disbursements, and the total of the revenues. This, if continued, must in time draw in all the specie; and the only remedy for this evil is, either to encrease your investment, until, with your disbursements, it equals your revenues, or to import a quantity of specie equal to the difference. The first of these, if practicable, would leave you without a fund for emergencies, by advancing the revenues to the Aurungs as fast as they were collected; the second, I am afraid, is rather to be wished by us than to be attempted by you.

I have thus, gentlemen, attempted to lay open to you the true sources of the ancient opulence of Bengal, and its present distress. Perhaps, you have never been led to consider them in this light; but, I am persuaded, an impartial examination will evince the justice of my arguments. Should they stand the test, they cannot fail of being particularly useful at this juncture; as they will enable you to apply a suitable support where the weakness is pointed out, and to answer the objections and clamour of your enemies. From hence, also, you will see how much the advantages of your late acquisitions have been exaggerated beyond all bounds; and how far from impossible it was for the Honourable East India Company to be distressed, though newly become masters of the revenues of a country which stood rated at above three millions sterling per annum. A superficial, or weak observer, may estimate a country like an estate, from its rent-roll; but the man of experience and reflection will easily see that its annual income must depend on the proportion of its produce, which can be realized in specie; and that the intrinsic value of it must fluctuate as the quantity of specie, which is the measure of it, multiplies or decreases in the kingdom where it is placed. In this point of view, and after what has been already said, I need no arguments to demonstrate the reality of our present difficulties, and the certain prospect of our future distress. I have already hinted my apprehensions of your inability to increase your investments of bullion, which are even now looked upon with a jealous eye by the nation; but it is still in your power to oblige others to import it, or leave you sole

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masters of the Bengal trade. Large sums, belonging to your former servants, are still lying unremitted; and these must yearly encrease, by the fruits of the successful industry of your present ones. If you open your cash upon equitable terms for remittances for all sums tendered, both national and private considerations will draw all these into your channel, and cut off the grand resource and advantage of foreign nations, the rivalling you in your trade with your own money. I say equitable terms, because it can never be expected that any one will remit the produce of many years labour at so great a discount as one ninth part of his principal, below the par of exchange, at two shillings and three-pence per Current rupee; and, on the contrary, had you even raised the rate to two shillings and four-pence the Current rupee, instead of sinking it to two shillings, I dare aver, the Company, as well as the nation, would have been considerable gainers by the advance. We should then have been able to have sent you home; by the next season, an investment far superior to that of the present year; whereas policy, or rather necessity, must now oblige us to curtail it to forty-five \* lacks. I need draw no comparison between the loss of one ninth per Cent. on the remittance, and the gain to you of one hundred and seventy-five per cent. on such an increase of import; neither need I suggest the difference it occasions to the nation, Company, and country, to throw so large a sum into the hands of their natural enemies, and lukewarm friends, by a mistaken and injudicious oeconomy.

Do not, however, gentlemen, conceive that your servants here are so anxious for remittances through your cash, from any private or interested views. The remittances of foreign nations must always be more advantageous to them, because they will always keep their terms a little higher than yours as an inducement; and this must continue till yours are on such a footing, as to render a farther advance of their rate equal, or superior, to the insurance and interest on exports of bullion. Then we may hope for some supplies from them to this declining country; and, till then, our straights and poverty must increase.

We have sent you an investment this year, the produce of which will, we hope, answer every exigency; but we propose to lower the investment for the next season to forty or forty-five lacks, including the seven lacks, and upwards, now in your warehouses; and to appropriate the surplus for the establishment of a fund for our own exigencies, and those of the other presidencies. The necessity of this I need not enlarge upon; the arguments in a letter to us from the gentlemen of Madras, dated March 1st, 1769, and the sentiments of the Committee in the last paragraph of their answer thereto, will, I apprehend, be sufficient.

The sum ought to amount to a † crore of rupees for this presidency, and fifty ‡ lacks for the supply of the treasury at Fort St. George; and I would recommend that, after the above fund is secured, the surplus of the revenues, or a considerable part thereof, should be employed on private security of the native in loans, for the cultivation of the waste lands; by which, in time, your whole possessions would become of real value to you, the country better populated, the trade increased by an additional quantity of manufactories, and the means of realizing your property more certain, and less detrimental either to the country, or the native trader.

As a present relief to the necessities of the settlement, at their universal request, and to supply, as far as possible, the deficiency of silver for the purposes of trade and revenue; we have found it expedient to re-establish the gold currency upon a new plan and standard, as the only remedy left us; and, I doubt not, but when you seriously weigh the arguments set forth in the resolutions of the board, you will approve the measure, and acquit us from all imputation of precipitancy or contradiction in our councils.

\* Of Current rupees, or 506,250 l.

† 1,250,000 l.

‡ 625,000 l.



I did intend to have entered on the state of your revenues, both as to the mode of collection, and the improvements of which it is capable; but, as I am now proceeding towards the \* city, and shall have an opportunity of seeing every thing adjusted for the Poonah, I have thought it better to defer it till the first ship of next season, when I hope to deliver it in person.

Since I began this letter, I have received intelligence of the retreat of the Shaw Abdalla.

H. V.

No. XXVII.

*To John Carlier, Esq. and the Gentlemen of the Council of Fort William.*

Fort William, Dec. 16, 1769.

Before I put an † end to my long services, it is a duty I consider incumbent on me to contribute what I can to the future welfare of this settlement and country, our Company, and nation. The experience and observations of more than twenty years may possibly claim some attention from the Court of Directors. I shall make no other apology for what I now lay before you, than the warmth of my zeal for a service, whose interest I shall ever support with a grateful heart.

The subject is important, extensive, and delicate; but as so many and various representations have been given of it, some perverted by design, others through ignorance, it becomes more immediately the duty of the servants of the Company, who have had experience, to communicate, and the part of the Court of Directors to confide in them.

I shall begin with a summary reference to the most interesting degrees and varieties of situation, through which we have passed from the original constitution of the Company, to its present flourishing condition; in the course of which many reflections must needs occur to warn us from errors, and to expose imperfections: nor is it surprising that we should discover many, where such a multitude of changes, connections, engagements, and occupations has coincided with the suddenness of our elevation, in diverting our thoughts from a more settled contemplation of ourselves, and of our own establishment.

The ascendancy of the English in Hindostan, is in the number of those events which are distinguished by a series of fortunate and unforeseen occurrences; not the result of any fixed or connected plan of policy. A colony of merchants, governed by laws, and influenced by principles merely commercial, have acquired a political title and influence over a country, which for extent, populousness, and annual revenue, may be compared to many the most consequential states of Europe; that commerce which was once prosecuted in subjection to a tyrannical government, ever ready to take advantage of our weakness, and to construe the slightest omissions into encroachments, is now but a secondary consideration; and the native authority being too weak to controul the power which our agents derive from our name, the rights of the natives have been generally superseded. The substantial have declined risking their property in trade under such disadvantages, and the poor and industrious receive but a faint encouragement to their labours; we see, we feel, the increasing poverty of the country, from the diminution of specie, as well as the slowness and partiality of

\* The city of Murshed-abad, the capital of Bengal.

† Mr. Verelst resigned the government of Bengal, December 24, 1769.

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its circulation; indeed, from the regulations we have made, examples we have ordered, and the checks we have multiplied, I flatter myself that the equality of commerce will finally be restored, and the spirit of monopoly be destroyed; but the body of the people are in a manner formed to wear the yoke. They possess nothing of the inquisitiveness of the European nations; and the most slender arts are sufficient to obscure their understandings, and fit them for implicit submission. Those among them, who attain to employments in our service, are generally men who have learnt so much of our manners as to corrupt their own, and joining an acute and versatile genius to abundance of low cunning, they scarcely want the consequence of the English name to prompt them to every villainy.

Whilst the native government retained its superiority, its tribunals were accessible; and though venality presided at them, yet some shew of justice was maintained, and, at times, redress might be procured. The native government is now fallen in the eyes of the inhabitants, yet such restrictions have hitherto cramped our proceedings, as to prevent us from taking that intimate part which our present character and dignity require. The dependents of this nominal government have been the only instruments which we could employ, either to repress the enormities of our own agents, or to obtain the good opinion of the country people. Their authority is, in general, overawed; their principles too bad to answer the former purpose; and their establishment and conduct too temporary and too weak for the latter; so that the English name has been only all-powerful to do mischief; and a mortifying spectacle of fraud and oppression on the one hand, and imbecility on the other, has been exhibited to us, without the power of interposing.

The consideration of these circumstances must appear to the Court of Directors, a principal object of their attention. A prudent decision thereon most nearly concerns the safety and prosperity of these important possessions. I hope, therefore, that my opinion in this place, will not be deemed unnecessary or ill-timed; there can be no doubt but the cause, which has thus frustrated the best inclinations, is interwoven with our original constitution, which must be enlarged in proportion as our sphere of action is extended, and our duty increased; otherwise we can never hope to direct the application of our own power, and remove it from the necks of the poor and useful to the chastisement of the tyrannical and rapacious.

In the infancy of our settlement, with all our care and prudence, we could ill defend ourselves from the forged accusations or open attacks of the government; we looked no farther than the provision of the Company's investment; we sought advantages to our trade with the ingenuity, I may add, selfishness of merchants. All our laws were local and municipal, reaching no farther than our own exigencies and conveniencies; all our servants and dependents were trained and educated in the same notions; the credit of a good bargain was the utmost scope of their ambition.

No sooner did we begin to feel our own strength, than our successes followed one another with such rapidity, as to advance us from a state of obscurity or mediocrity, to power, affluence, and national reputation. At length we saw ourselves, though yet under the name of merchants, masters and administrators of a legislative authority: we began to plan, direct, and inspire every measure of government, whether with regard to foreign treaties or domestic regulations. Wealth flowed in upon us from every side. Our investment was extended: we supported the whole trade of India; and, from our resources, gave security to it in every quarter. But this was rather a temporary than a solid situation; and we soon discovered, that though our acquisitions had been made in so short a space as scarcely to be paralleled, considering their immensity, yet a well digested system was necessary to introduce permanency

in our establishment. The defects and imperfections of which were too apparent to escape our observation. Our dependents, accustomed to apply their talents to present gain, and to extract advantages from the smallest opening, assumed an importance proportionable to our successes, grew immoderate, and disclaimed their dependency on the native government.

In this situation we could not retract without exposing ourselves to a second stage of obscurity, perhaps lower than the first. Our circumstances impelled us forward, and the grant of the Dewanny became as much an object of necessity as it was of advantage. Thus we insensibly broke down the barrier betwixt us and government, and the native grew uncertain where his obedience was due. Such a divided and complicated authority gave rise to oppressions and intrigues unknown at any other period; the officers of government caught the infection, and being removed from any immediate controul, proceeded with still greater audacity.

In the mean time we were repeatedly and peremptorily forbid to avow any public authority over the officers of government in our own names, and enjoined to retain our primitive characters of merchants with the most scrupulous delicacy.

The consequences are but too evidently exemplified in the decline of commerce and cultivation, the diminution of specie, and the general distresses of the poor; a train of evils which could only have sprung from the above causes, since every advantage of a long and uninterrupted tranquility has been on our side. Experience must convince the most prejudiced, that to hold vast possessions, and yet to act on the level of mere merchants, making immediate gain our first principle; to receive an immense revenue, without possessing an adequate protective power over the people who pay it; to be really interested in the grand and generous object, the good of the whole, and yet to pursue a narrow and partial end; are paradoxes not to be reconciled, highly injurious to our national character, dangerous to the best defended establishment, and absolutely bordering on inhumanity.

The people give us the labour of their hands, and in return we owe them our protection; common prudence, as well as the laws of society, require that those obligations should be reciprocal, or the tie must soon be dissolved; for the firmest security of every government is the affections of the people; and for obtaining them, there never, perhaps, presented a more favourable opportunity, or more noble field, than what the English possess in Bengal. The mildness of our government, properly diffused over these provinces, will form so conspicuous a contrast to Mahomedan despotism, that it must bind them to us and our cause for ever.

I have hitherto considered our interest in this country as built on a precarious foundation, because this cement was wanting to bind it; and, in this point of view, I am particularly happy on the late resolutions which have been taken, to appoint English *Supra-visors*, as an introduction to so desirable an event. I could have wished to have seen the execution of \* the plan during my continuance in the government; but permission was denied to me before, and a necessary regard to my health makes it impossible now; however, I have this satisfaction left, that if I may judge from the unanimity with which you, gentlemen, have embraced the plan, neither penetration to discern, nor fortitude to overcome, every difficulty will be wanting; on the contrary, I flatter myself that, by a just dispensation of rewards to those who merit them, and timely checks on those who require them, you will bring so great and good a work to its full maturity and perfection; a circumstance which will reflect the highest honour on every individual, who has either the direction or execution of it. At the same time, I have the pleasure to reflect, that every step you take

\* See this plan, a subsequent article in the Appendix. in

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in it will bring you so much nearer to the great end of security. For whilst the army is maintained on its present formidable footing, whilst you continue your attention to the defence of the place, and the minds of the people grow more and more conciliated and attached, you can have nothing to fear.

But there is a rock, and a dangerous one, which requires the greatest circumspection to avoid. We have stepped forth beyond all former precedent or example. We have the best and most laudable of all arguments to justify our conduct. But it should be remembered, that we have reached that supreme line, which, to pass, would be an open avowal of sovereignty. It should be remembered, that we cannot be more, without being greater than sound policy allows; the interests of our employers at home, no less than our national connections abroad, forbid it. If we were, before the change, cautious of interfering with the native government, and of awakening the jealousy of foreign nations, we ought now to redouble our prudence. The change itself, supposing the greatest forbearance on our parts, has an unavoidable tendency to destroy the name of the Nizamut; by which means, what might have been the happiest event for the Company and nation, may become the source of perplexities and jealousies, if not the deprivation of the Company's privileges. There is, however, a middle way, where moderation must guide and continue us; where we may walk with safety, advantage, and consistence, without danger of too much confinement, or too much liberty. Exteriors should be regarded as essentials. Every order should scrupulously wear the sanction of the native government. Our dependence on its indulgencies, our obedience to his commands, our delicacy to its ministers, should appear most conspicuous in all transactions, either of business or ceremony. I am not ignorant how difficult it is always to preserve and affect that temperate rule of conduct which I mention, when the power and direction of all departments so entirely centre in your board; and may be still more difficult to produce a proper conformity in the Supra-visors: for these reasons I am thus earnest in my representations, and am of opinion, that the whole weight and vigilance of this board should be exerted to check the most trifling variation from the line, and to preserve the idea of the native government, its dignity and superiority over all, as entire and unimpaired as possible.

Without departing from these maxims, we shall have sufficient opportunities to answer all our views; our power will not be less efficacious, in being exercised with prudence. The Supra-vivorships will afford you a set of servants capable of succeeding, in their turn, to the first offices; that station will introduce them to a perfect knowledge of the laws and customs of the country; they will form a judgment upon the spot of the dispositions of the people; they will see with their own eyes the prevalent abuses of office, the villainy of agents, and, in short, the true spring of the misery or happiness of the country. Thus much may be advanced with confidence, that if this measure meets with the necessary support and encouragement, there cannot fail being a regular succession of able and vigorous administrators. The service, at present, affords many young men of promising parts and abilities. As the Supra-vivorships may be called a nursery for them, in respect to the government of the country, so in like manner their experience in commercial matters, before they reach Council, must bring them acquainted with our commercial interest; and as these are the grand foundation and support of our prosperity, they must be deemed the essential part of their education.

But from what has been said of the characters of the people who are employed directly by us, or intermediately for us, every thinking person must be sensible of one capital defect in our government: that the members of it derive their sole advantages from commerce, carried on through black agents, who again employ a num-



merous band of retainers ; it is notorious that, at times, the agents of the lowest servants have domineered over the Ryot, and kept the officers of government in a state of awe or subjection ; and it cannot be supposed that more respectable names are not equally misapplied. It would be as easy to change the genius and manners of the people, as to prevent the Banians, and followers of men in station, from abusing their masters' name. Chastisement may deter the oppressor for a moment ; but, in such cases, the servility of the people must be removed, before oppression can be eradicated. Perwannahs have been recalled and suppressed ; excellent effects will doubtless flow from it, but the idea of name and authority will still be held up by rapacious agents for their own ends. The conclusion I draw from it is this, that was it possible to form an administration totally free from commercial views and connections, restrictive laws would and must then have their course ; whereas Banians and agents, by the spirit with which they act, and the force of their example, will always obstruct their good effects, and propagate a disrespect and delusion of them in others.

To form such an administration, I not only think possible but easy. I would propose that, from the admission of a member into Council, he put an entire conclusion to his trade ; and, in lieu of it, that he receive a certain allowance, chargeable upon the country ; which allowance should be augmented in proportion to the improvements made, and its internal prosperity : a method of reward the most honourable that can be devised for those that are to receive it, and the most beneficial to the community, being unincumbered with the consequences, anxieties, and relations of private affairs. The members of administration will have a more undivided attention to the public, and their orders be more thoroughly respected, and more vigorously obeyed.

I am come to an observation which seems to merit your particular attention. You are no strangers to a want of method which reigns in the affairs of this government. The whole weight of business is confined to two departments ; the Committee and Council : our time is consequently taken up with debating, preparing, and dictating on the subjects which come before us. Our decisions are retarded, and the springs of government relaxed. The attention and memory are unnecessarily burdened : neither are these departments thoroughly defined or understood, if we judge from comparing different orders and paragraphs of their general letters. The Court of Directors themselves are at a loss where the precise line of each is drawn ; sometimes attributing to the Council what belongs to the Committee, and again transferring from one to the other, without rule or distinction. It is well worth your consideration, gentlemen, to adopt some better plan for the ease of administration, and for the dispatch of business. This can only be done by dividing the burden, which now rests upon a single body, amongst separate departments, and bringing each object of deliberation into a compact compass. Was the number of the board increased to sixteen, the business distributed to distinct Committees, and whatever is prepared in these inferior departments, finally referred to the President and Council, it is obvious how much utility and convenience would result from it. The Governor, who is the head of all departments, and ought to superintend the whole, would be much relieved from that intricate diversity of objects, which, as things are at present conducted, he is obliged to comprehend at one view, and that generally at a time when his constitution has been previously impaired by long residence in the climate. You, gentlemen, would meet, not to debate or to settle important forms, but at once to decide. Every member of administration would have equal and constant opportunities of seeing the whole progress of public affairs, and would acquire a general knowledge, which would qualify him indiscriminately for any station.

H. V.

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No. XXVIII.

*To John Cartier, Esq. &c. Members of the Select Committee.*

December 16, 1769.

I have so much enlarged on the internal state of these provinces, in my letter to the Council, that little remains for me to communicate in this address.

Our political security has been acquiring fresh strength from every event which has happened around us, nor do I see any probability of its being shaken, whilst we continue to join moderation to power. There is not a potentate in the empire but has either courted our alliance or embraced our measures, and, this, without unsheathing our sword.

The King has lately affected great earnestness to undertake his favourite expedition to Dehly. But the lowness of his finances threaten his project with a very sudden abortion. The weakness of his disposition is no less evident in the administration of his domestic affairs, than in the formation of his political schemes. Perpetual charges of his ministers and confidants have bred an uncertainty and distrust in the minds of all his adherents, which has checked public spirit, and produced a general turn to selfish pursuits. With a treasury so ill supplied, and a court so ill affected, it is more than probable, if he should advance, that he will be preyed on by his own servants; and, being awakened from his delusion by a scene of beggary and contempt, will ultimately take protection in our provinces.

From these conclusions it was, I formed my opinion some months ago, when I acquiesced in his majesty's requisition of two battalions; and all circumstances since have served to corroborate that opinion. An occasion of demonstrating the sincerity of our professions, without subjecting us to any apparent inconvenience, were too inviting advantages to be neglected, and may be derived from our connections with his majesty.

As the necessity of retaining his majesty under our influence, or separating ourselves entirely from him, is a maxim in our system; and as the former seems most probable, we should be careful how we allow strangers to assume the management of his councils. Our conduct towards him is plain. We must either contrive to guide him at a distance, or so to palliate, that, if unsuccessful, he may consider us as his protectors, our provinces as the place of his refuge.

All things, at present, seem tending to the latter, and it is an event most to be wished; but I had rather his majesty should make the proposition, than that we should give the invitation. Disappointment may correct his impatience, and difficulties may teach him prudence. The treachery of Hindostan professions will prepare him better for the frank, plain declarations of his English allies; and there is the greatest reason to believe he will return to us with repentance.

The character of the \* Nabob-Vizier was never thoroughly known till his connections with us. His enterprising genius, his high spirit, his plausible policy, are all sullied, if not entirely obscured, by opposite blemishes; for, with these, he is inconstant, ostentatious, and impetuous. His military spirit has received a severe mortification in the late defection of his best battalions: no doubt, it has abated the ardour of his expectations, and given birth to other ideas than those of foreign aggrandisement and conquest. Experience has shewn us, that this prince possesses no firm-

\* Sujah al Dowlah.

ness nor solidity. However high his demands, trifling concessions, provided they speak to his passions, will mollify him. His expressions may be boasting, but they do not lead to action. If, therefore, we soothe his vanity, and manage his foibles in trifles, we may lead, or even dictate, in essentials.

There is something in the constitution of the Rohillas which must ever make them weak and inconsiderable as aggressors. Their government is divided into chieftships; but no one chief has, singly, troops or resources to enterprize a foreign war. Hafez Rahmet is too parsimonious. Achmed Cawn is too wise to quarrel, where the advantage is not clearly on their side; but, when attacked, their national affection will unite; the common cause will animate. A private contest will not rouse them, nor is it practicable to engage their voice on any other motive than the general safety.

Domestic disputes have given full employment to the Jauts, and afforded them little leisure to look abroad. They are divided into two parties; the one headed by the widow of Surage Mull, in favour of Rutton Sing's brother; the other, headed by some principal chiefs, in favour of Surage Mull's grandson. As the parties have, in a manner, divided the strength of the country between them, hostilities are yet suspended, in order, it is imagined, to gain time for soliciting and assembling their respective auxiliaries. In the mean time, distraction and disorder reign amongst them, with all the unhappy consequences of a rival succession.

The Nabob Nijib al Dowlah, is enjoying the fruits of his wife and provident measures, attending to the cultivation of his country, and securing the happiness of his people. According to present appearances, he has no designs of interrupting the public tranquility himself, or of encouraging others. A supposition, which I think much favoured by the perfect neutrality observed by him in the affair of the Jauts.

The Seiks are the Maharattas of the North. Like them, their sole profession is arms; their sole pursuit is plunder: but, their conquests having been rapidly made and extensively pushed, they are generally employed in quelling sudden insurrections of the conquered, regulating what they have got, and therefore incapable of concerted expeditions. That vast tract between Sirhind and Lahôre, which they have over-run, seems yet a wide field for them to range, and they will never venture beyond the limits of it, at least on this side, whilst Abdalla is constantly impending over them on the other. The well disciplined and veteran army of Nijib al Dowlah has hitherto been a sufficient barrier against them, in the same manner as they have proved an insurmountable obstacle to Abdalla.

That prince has more to fear from his neighbour and coward enemy, Kerim Cawn, than Hindostan from him. His large dominions, his celebrated name, can avail him little without money in his treasury. The figure he made in his late expedition was so disgraceful, and the dangers he encountered so dispiriting, that it has most likely checked his sanguine views; and, besides his poverty, he has jealousy and faction amongst his own servants to disturb his mind, and confine him to his own dominions.

The Maharattas have been long embroiled at home; and though peace has been concluded between Janoogee and Madhu-Row, there still lurks a suspicion which will chiefly direct their attention to the manœuvres of each other. I once flattered myself, that the former would have acceded to a treaty for the cession of Orissa, but his evasive and artful behaviour has convinced me that the Maharattas will never desert their old and characteristic manners. After three years negotiation, much trouble, and some expence, no progress has been made towards a conclusion; on the contrary, he has studiously avoided any declaration of his sentiments. I would, therefore, recommend, that his Vackeel, who is now in Calcutta, may be immediately dispatched to him, to demand a categorical answer; to which purport, I have prepared and now lay before you a letter to Janoogee.

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Thus, gentlemen, I have described the situation of those powers by which the general tranquility can any way be endangered; and you will see, that personal weakness, civil dissensions, and political precaution, all conspire to establish our security on a broad and most durable basis. Leaving us, therefore, nothing to fear from Hindostan powers, there cannot be a more fortunate conjuncture for the execution of our plan, to make us prosperous and flourishing within ourselves.

On this head, I have delivered my sentiments with sufficient explicitness to the Council, but I must here add a few words to you particularly.

You are sensible that our name and authority are carried to the utmost line, unless we openly take the reins of the country government into our own hands. You are equally sensible, that to go beyond it will be to exceed the bounds of good policy, if not affect the very privileges of the Company. This Committee holds an immediate intercourse with the country government, and is indeed the channel of all transactions between it and our administration. To you, gentlemen, it consequently belongs to inculcate the principles of a delicate conduct, to uphold a most scrupulous observance of every form, and to indicate apparent dependence on all occasions.

I now take my leave of you, earnestly praying that all your councils may be united, your measures successful, and sincerely thanking you for the assistance and support which I have received from you in the management of this great and laborious government.

H. V.

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No. XXIX.

*Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated June 1st, 1764.*

PARAGRAPH 54. For the reasons given in our letter of the 8th of February last, we were then induced to send positive orders to put a final and effectual end to the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and all other articles whatsoever, produced and consumed in the country. To the remarks we made in that letter, we must add one observation, which is, it appears very extraordinary that in a trade so extremely lucrative to individuals, the interest of the Company should not at all have been attended to or considered.

55. Those orders were sent, it is true, before we received the new \* treaty you entered into with Jaffier Ally Cawn, upon his re-establishment in the Subahship, in which it is agreed, that the English shall carry on their trade, by means of their own Duffuck, free from all duties, taxes, and impositions, in all parts of the country, excepting the article of salt, on which a duty of two and a half per Cent. is to be levied on the Rowana or Houghly market-price; wherein, it is further agreed, that the late Perwannahs, issued by Coffim Ally Cawn, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years, shall be reversed and called in, and the duties collected as before.

56. These are terms which appear to be so very injurious to the Nabob and to the natives, that they cannot, in the very nature of them, tend to any thing but the producing general heart-burnings and dissatisfactions, and consequently there can be

\* This treaty, dated in July 1763, is a subsequent article in this Appendix.

little reason to expect the tranquility of the country can be permanent; the orders, therefore, in our said letter of the 8th of February, are to remain in force until a more equitable and satisfactory plan can be formed and adopted, which, it is impossible for us to frame here, destitute as we are of the informations and lights necessary to guide us, in settling such an important affair.

57. You are therefore hereby ordered and directed, as soon after the receipt of this as may be convenient, to consult the Nabob as to the manner of carrying on the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and the other articles, produced and consumed in the country, which may be most to his satisfaction and advantage, the interest of the Company, and likewise the Company's servants.

58. You are therefore to form a proper and equitable plan for carrying on the said trade, and transmit the same to us, accompanied with such explanations, observations, and remarks, as may enable us to give our sentiments and directions thereupon, in a full and explicit manner.

59. In doing this, as before observed, you are to have a particular regard to the interest and entire satisfaction of the Nabob, both with respect to his revenues, and the proper support of his government; in short, this plan must be settled with his free will and consent, and in such a manner as not to afford any just grounds for complaint.

60. In the next place, the utmost care and attention must be bestowed in forming the said plan, that in some proper mode or shape, a just and equitable consideration be secured for the Company.

61. If any inconveniencies be apprehended to arise to the Company's investments, upon carrying on such an inland trade, you are to give us your full thoughts thereupon, and in what manner they may be obviated.

62. You are to give us your impartial and unbiassed thoughts also, whether the carrying on this inland trade may affect the just rights and privileges of the French, Dutch, or any other Europeans, and tend thereby to draw on any national altercations and embroils, which are by all means to be avoided. In forming the said plan, therefore, you are to be particularly careful to prevent these or any other evils of the like kind.

No. XXX.

*Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated April 26, 1765.*

20. We are extremely anxious for the arrival of Lord Clive, and the gentlemen who accompanied \* him: as they have been so lately in England, they are the best judges of the opinion the Company and the nation entertain of the conduct of the English in Bengal, for these last four years; which, we are sorry to say, is in general, that they have been guilty of violating treaties, of great oppression, and a combination to enrich themselves.

21. We do not here mean to enter into a discussion, respecting the political conduct of our late Governor † and Council; but must say, that an unbounded thirst after riches seems to have possessed the whole body of our servants to that degree, that

\* Lord Clive, with Messrs. Sumner, Sykes, and Colonel Smith, sailed from England in June 1764, and did not arrive at Fort William in Bengal, till May 3d, 1765.

† Governor Vanfittart and his Council.

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they have lost all sight of justice to the country government, and of their duty to the Company.

22. In reading the opinions of the several members of the late Council respecting illegal trade, by which they mean the articles of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, we are astonished to find those among them who pretend to found their rights on the Firmauns.

23. Treaties of commerce are understood to be for the mutual benefit of the contracting parties. Is it then possible to suppose that the court of Dehly, by conferring the privilege of trading free of customs, could mean an inland trade in the commodities of their own country, at that period unpractised and unthought of by the English, to the detriment of their revenues, and the ruin of their own merchants? We do not find such a construction ever was heard of until our own servants first invented it\*, and afterwards supported it by violence; neither could it be claimed by the subsequent treaties with † Meer Jaffier, or ‡ Cossim Ally, which were never understood to give one additional privilege of trade beyond what the Firmauns expressed. In short, the specious arguments used by those who pretended to set up a right to it, convince us that they did not want judgment but virtue, to withstand the temptation of suddenly amassing a great fortune, although acquired by means incompatible with the peace of the country, and their duty to the Company.

24. Equally blameable were they who, acknowledging they had no \* right to it, and sensible of the ill consequences resulting from assuming it, have nevertheless carried on this trade, and used the authority of the Company to obtain, by a ¶ treaty exacted by violence, a sanction for a trade to enrich themselves, without the least regard or advantage to the Company, whose forces they employed to protect them in it.

25. Had this short question been put, which their duty ought first to have suggested, *Is it for the interest of our employers?* they would not have hesitated one moment about it; but this criterion seems never once to have occurred.

26. All barriers being thus broken down between the English and the country government, and every thing out of its proper channel, we are at a loss how to prescribe means to restore order from confusion; and being deprived of that confidence which we hoped we might have placed in those servants who appear to have been the actors in these strange scenes, we can only say, that we rely on the zeal and abilities of Lord Clive, and the gentlemen of the Select Committee, to remedy these evils: we hope they will restore our reputation among the country powers, and convince them of our abhorrence of oppression and rapaciousness.

30. We have heard of such instances of the want of subordination among our servants, that we shall never think you are seriously inclined to introduce good order amongst them, until you have made some examples of the most violent and refractory amongst them, by dismissing them our service upon just complaints, and sending them to Europe.

No. XXXI.

*Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to Lord Clive, dated April 26, 1765.*

We hope the expectation of your Lordship's arrival will have had a happy influence on our affairs, by hastening the conclusion of that expensive war, and leaving you at

\* Vansittart's Narrative, passim.

† The two treaties between the Nabob Meer Jaffier and the Company, the first dated in June 1757, and the second in July 1763, are subsequent articles in this Appendix.

‡ The treaty between the Nabob Meer Cossim Ally Cawn and the Company, dated in September 1760, is a subsequent article in this Appendix.

¶ Alluding to the second treaty between Meer Jaffier and the Company.



full leisure to attend to the establishment of a firm and lasting peace, to the regulation of the trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and other articles; that it may be adjusted on such a plan to the satisfaction, and with the concurrence of the Nabob, as may redound to the honour of the Company, and effectually prevent the confusion and oppression that have sprung from the abuses practised in it of late years, to the reduction of our enormous military expences, to the establishment of good order among our civil servants, discipline in our army, and harmony in the settlements.

## No. XXXII.

*Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated December 24, 1765.*

10. Your deliberations on the inland trade have laid open to us a scene of the most cruel oppression, which is indeed exhibited at one view of the 13th article of the Nabob's complaint, mentioned thus in your Consultation of the 17th of \* October, 1764. "The poor of this country, who used always to deal in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, are now deprived of their daily bread, by the trade of the Europeans, whereby no kind of advantage accrues to the Company, and the government's revenues are greatly injured." We shall, for the present, observe to you, that every one of our servants concerned in this trade, has been guilty of a breach of his covenants, and a disobedience to our orders. In your Consultation of the 3d of \* May, we find, among the various extortionate practices, that most extraordinary one of Barjaut, or forcing the natives to buy goods beyond the market-price, which you there acknowledge to have been frequently practised.

11. In your resolution to prevent this practice, you determine to forbid it, but with such care and discretion, as not to affect the Company's investment, as you do not mean to invalidate the right derived to the Company from the Firmaun, which they have always held over their weavers. As the Company are known to purchase their investment by ready money only, we require a full explanation how this can affect them, or how it could ever have been practised in the purchase of their investment, which the latter part of Mr. Johnstone's minute, entered on Consultation the 21st of July 1764, insinuates; for it would almost justify a suspicion, that the goods of our servants have been put off to the weavers, in part payment of the Company's investment: therefore, we direct you to make a rigid scrutiny into this affair, that we may know if any of our servants, or those employed under them, have been guilty of such a breach of trust, that their names and all the circumstances may be known to us.

12. We also order you to give us the particular instances which have confirmed you in your opinion, that the Barjaut has been practised, that we may know whose agents they were, and whether the agents who practised it were countenanced and protected in it by their masters.

13. Mr. Johnstone's minute, in Consultation the 21st of July 1764, cannot escape our notice, wherein he says, "The support of these and our other privileges in their full extent, against the usurpations of the late Nabob, engaged us in this unhappy war; and after so many valuable lives lost in the defence of them, I shall ever be against parting with them, or hazarding the loss of them, without greater or better

\* During Mr. Vansittart's government.

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“ cause than has yet appeared, and till after we have found by experience that other remedies are in vain.”

14. As the privileges here meant principally relate to the unwarranted inland trade, in which our own servants have been so generally concerned, greatly to the prejudice of the Company, by involving their affairs in distress and difficulties, and manifestly injurious to the country government, to which every one of you cannot but be fully sensible, we say we cannot avoid taking notice of the said opinion, as by it Mr. Johnstone seems to persevere, at all events, to prefer the private interest of individuals to the general good, so far as respects the said inland trade. If Mr. Johnstone continues in these sentiments, as from the general tenor of his conduct we have too much reason to apprehend, he cannot but be looked upon as a dangerous servant; therefore, if he, or any other servant, shall persist in carrying on a trade, which, as before observed, has been attended with so many bad consequences, we would have him or them dismissed the Company's service.

15. We shall say nothing further at present on the inland trade, till that important subject shall have been taken up by Lord Clive and the gentlemen of the Select Committee; only to observe, that the regulation proposed in Consultation 17th October, 1764, of confining the trade of our servants in the article of salt to the capital cities of Patna, Dacca, and Murshedabad, on paying the Nabob two and a half per cent. is a manifest disobedience of our orders of the 8th February, then under deliberation, which positively forbid all trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco; nor does it by any means obviate the Nabob's objections arising from the distress of the poor, and the injury to his revenues; for if you pay only two and a half per cent. and the country people twenty, or perhaps forty per cent. it is as much a monopoly as ever.

No. XXXIII.

*Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated Feb. 19, 1766.*

21. No success in carrying on the war against Sujah al Dowlah to give his country to the King can justify the \* measure. Sujah al Dowlah's letter of the third of January, offering to withdraw his protection from Cossim Ally Cawn, to enter into friendship with you, and join your army in pursuing him, was the opportunity that ought to have been embraced for putting an end to the war; that passed, your fatal engagements with the King were left to operate with their utmost force; all sight of the Company's interest was from that moment lost, and one error has plunged you into many more. The reply you make to the above offer of Sujah al Dowlah, when you demanded he shall put † them to death, we cannot suppose seriously meant; for if the law of hospitality forbid his delivering them up, surely it forbid his murdering them.

22. In Consultation of the 28th of January, mention is made of some subsequent letters from Sujah al Dowlah to Major Fletcher, which are but slightly mentioned therein, and appear no where entered on your correspondence; the only observation made on them is, that you were too far engaged with the King to recede. In the last letter we, in general terms, condemned this treaty with the King, and flattered

\* Alluding to the “ Proposals made by the king Shaw Allum to Major Munro, and articles proposed by Governor Spencer and his Council, to be executed by the King.” The first dated November 22d, 1764, and the latter December 6th following; both inserted subsequent numbers in this Appendix.

† Cossim Ally Cawn and Somroo.

ourselves you would have seen the folly thereof, or Meer Jaffier's death or the arrival of Lord Clive would have prevented the execution of it; but being disappointed in our expectations, we now shall give you our sentiments at large. The dispossessing Sujah al Dowlah of his country, is, we apprehend, breaking down the strongest barrier we could have had against the Afghan Maharattas, and all the invaders of the empire, who were checked from penetrating into the eastern provinces by a power so respectable as his was throughout Hindostan. The raising the King on his ruins renders this danger still more striking, because all the northern powers are his natural enemies, being attached to the Vizier Ghazi ô din Cawn; and you own yourselves, in the reply to Mr. Gray's minute in Consultation 20th of Feb. 1765, that though the title to the crown is contested, all parties seem to unite in opposing the claim of him you acknowledge King; and it is to be feared they will come down upon him before his strength is confirmed; and thus you may have drawn the wars that have so long distracted the northern countries to your own frontiers.

23. We have no opinion that the King can possibly maintain himself without your utmost assistance; nor do we imagine Sujah al Dowlah is so reduced as not to make head again; and the result will be, we shall have a war to maintain six hundred miles from our own settlements, from the success of which no possible advantage can be derived; and one defeat may be the total loss of the provinces.

24. In your \* engagement with the King we remark, the stipulation for the charges of the war was unsettled; and we have much reason to apprehend the whole expence will be left on the Bengal government.

25. We now come to consider the measures you † took on the death of Jaffier Ally Cawn. We could have wished the succession had been left undetermined until Lord Clive's arrival; but if it was absolutely necessary to come to a sudden determination, and that some one must be immediately acknowledged Subah, it was consistent with the faith he owed the father to adopt the succession he designed; and the inexperience of the young Subah considered, you did right to appoint him a regent; but in the choice of Mahomed Reza Cawn we think you passed too slightly over the charge urged against him, of being so very deficient in accounting for the revenues of the province of which he had been governor.

26. The ‡ appointing of independent Dewans appears highly improper to us; for it is intruding on the power of the regent, weakening his government, and tending to anarchy; nor can we conceive that any Englishman is master enough of the forms of government to undertake the dividing their departments without introducing confusion.

27. With respect to the § treaty with Nudjum al Dowlah it is proper here to insert at length the 5th article, which was in these words: "I do ratify and confirm to the English the privilege granted them by their Firmaun, and several Husbulhookums, of carrying on their trade by means of their own Dufftuck free from all duties, taxes, or impositions in all parts of the country, excepting in the article of salt, on which a duty of two and a half per Cent. is to be levied on the Rowana or Houghly market price." This fifth article is totally repugnant to our orders contained in our general letter, by the Kent and Lapwings, dated the 1st of June 1764, in which

\* See "Articles proposed by Governor Spencer and his Council, to be executed by the King, dated December 6th, 1764." Also copy of the "Firmaun executed by the King, dated December 29th following." Both inserted subsequent articles in this Appendix.

† Governor Spencer and his Council. The Nabob Meer Jaffier died in February 1765, and was succeeded by his natural son Nudjum al Dowlah.

‡ See "Treaty between the Nabob Nudjum al Dowlah and the Company, entered into by Governor Spencer and his Council, dated in February 1765," a subsequent article in this Appendix.

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we not only expressed our abhorrence of an article in the treaty with Meer Jaffier, literally corresponding with the present fifth article, but in positive terms directed you, in concert with the Nabob, to form an equitable plan for carrying on the inland trade, and transmit the same to us, accompanied by such explanations and remarks as might enable us to give our sentiments and directions thereupon. We must remind you too, that in our said general letter we expressly directed, that our orders in our letter of the 8th of February preceding, which were to put a final and effectual end to the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco; and in all other articles produced and consumed in the country, should remain in force until an equitable and satisfactory plan could be formed and adopted; as therefore there is not the least latitude given you for concluding any treaty whatsoever respecting this inland trade; we must and do consider what you have done as an express breach and violation of our orders, and a determined resolution to sacrifice the interest of the Company, and the peace of the country, to lucrative and selfish views.

28. This unaccountable behaviour puts an end to all confidence in those who made this <sup>the</sup> treaty, and forces us to resolve on measures for the support of our authority, and the preservation of the Company. We do, therefore, pronounce, that every servant concerned in that trade stands guilty of a breach of his covenants with us and of our orders; and in consequence of this resolution we positively direct, that if that treaty is now subsisting, you make a formal renunciation, by some solemn act to be entered on your records, of all right under the said treaty, or otherwise, to trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and that you transmit this renunciation of that part of the treaty in form to the Nabob in the Persian language. Whatever government may be established, or whatever unforeseen circumstances may arise, it is our resolution to prohibit, and we do absolutely forbid this trade of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and of all articles that are not for export and import, according to the spirit of the Firman, which does not in the least give any latitude whatsoever for carrying on such an inland trade; and moreover we shall deem every European concerned therein, directly or indirectly, guilty of a breach of his covenants, and direct that he be forthwith sent to England, that we may proceed against him accordingly; and every native who shall avail himself of our protection to carry this trade on, without paying all the duties due to the government, equally with the rest of the Nabob's subjects, shall forfeit that protection, and be banished the settlements; and we direct that these resolutions be signified publicly throughout the settlement.

29. With respect to the 11th article of the treaty, which settles the restitution for private losses, we gave you our sentiments on that subject very fully, in our letter of the 24th December, in which we remain confirmed, and our orders relative thereto stand in full force. We also continue in the same sentiments upon the donation to the navy, which we see is again taken up in the instructions to the resident at the Durbar.

30. We repeat that we have lost all confidence in those servants, which nothing can restore but a strict obedience to our orders, and a more *scrupulous* attention to the Company's true interest. In the mean time, and till their conduct shall have reinstated them in our good opinion, we must, and do rely solely, on our President Lord Clive, and the Select Committee, whom we do hereby invest with all requisite powers for securing to the Company all sums paid on account of restitution till our orders are known. We further expect that they shall give us a clear investigation of the motives that influenced the † Governor and Council to engage in a treaty with the

\* See our Appendix, for copy of this treaty with Nudjum al Dowlah.

† Governor Spencer and his Council. See our Appendix for copy of this treaty.



King, so repugnant to our true interest. That they shall examine into the reasons of the Burdwan lands being let so low as thirty-two\* lacks, when, by the accounts transmitted to us, the collections exceeded fifty † lacks. We also rely on the Committee to put a stop to the shameful demand made on the Nabob for the ‡ navy, and supported by the Council to their great dishonour. And if any further corrupt or oppressive practices come to their knowledge, that they suspend those who shall appear guilty of them, and give us the fullest information thereof. And lastly, we cannot avoid taking notice, that the late § President and Council, neither acknowledged the receipt of the covenants, relative to the receiving presents from the country government, nor have they taken the least notice of them; we hope there is no further meaning in this neglect, than the deferring it till Lord Clive's arrival; yet when we consider the total disregard of our most solemn orders on the most important subjects, we know not where their disobedience will stop.

31. We have received two letters from Mr. Spencer, the first dated the 5th February, 1765, the last the 14th March, copies of which we enclose for your information; as they both urge his own merit in so strong a manner, we find ourselves obliged to give our sentiments on his conduct in Bengal.

32. He came down to that settlement with the general good opinion of the world, and with our approbation of his conduct during his service at Bombay, with this peculiar advantage, that he was free from all the embarrassments and the party spirit that prevailed in Bengal, and had the plain part of the Company's interest before him. We shall, therefore, recapitulate the censure we have passed on that part of the administration of our affairs in which he was concerned, and which we take for granted he approved, as no dissent is entered by him.

33. The very same letter that carried his (Mr. Spencer's) appointment to the government, carried our most positive orders to put a total and effectual stop to the trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, which we expressed to be the source of the war, and incompatible with the peace of the country and the interest of the Company; yet in Consultations 17th October, wherein that order is taken into consideration, he signs a resolution to carry on the trade of salt and beetle-nut, paying to the Nabob on salt 2 ½ per Cent, in direct breach of our orders; and in the treaty with the new || Nabob, he stipulates for that right by an express article of the treaty.

34. Although the \*\* treaty with Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn was entered into before Mr. Spencer's arrival, yet he gave his sanction to every part of it, particularly that which stipulated restitution for losses, which, we make no doubt, he knew to be mostly sustained in an illicit trade, and preferring the interest of the servants to the honour of the Company, countenanced the aggravating circumstances which accompanied that shameful prostitution of our authority, in rising in the demand, till, by flinging in out-standing debts, it was carried to the exorbitant sum of †† fifty-three lacks; and Mr. Spencer, though no way interested therein, joined in the ungenerous proceedings, by which Meer Jaffier's consent was extorted for the payment of these demands, and in the treaty with the new Nabob, makes it an act of his own, by carefully stipulating for it therein; and, to our great astonishment, we see his name to consultation 15th November, 1764, wherein he engages the authority of the Company to obtain the sum of twelve †† lacks and a half for the ‡ navy; though, as far as

\* 400,000 l. † 625,000 l.

‡ A demand was made on the Nabob Meer Jaffier first by Governor Vanfittart, and afterwards by Commodore Tinker, for a present to be given to a small squadron of his majesty's ships then in Bengal, under Mr. Tinker's command.

§ Governor Spencer and his Council. || Nudjum al Dowlah.

\*\* See copy of this treaty in our Appendix, dated in July 1763.

†† 662,500 l. †† 156,250 l.

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appears to us, the demanding this sum was a private act of his predecessor, unknown to him, but so strongly adopted, that, we see, he never loses sight of it, but makes the recovery of it part of the instructions to the resident at the Durbar, on the accession of the new Subah.

35. In the administration of our revenues, he has so overlooked the accounts of the province of Burdwan, that though it appears in them the Rajah collects fifty-one lacks of rupees †, yet he has approved the agreement with the Rajah for thirty-two lacks §, which is even lower than the preceding year; nor has he taken any notice of the sum of eighty thousand rupees ‖, applied to the use of our servants, under the head of Charges Residency.

36. In his letter the 14th March, he urges the general flourishing state of the Company's affairs as a matter of merit to himself, in which we totally differ from him, as he will learn from our sentiments in our letter of the 4th December, and the present; of which you will transmit him copies, as far as relates to the administration of our affairs during his being of our Council in Bengal.

## No. XXXIV.

*Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Select Committee in Bengal, dated May 17, 1766.*

7. Equally politic and prudent are the concessions in favour of the King, whose interest was best considered by the restoring Sujah al Dowlah to his country, the only Subah in Hindostan who is ever likely to support him in his pretensions to the empire. The revenue agreed to be paid him, must be, in the eyes of the Indian powers, a mark of our respect to the royal blood, and an acknowledgment of his right. We approve also the being guarantee for Nudjeeb Cawn, and finally we hope the moderation and attention paid to all those who have espoused our interest in this war, will restore our reputation in Hindostan, and that the Indian powers will be convinced no breach of treaty will ever have our sanction. We hope also, the fifty lacks, \* stipulated to be paid by Sujah al Dowlah, will be, before this reaches you, discharged, and his dominions entirely evacuated by our troops; and that none will remain under pretence of protection to the King's person, for that may lead to pretensions to support him in his claim to the empire, a measure quite contrary to our views, being determined to make the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, the utmost bounds of our political views or possessions.

8. The article in the treaty with Sujah al Dowlah, stipulating a trade duty free, through his dominions, we direct to be confined solely to the Company's trade, and even in that sense of it; we mean only if his dominions produce any goods fit for the European markets, or if it can be made the means of extending our trade in the woollen manufactures, or any other European goods.

9. We come now to consider the great and important affair of the Dewanny, on which we shall give you our sentiments, with every objection that occurs to us.

10. When we consider that the barrier of the country government was entirely broke down, and every Englishman throughout the country armed with an authority

† 637,500 l.

§ 400,000 l.

‖ 10,000 l.

\* 625,000 l.

that

that owned no superior, and exercising his power to the oppression of the helpless native, who knew not whom to obey; at such a crisis, we cannot hesitate to approve your obtaining the Dewanny for the Company.

11. When we look back to the system which Lord Clive, and the gentlemen of the Select Committee found established, it presents to us a Subah disarmed, with a revenue of almost two millions sterling, (for so much seems to have been left, exclusive of our demands on him) at the mercy of our servants, who had adopted an unheard of ruinous principle of an interest, distinct from the Company. This principle shewed itself in laying their hands upon every thing they did not deem the Company's property.

12. In the province of Burdwan, the resident and his Council took an annual stipend of near \* eighty thousand rupees per annum from the Rajah, in addition to the Company's salary. This stands on the Burdwan accounts, and we fear was not the whole, for we apprehend it went further, and that they carried this pernicious principle even to the sharing with the Rajah of all he collected, beyond the stipulated Malguzarry, or land revenue; overlooking the point of duty to the Company, to whom properly every thing belonged, that was not necessary for the Rajah's support. It has been the principle, too, on which our servants have falsely endeavoured to gloss over the crimes of their proceedings on the accession of the present Subah, and we fear would have been soon extended to the grasping the greatest share of that part of the Nabob's revenue which was not allotted to the Company. In short, this principle was directly undermining the whole fabric, for whilst the Company were sinking under the burthen of the war, our servants were enriching themselves, from those very funds which ought to have supported the war; but to Lord Clive, and our Select Committee, we owe, that the Company are at last considered as principles in the advantage, as well as the dangers.

13. We must now turn our attention to render our acquisitions as permanent as human wisdom can make them; this permanency, we apprehend, can be found only in the simplicity of the execution. We observe the account you give of the office and power of the King's Dewan, which in former times was, "the collecting of all the revenues, and, after defraying the expences of the army, and allowing a sufficient fund for the support of the Nizamaut, to remit the remainder to Dehly." This description of it, is not the office we wish to execute; the experience we already have had in the province of Burdwan convinces us, how unfit an Englishman is to conduct the collection of the revenues, and follow the subtle native through all his arts, to conceal the real value of his country, and to perplex and elude the payments. We therefore entirely approve of your preserving the ancient form of government, in the upholding the dignity of the Subah.

14. We conceive the office of Dewan should be exercised only in superintending the collections, and disposal of the revenues; which, though vested in the Company, should officially be executed by our Resident at the Durbar, under the controul of the Governor and the Select Committee. The ordinary bounds of which controul, should extend to nothing beyond the superintending the collection of the revenues, and the receiving the money from the Nabob's treasury to that of the Dewanny, or the Company, and this we conceive to be neither difficult or complicated: for at the annual Poonah the government settles with each Zemindar his monthly payments for the ensuing year; so the monthly payments of the whole from the Nabob's Dewan, is but the total of the monthly payment of each Zemindar; which must be strictly kept up, and if deficient, the Company must trace what particular province, Rajah,

\* 10,000 l.

or Zemindar, the power far landholder in the Dewan or The administr whatever com remain in the

15. The R stranger to any them. It wil always to be first be know encroachment timents on the what we thou much more it will be very e upon it.

16. We wo through the c His correspon his letters sen plicates and ship.

17. In the expressed our see you have have been ven Mr. Verelt's that province have acquired shall give you province in p from Jaffier A men who stood lands up to p tereft, accordi by the natives ever it was th had this to p could easily b might be very provinces fall conduct shoul could with th cumstances mi pacity of the about him; b administrations ment or their the farms up

or Zemindar, has fallen short of his monthly payments; or, if it is necessary to extend the power farther, let the annual Poonah, by which we mean the time when every landholder makes his agreement for the ensuing year, be made with the consent of the Dewan or Company. This we conceive to be the whole office of the Dewanny. The administration of justice, the appointment of officers, Zemindarries, in short, whatever comes under the denomination of civil administration, we understand is to remain in the hands of the Nabob or his ministers.

15. The Resident at the Durbar being constantly on the spot, cannot be long a stranger to any abuses in the government, and is always armed with power to remedy them. It will be his duty to stand between the administration and the encroachments always to be apprehended from the agents of the Company's servants, which must first be known to him, and we rely on his fidelity to the Company, to check all such encroachments, and to prevent the oppression of the natives. We gave you our sentiments on the office of resident in our letter of the 24th December last, which were what we thought suitable to the office as it then stood; but now that is become of so much more importance, we shall leave the regulating of it to you, and desire you will be very explicit on the subject, and shall only here fling out some few thoughts upon it.

16. We would have his correspondence to be carried on with the Select Committee through the channel of the President. He should keep a diary of all his transactions. His correspondence with the natives must be publicly conducted. Copies of all his letters sent and received be transmitted monthly to the Presidency, with duplicates and triplicates to be transmitted home in our general packet by every ship.

17. In the 39th paragraph of our general letter of the 24th December last, we expressed our disapprobation of continuing a Chief and Council at Burdwan. We see you have already adopted that sentiment in withdrawing that residency. We have been very full in our late letters on the subject of the Burdwan country, and Mr. Verelst's letter of the 13th September gives still more insight into the affairs of that province; and as it has been from the transactions of that province, that we have acquired the most experience of the nature of the collections of the revenues, we shall give you such reflections as occur to us on the subject in general, and on this province in particular. We observe that when we first took possession of the grant from Jaffier Ally Cawn, of the Calcutta lands, we immediately turned out all those men who stood between the government and the cultivator, and put the farm of the lands up to public sale, in which we make no doubt our servants acted for our interest, according to the best of their judgment; but it appears to have been deemed by the natives an act of oppression, and contrary to the custom of Hindostan. However it was then a partial evil, confined to a small tract of country; and the Company had this to plead in their defence, that their whole territory, lying near Calcutta, could easily be kept under the general administration of the Presidency, and this might be very justifiable and very proper for so limited an object; but when large provinces fall under our government, such as Burdwan, we do not think the same conduct should have been observed, but you should have made the best terms you could with the Rajah for the Malguzarry, or land revenues: particular local circumstances might have required deviations from the general rule, such as the incapacity of the Rajah, which might have been remedied by putting proper ministers about him; but our servants should not have interfered in the collections or civil administrations; and experience has convinced us, they have either erred in judgment or their duty to the Company. For after all the various experiments of putting the farms up to public sale, by which means many families seem to have been





trusted with them for the public good to their own private advantage, they are undoubtedly guilty of a breach of that trust.

23. Neither can we admit that the vast sums obtained on this occasion were by any means free gifts. The dependent situation of the Subah is itself a refutation of the plea, and his letter to Lord Clive and the Select Committee, with the concurrent testimonies of the Seats, and Mahomed Reza Cawn, together with the depositions of the several people examined on this matter, amount to the clearest proofs, that they were exacted from the several parties as the terms of the protection granted them. And lastly, we shall say a word or two to what those gentlemen vainly imagine makes strongly in their defence, that no interest was sacrificed to obtain them.

24. The Company were engaged in a war, which, as far as we can judge, cost them from ten to twelve lacks \* per month; for which the Nabob had stipulated to pay no more than five lacks † per month, and even that fell in arrears. The Nabob was at this time pressed for payment of the remaining thirty lacks ‡ for restitutions, besides other unlawful demands on him. It cannot surely be pleaded that under these circumstances of the Subah and the Company, no interest of the Company was sacrificed to obtain them. We think these gentlemen sacrificed their own honour, the interest and honour of the Company, and of the nation.

25. We are sorry some of the gentlemen have thought fit to justify their breach of trust by a breach of orders, in pleading the covenants were not executed, therefore not obligatory; but so totally do we differ from them, that we think them not only guilty of a breach of those particular covenants, but also of the general covenants, which were entered into before these last were found so necessary.

26. The cavils and opposition of several members of the Council, to the powers and conduct of you our Select Committee, appear most evidently to have been calculated to screen and obstruct the enquiries into and detection of their misbehaviour; but we are satisfied you have had the real interest of the Company constantly in your view, in all your researches into the general corruption and rapacity of our servants, with the spirit and disinterestedness which do you honour, and merit our approbation.

\* From 125,000 £.

to 150,000 £.

† 6,250 £.

‡ 375,000 £.



Copies of TREATIES and GRANTS from the Country Powers to the EAST-INDIA COMPANY, respecting their Presidency at Fort WILLIAM, in BENGAL, from the year 1756 to 1766, both years inclusive.

No. XXXVII.

*Treaty and Agreements with Serajah Dowlah.*

*Signed seven Times.*

Munfur ul Malek  
Serajah Dowla Shah  
Kuly Khan Bahader  
Hybut Jung, Servant of  
King Aalum Geer the  
Invincible.

List of DEMANDS.

1. That the Company be not molested upon account of such privileges as have been granted them by the King's Firmaun and Husbulhookums, and the Firmauns and Husbulhookums in full force.

That the villages which were given to the Company by the Firmaun, but detained from them by the Subah, be likewise allowed them; nor let any impediment or restriction be put upon the Zemindars.

*Agreed to, according to the tenor of the Firmaun.*

2. That all goods belonging to the English Company, and having their Duffuck, do pass freely by land or water in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, without paying any duties or fees of any kind whatsoever; and that the Zemindars, Chokeydars, Guzerbauns, &c. offer them no kind of molestation upon this account.

*It is agreed to.*

3. That restitution be made the Company of their factories and settlements at Calcutta, Cossimbazar, Dacca, &c. which have been taken from them. That all money and effects taken from the English Company, their factors and dependents, at their several settlements and Aurungs, be restored in the same condition. That an equivalent in money be given for such goods as are damaged, plundered, or lost, which shall be left to the Nabob's justice to determine.

*Whatever has been seized by the Government it is agreed shall be restored.*

4. That the Company be allowed to fortify Calcutta in such manner as they shall esteem proper for their defence, without any hindrance or obstruction.

*It is agreed to.*

5. That Siccas be coined at Allenagur (Calcutta) in the same manner as at Moorshadabad, and that the money struck in Calcutta be of equal weight and fineness with that of Moorshadabad. There shall be no demand made for a deduction of Batta.

*It is agreed, that bullion imported by the Company be coined to Siccas.*

6. That these proposals be ratified in the strongest manner, in the presence of God and his prophet, and signed and sealed to by the Nabob and some of his principal people.

*In the presence of God and his prophet, these articles are signed and sealed.*

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*Witness  
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7. And Admiral Charles Watfon and Col. Clive, promise in behalf of the English nation, and of the English Company, that from henceforth all hostilities shall cease in Bengal, and the English will always remain in peace and friendship with the Nabob, as long as these articles are kept in force and remain unviolated.

*On condition that an agreement under the Company's seal, and signed by the Company's Council, and sworn to according to their religion, be sent me, I agree to the articles which I have countersigned.*

Aez ul Malek  
Morad ul Dowla  
Nowarish Ally Khan  
Bahader Zahoor Jung,  
a Servant of King  
Aalum Geer the  
Invincible.

*Witness  
Mobindar Narrain Canongo*

Meer Jaffier  
Khan Bahader  
a Servant of King  
Aalum Geer the  
Invincible.

Raja Doolubram  
Bahader, a  
Servant of King  
Aalum Geer the  
Invincible.

*Witness  
Lucet Narrain Canongo.*

*Agreement of the Company, signed by the Governor and Committee, the 9th February, 1757.*

We the East India Company, in the presence of his excellency the Nabob Munsur ul Malek, Serajah Dowla, Shah Kuly Khan, Bahader Hybut Jung, Nazim of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, by the hands and seal of the Council, and by firm agreement and solemn attestation, do declare, that the business of the Company's factories within the jurisdiction of the Nabob, shall go on in its former course: that we will never oppress or do violence to any persons without cause; that we will never offer protection to any persons having accounts with the government, any of the King's Taalookdars or Zemindars, nor murderers, nor robbers: that we will never act contrary to the tenor of the articles agreed to by the Nabob: that we will carry on our business as formerly; and will never, in any respect, deviate from this agreement.

*Agreement of Colonel Clive with the Nabob, dated February 12, 1757.*

I Colonel Clive, Sabut Jung Bahader, commander of the English land forces in Bengal, do solemnly declare, in the presence of God and our Saviour, that there is peace between the Nabob Serajah Dowla and the English: They, the English, will inviolably adhere to the articles of the treaty made with the Nabob: that as long as he shall observe his agreement, the English will always look upon his enemies as their enemies; and whenever called upon, will grant him all the assistance in their power.

*Perwannak*

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## No. XXXVIII.

*Perwannah for Dustucks from Serajah Dowla, dated 9th Rajeb Moon.*

The English Company's goods having been carried backward and forward by land and water, always through the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, by the Dustuck and seal of the said Company, by virtue of the King's Firmaun, which is also now confirmed by me. Take care, on no pretence, to interrupt their carrying their goods backwards and forwards through all the Chokeys whatsoever, and not to demand any Katbarra, Manjor, &c. according to the King's Firmaun. Let them pass and repass, without receiving a single cowrie from any of their people, and interfere not with the English Company's Gomastahs on any account, but rather take care that through all your districts their business be not obstructed in any way.

Fifteen Perwannahs of the same tenor and date were granted under the seal of the Nabob Serajah Dowla to the Rajahs and Zemindars.

*Perwannah under the Seal of Nabob Munsur ul Malek, Serajah Dowla Babader, Hybut Junk, dated 9th of Rajeb (31st March \*) in the 3d year of the glorious reign, Mobunlol.*

All goods belonging to the English Company, which, by virtue of the royal mandate, used to pass and repass with the said Company's Dustucks, by land or water, through the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, I have at this time granted a free currency to, in the same manner and with the same privileges as formerly: it is necessary that your excellency write to the officers at Dacca, Chittagong, Jugdea, Akbarnagur, Silhet, Rangamatty, Cheetmarree, Moorshadabad, and Purnea, that they suffer the same goods to pass up and down the rivers without any molestation or imposition of Katbarra (a tax laid upon boats) or any other articles forbidden by the royal court; nor exact the smallest sum from them, nor any ways oppress the Gomastahs or dependants. Let them be punctual in this.

*Dustuck under the seal of the Nabob Serajah Dowla, &c. dated † 17 Jemmaude Sauni, the 3d year of the King's glorious reign.*

To all Fouzdars, Zemindars, Chokeydars, and Overseers of the way of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

All goods belonging to the English Company, which by virtue of the royal mandate used to pass and repass through the foregoing provinces, by land and water, with the Company's Dustucks, I have at this time granted a free currency to, in the same manner as formerly, and with the confirmation of their former privileges. Let all goods, having the English Company's Dustuck, pass as before, up and down the river, without any molestation or imposition of Katbarra, or any other articles forbidden by the royal court; nor exact the smallest sum from them, nor oppress the Company's dependants. In this be punctual, and act conformable to this writing.

*Perwannah of the Nabob Serajah Dowlah to the Hon. Company, for erecting a mint in Calcutta.*

From the date of the first of the moon Shaban, the four sun Siccas are begun to be stamp'd, and through all the mint-houses the new Siccas of the four sun are coined.

Take

\* 1757.

† About the 9th of March, 1757.

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*Treaty made*

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\* These w  
87,500 £.

Take care and erect a mint in Calcutta (called Allenagur,) and stamp gold and silver rupees out of the bullion and gold imported by your nation, of the weight of rupees of gold and silver coined at Moorshad-abad : under the name of Allenagur-Calcutta shall you coin your money, it shall pass for land revenues, &c. and no body will ask or set any Batta upon them ; only take care not to coin the gold and silver of other nations.

No. XXXIX.

*Treaty with Jaffier Ally Khan.*

\* *I swear by God, and the prophet of God, to abide by the terms of this treaty whilst I have life.*

Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader, servant of king Aalum Geer.
--

*Treaty made with the Admiral and Colonel Clive [Sabut Jung Bahader] Governor Drake, and Mr. Watts.*

1. Whatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace with the Nabob Serajah Dowla, Munfur ul Malek, Shah Kuly Khan, Bahader, Hybut Jung, I agree to comply with.
2. The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.
3. All the effects and factories belonging to the French in the province of Bengal, (the Paradise of nations,) and Bahar and Orissa, shall remain in the possession of the English, nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three provinces.
4. In consideration of the losses which the English Company have sustained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta by the Nabob, and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of the forces, I will give them one † crore of rupees.
5. For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants at Calcutta, I agree to give fifty ‡ lacks of rupees.
6. For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Mussulmen, and other subjects of Calcutta, twenty § lacks of rupees shall be given.
7. For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give the sum of seven || lacks of rupees. The distribution of the sums allotted the natives, English inhabitants, Gentoos, and Mussulmen, shall be left to the Admiral and Colonel Clive, (Sabut Jung Bahader,) and the rest of the Council, to be disposed of by them, to whom they think proper.
8. Within the ditch which surrounds the borders of Calcutta, are tracts of land belonging to several Zemindars ; besides this, I will grant the English Company six hundred yards without the ditch.
9. All the land laying to the south of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, shall be under the Zemindary of the English Company, and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction. The revenues to be paid by them (the Company) in the same manner with other Zemindars.
10. When-

\* These words were wrote in his own hand. † 1,250,000 l. ‡ 625,000 l. § 250,000 l. || 87,500 l.

10. Whenever I demand the English assistance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of them.

11. I will not erect any new fortifications below Houghly, near the river Ganges.

12. As soon as I am established in the government of the three provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid. Dated 15th Ramzan, in the 4th year of the reign.

*Additional Article.*

13. On condition that Meer Jaffier Khan Bahader shall solemnly ratify, confirm by oath, and execute all the above articles, which the underwritten on behalf of the honourable East India Company do, declaring on the holy gospels, and before God, that we will assist Meer Jaffier Khan Bahader, with all our force, to obtain the Subahship of the province of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and further, that we will assist him to the utmost against all his enemies whatever, as soon as he calls upon us for that end; provided that he, on his coming to be Nabob, shall fulfill the aforesaid articles.

No. XL.

*General Sunnud under the Seal of Jaffier Ally Khan.*

*To all Governors, Muttafeddees, present or future, all Naibs, Fouzdars, Zemindars, Chowdraks, Canongoos, &c. servants of the government in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa.*

Know, that by the royal Firmaun and Husbulhookums the English Company are pardoned (Maaf) exempt from all duties; therefore I write:

That whatever goods the Company's Gomastahs may bring or carry, to or from their factories, the Aurungs, or other places, by land or by water, with a Duffuck from any of the chiefs of their factories, you shall neither ask nor receive any sum, however trifling, for the same. Know they have full power to buy and sell, you are by no means to oppose it; you are not to require from the Company's Gomastahs the Settee, Manghans, or any other of the Zemindars impositions.

The Company's Gomastahs shall buy and sell the Company's goods without the intervention of Delolls, unless the Gomastahs are satisfied to employ them; you are to assist them on all occasions, wherever they buy or sell. Whoever acts contrary to these orders, the English have full power to punish them. If any of the Company's goods are stolen, you are to recover the very effects stolen, or make good their amount. Any merchants or others, on whom the Company have any lawful demands, you are to see that the same be paid to their Gomastahs. Take care that no one wring or oppress the Company's Gomastahs. You are not to require or stop their boats on pretence of the Katbarra or other duties on boats, whether they be the Company's own boats, or boats hired by their Gomastahs; you are to give credit to the copies of all the Sunnuds to the Company under the Kazzi's seal, without requiring the original. Any of the Company's debtors running from them, you are not to give them protection or plead for them, but are to deliver them up to the Company's Gomastahs. The Fouzdarry-Crutch, &c. impositions of the Fouzdars, which are forbid by the King, you shall not demand of the English, their Gomastahs or inhabitants. Whenever the English Company desire to settle a new factory, besides those they are already possessed of in the province of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, you are to give them forty Begahs of the King's land. If any of the English ships are driven by bad weather, or wrecked in any of the ports or other places, you are to assist them all

in

in your power to require them.

A mint is established and fineness of the King's t

All that is done every year. 15th of the

*To the High*

A mint has been established at Siccas and Madras, with the impresson to be used in Bengal, and Orissa, for the use of the Company. Luck Hossain Zeerlaida, 4th

Ye Zemindars of the Mootawettaverry, and other terrestrial Part of the countries of the most magnificence of the Company will give any gradual increase, give no cause for govern with the same may be supplied. tributes be from the west of C



in your power, and see that the goods are restored to the Company, and you are not to require the Choutarry, &c. which the King has forbid.

A mint is established in Calcutta, coin Siccas and gold Mohurs of equal weight and fineness with the Siccas and gold Mohurs of Moorshad-abad. They shall pass in the King's treasury.

All that I have wrote must be done; do as I have wrote, nor ask a new Sunnud every year. The 27th of the moon Showall, and 4th of the King's reign, being the 15th of the month of July, 1757.

## No. XLI.

*Perwannah from Jaffier Ally Khan, for the Mint.*

*To the High and Mighty, the bold and valiant Commanders, the greatest of Merchants, the English Company, on whom may the King's favour rest for ever.*

A mint has been established in Calcutta; continue coining gold and silver into Siccas and Mohurs, of the same weight and standard with those of Moorshad-abad; the impression to be Calcutta; they shall pass current in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, and be received into the Cadganna; there shall be no obstruction or difficulty for Cuffore. Under the seal of Fidvir Aalum Geer Badsha Gauze, Sujah ul Muluck Hoffam o Dowla, Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, 11th Zeerlaida, 4th of the King's reign.

## No. XLII.

*Perwannah for the granted Lands.*

*Seal of the Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan.*

<p>1170. Aalum Geer, Emperor, fighting for the Faith, his devoted Meer Mahomed Jaffier Ally Khan Bahader Shujah ul Muluck Hoffam o Dowla Mahabut Jung, Anno 4.</p>
--

Ye Zemindars, Chowdrabs, Taalookdars, Muckaudums, Recayahs, Marfawreans, Mootawettawahs, of the Chuckla of Houghley and others, situated in Bengal the terrestrial Paradise. Know, that the Zemindarry, Chowdrawy, and Taalookdarry of the countries in the subjoined list, hath been given by treaty to the most illustrious and most magnificent the English Company, the glory and ornament of trade. The said Company will be careful to govern according to established custom and usage, without any gradual deviation, and watch for the prosperity of the people. Your duty is to give no cause of complaint to the Recayahs of the Company, who on their part are to govern with such kindness, that husbandry may receive a daily increase, that all disorders may be suppressed, drunkenness and other illicit practices prevented, and the imperial tributes be sent in due time. Such part of the abovesaid country as may be situated to the west of Calcutta, on the other side of the Ganges, does not appertain to the Company.

T

Know

Know then, ye Zemindars, &c. that ye are dependents of the Company, and that ye must submit to such treatment as they give you, whether good or bad ; and this is my exprefs injunction.

Twenty-four Mahals.

The Purgannah of Mugra.

Ditto of - Khaffpoor.

Ditto of - Mudennutt.

Ditto of - Ekktiarpoor.

Ditto of - Burjuttu.

Ditto of - Azimabad.

Ditto of - Moodagotcha.

Ditto of - Putchu Kollu.

Part of the Purgannah of Shahpoor.

Shah Nagur.

Part of the Purgannah of Ghur.

The Purgannah of Karee Jurree.

Ditto of - Deccan Saugeer.

Part of the Purgannah of Calcutta.

Part of the Purgannah of Paikan.

Part of the Purgannah of Munpoor.

Part of the Purgannah of Ameerabad.

Part of the Purgannah of Mahomed Ameerpoor.

Mellung Mahal.

The Purgannah of Hattiagur.

Ditto - - Meida.

Part of the Purgannah of Akbarpoor.

Part of the Purgannah of Bellia.

Part of the Purgannah of Buffindarry.

Dated the \* 5th of Rabbi ul Sauni, anno quarto.

(In the Nabob's own hand, serving by way of sign manual.) It is written Finis.

(In Maha Rajah Doolabrum's own hand as Naib) Seen.

(In Rajah Raage Bullub's own hand, as Huffoor Nevise) the 5th of Rabbi ul Sauni, anno quarto, registered in the imperial register.

(In Rajah Conghu Baharree's own hand, as Dewan of Bengal) the 5th of Rabbi ul Sauni, anno quarto, registered in the Dewannee register.

No. XLIII.

*Perwannah from Jaffier Ally Cawn, for the Saltpetre of Bahar.*

At this time, through the means of Colonel Clive, the saltpetre lands of the whole province of Bahar have been granted to the English Company from the beginning of the Bengal year 1165, in the room of Coja Mahomed Wazeed: you are therefore hereby directed to establish the authority of their Gomastahs in all the saltpetre lands of the aforesaid province, to give strict orders to the saltpetre Picars not to sell an ounce of saltpetre to any other person, and to receive from the Company the stipulated Nezzaranna and money for the aforesaid lands.

*On the 2d of the month of Rajeb of the 4th year of his Majesty's reign, a copy was entered into the Dewan's books.*

*On the last day of the month of Jemmady-al-Sauni of the 5th year of his Majesty's reign, a copy was entered in his Excellency's books.*

*Approved.*

\* About the 20th of December, 1757.

*Sunnud for given un Khan Ba*

To the M  
Canongoes,  
&c. of the  
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## No. XLIV.

*Sunnud for the Zemindarry of the Honourable East India Company's lands, given under the seal of the Nabob Allow ó Dowla Meer Mahomed Sadder Khan Bahader Asjud Jung, Dewan of the Subah of Bengal.*

To the Muttasfedees for affairs for the time being and to come, and Chowdrees and Canongoes, and inhabitants, and husbandmen of the Kifnut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. belonging to the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengal: Be it known, that in consequence of the Ferd Sawal, signed by the glory of the nobility and administration, Shujah ul Muluck Hossam o Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, Nizam of the Subah, and the Ferd Hucceekut and Muchulca, signed conformably thereto; the forms of which are herein fully set forth. The office of the Zemindarry of the Purgunnahs above written, in consideration of the sum of twenty thousand one hundred and one rupees (20101) Peshcush, &c. to the Imperial Sircar, according to the indorsement from the month Poofs (anno 1164) in the year eleven hundred and sixty-four of the Bengal æra, is conferred upon the noblest of merchants, the English Company, to the end that they attend to the rights and customs thereof as is fitting, nor in the least circumstance, neglect or with-hold the vigilance and care due thereto; that they deliver into the treasury at proper times, the due rents of the Sircar: that they behave in such manner to the inhabitants and lower sort of people, that by their good management the said Purgunnahs may flourish and increase: that they suffer no robbers nor house-breakers to remain within their districts, and take such care of the King's highways, that the travellers and passengers may pass and repass without the least molestation: that (which God forbid) if the effects of any person be plundered or stolen, they discover and produce the plunderers and thieves, together with the goods, and deliver the goods to the owners, and the criminals to condign punishment; or else, that they themselves be responsible for the said goods; that they take especial care, that no one be guilty of any crimes or drunkenness within the limits of their Zemindarry; that after the expiration of the year they take a discharge according to custom, and that they deliver the accounts of their Zemindarry agreeable to the stated forms every year into the Dufter Cana of the Sircar; and that they refrain from demanding the articles forbidden by the Imperial Court, the (Asylum of the World.)

It is their (the Muttasfedees, &c.) duty to look upon the said Company as the established and lawful Zemindars of those places, and whatsoever appertains or is annexed to that office as their right; in this particular be they strictly punctual.

Dated the first of Rabbi ul Sauni in the \* third sun of the reign.

Let the Indorsement be wrote.

*Particulars of the Indorsement.*

In consequence of the Ferd Sawal, signed by the glory of the nobility and administration, Shujah ul Muluck Hossam o Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, Nizam of the Subah, and the Ferd Hucceekut and Muchulca signed conformably thereto, the forms of which are herein fully set forth, the office of the Zemindarry of the Kifnut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum belonging to the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, in consideration of the sum of twenty thousand one hundred and one rupees (20101) Peshcush, &c. to the

\* Should be the 5th sun.

Imperial Sircar from the month Poofs (anno 1164) in the year one thousand one hundred and sixty-four of the Bengal æra, is conferred upon the noblest of merchants, the English Company.

	27 Mahals	
Deroobufft		Kiffmut
15 Mahals		12 Mahals.

The amount according to the account signed by the Canongoes of the Subah.

*Form of the sign manual.*

Be the Sunnud granted.

*Form of the Ferd Sawal.* The Zemindarry of the Kiffmut Purgannah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. belonging to the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, having been conferred on the noblest of merchants, the English Company, the aforesaid Company represent that the inhabitants will not be satisfied without the grant of a Sunnud, wherefore they desire that the Sunnud may be graciously allowed them, for which they agree to pay the sum of twenty thousand one hundred and one rupees (20101) Peshcush, &c. to the Imperial Sircar. In this particular what are your commands?

	27 Mahals.	
Deroobufft.		Kiffmut.
15 Mahals.		12 Mahals.

The amount according to the account, signed by the Canongoes of the Subah.

Rupees 222,958 10 12 3

N.B. This is wrote by  
the Royroyan.

Kiffmut Purgannah of Calcutta, &c. of the  
Sircar Sautgaum in the Districts of the  
Chucra of Houghly

	26 Mahals	
Deroobufft.		Kiffmuttea.
15 Mahals.		11 Mahals.

Amount 220,166 14 10 1.

Kiffmut Purgannah of Calcutta, Sircar Saut-  
gaum Division 16 Annas.  
Mahal Kiffmuttea.

Amount 28,482 6 13.

Belonging to the Company	28,361	8	10	1
Ditto to Ramcunt	120	13	2	3

*Peshcush of the Imperial Sircar, Ec. 20101 Rupees*  
 Peshcush of the Imperial Sircar. Nezeranna Subahdarre. Vizier's Fees.  
 12100  
 5000  
 3000

On the 15th of Rabbi  
 ul Sauni :ib Sun, a Copy  
 was entered in the Dew-  
 anny Book. D.

Kiffimutt Purgannah of Mugra	- - - - -	Sircar Sautgaum.
Division 16 Annas.		
Mahal Kiffimuttea.		
Amount	24,504 13 16 1	
Purgunnah of Khaffpoor	- - - - -	Sircar ditto.
Division 16 Annas.		
Mahal Deroobuft.		
Amount	3,337 3 2	
Pergunnah of Mundemul	- - - - -	Sircar ditto.
Division 16 Annas.		
Mahal Deroobuft.		
Amount	22,199 5 5	
Purgunnah of Berryhatte	- - - - -	Sircar ditto.
Division 16 Annas.		
Mahal Deroobuft.		
Amount	6,149 4 13 3	
Purgunnah of Ekktiarpoor	- - - - -	Sircar ditto.
Division 16 Annas.		
Mahal Deroobuft.		
Amount	7,923 1 8	
Pergunnah of Deccan Saugur	- - - - -	Sircar ditto.
Division 16 Annas.		
Mahal Deroobuft.		
Amount	60 7 12 2	
Purgunnah of Shahnagur	- - - - -	Sircar ditto.
Division 16 Annas.		
Mahal Deroobuft.		
Amount	283 7 14	
Purgunnah of Azimabad	- - - - -	Sircar ditto.
Division 16 Annas.		
Mahal Deroobuft.		
Amount	10,000	
Purgunnah of Ghur	- - - - -	Sircar Saleemabad.
Division 16 Annas.		
Mahal Deroobuft.		
Amount	7,420 9 15	
Pergunnah of Moodagotcha	- - - - -	Sircar ditto.
Division 16 Annas.		
Mahal Deroobuft.		
Amount	31,793 10	

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Kiffimut



Purgunnah of Peetcha Kollie Division 16 Annas. Mahal Deroobuff. Amount 3,129 4 15	- - - - -	Sircar Saleemabad.
Purgunnah of Kareejuree Division 16 Annas. Mahal Deroobuff Amount 562 8	- - - - -	Sircar ditto.
Kiffmut Purgunnah of Manpoor, Division 16 Annas. Mahal Kiffmuttea. Amount 8947 10 1 1	- - - - -	Sircar ditto.
Belonging to the Company	8856 3 1	
Ditto Ramcunt	<u>91 9 18</u>	
Kiffmut Purgunnah of Paikan Division 12 Annas. Mahal Kiffmuttea. Amount 6787 10 6 3	- - - - -	Sircar ditto.
Kiffmut Purgunnah of Amerabad Adjacent to Chitpoor Division 3 Annas. Mahal Kiffmuttea. Amount 3650 10 9	- - - - -	Sircar ditto.
Kiffmut Purgunnah of Havelushehr The village of Scenderpoor No division. Mahal Kiffmuttea. Amount 323 11 8	- - - - -	Sircar ditto.
Kiffmut Purgunnah of Mahmud Aameepoor The village. No division. Mahal Kiffmuttea. Amount 184 5 10	- - - - -	Sircar ditto.
Kiffmut Purgunnah of Mob, falt and wax No division. Mahal Kiffmuttea. Amount 16702 13 1	- - - - -	Sircar ditto.
Purgunnah of Hattiagur Division 16 Annas. Mahal Deroobuff. Amount 22,119 7 19 3	- - - - -	Sircar ditto.  Purgun-

On the 12th day of Rabbi ul Sauni, a  
copy was entered in the books of the govern-  
ment.

(G Huzoor or the Presence)  
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Peshcush, &  
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Purgunnah of Meida - - - - - Sircar Saleemabad.  
 Division 16 Annas.  
 Mahal Deroobuff.  
 Amount 4,199 14 10

Purgunnah of Akbarpoor - - - - - Sircar ditto.  
 Division 16 Annas.  
 Mahal Deroobuff.  
 Amount 2,228 15 15

Purgunnah of Shahpoor - - - - - Sircar ditto.  
 Division 16 Annas.  
 Mahal Deroobuff.  
 Amount 3,470 12 2 2

Kiffmut Purgunnah of Aboab Fouzdarree, &c. - - - Sircar ditto.  
 No division.  
 2 Mahals Kiffmuttea.  
 Amount 1204 12 18 2

Kiffmut Purgunnah of Aboab Fouzdarree and Peshcush Congo  
 2 Mahals  
 Amount - - - - - 1,174 11 16 3  
 Bherjy (transferred) - - - - - 30 1 1 3

Sairs Hettiagur, Meida, and Meidonmul, and Moodagotcha, belonging to Coot Ekktiapoore.

Division 3 Annas 11 Gendas.  
 Mahal Kiffmuttea.  
 Amount 4,501

Kiffmut Purgunnah of Bellia Buffleindarree Sircar Sallemabad, named Sahebnagur in the districts of the Chucla of Burdwan, containing the Monza Bhilla, and all the lands lying on the east side of the river Ganges.

Division 10 Annas.  
 Mahal Kiffmuttea.  
 Amount 2,791 11 12 2

*Form of the sign manual.*  
 After the receipt of the Muchulca and Zaminee, according to custom.  
 Be the Sunnud granted.

*Form of the Ferd Hucklekut.*

In consequence of the Ferd Sawal, signed by the Glory of the Nobility and Administration, Shujah ul Muluck Hossam o Dowlah Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabub Jung, Nazim of the Subah, the form of which is herein fully set forth, the office of the Zemindarry of the Kiffmut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. belonging to the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, in consideration of the sum of twenty thousand one hundred and one rupees (20,101) Peshcush, &c. to the imperial Sircar, is conferred on the noblest of merchants, the English Company, who have delivered a Muchulca and Zaminee into the books, and petition for the Sunnud. In this particular what are you pleased to decree?

Form of the Fird Sewal and particulars of the Mahals have been written above.  
 Peshcush of the imperial Sircar, Et. 20101 rupees.  
 Peshcush of the Sircar. Nezeramma Subahdarer. Vizier's Fees. 500 rupees.  
 1201 rupees. 3000 rupees.

27 Mahals.

Deroobust	Kiffmuttea
15 Mahals.	12 Mahals.

Amount, according to the account signed by the Canongoes of the Subah,

rupees 222958 10 2 3

*Form of the sign manual.*  
It has been viewed.

*Form of the Muchulca dated the*

We the English Company do declare, that whereas the office of the Zemindary of the Kiffmut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. belonging to the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, in consideration of the sum of twenty thousand one hundred and one rupees (20,101) Peshcush, &c. to the imperial Sircar, from the month Pooof (anno 1164) in the year eleven hundred and sixty-four of the Bengal æra, has been conferred on us, to the end that we attend to the rights and customs thereof as is fitting, nor in the least circumstance neglect or withhold the vigilance and care due thereto; that we deliver into the treasury in the proper times, the due rents of the Sircar; that we behave in such manner to the inhabitants and lower sort of people, that by our good management the said Purgunnahs may flourish and encrease; that we suffer no robbers nor housebreakers to remain within our districts, and take such care of the King's highways, that the travellers and passengers may pass and repass without fear or molestation; that (which God forbid) if the effects of any person be plundered or stolen, we discover and produce the robbers or thieves, together with the goods, and deliver the goods to the owners, and the criminals to condign punishment, or else that we ourselves be responsible for the said goods: That we take especial care, that no one be guilty of any crime or drunkenness within the limits of our Zemindary. That after the expiration of the year we take a discharge according to custom, and that we deliver the accounts of our Zemindary agreeable to the stated forms every year, into the Duffer Cana of the Sircar; and that we refrain from demanding the articles forbidden by the imperial court, the asylum of the world.

For this reason we have given this writing as a Muchulca and agreement, that upon any occasion recourse may be had thereto.

Particulars of the Mahals have been written in the endorsement.

27 Mahals.

Deroobust.	Kiffmuttea.
15 Mahals.	12 Mahals.

Amount 222958 10 2 3

*Form of the sign manual.*  
It is accepted.

*Form*

I -----  
 Kiffmut Purgunnah  
 Paradise of Nations  
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*Form of the Tomfook Hazir Zaminee, dated*

I ----- do declare, that whereas the office of the Zemindarry of the Kiffmut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. belonging to the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, has been conferred on the noblest of merchants, the English Company; I being appointed the personal security for the said Company with the Sircar, do agree, and give this writing, that the aforesaid Company shall be present, and execute the functions of their Zemindarry; if they shall absent themselves, I will make them appear; but if at any time I am not able to make them appear, I will be responsible for their compacts: for this reason I have given this writing as a Tomfook Hazir Zaminee, that upon any occasion recourse may be had thereto.

*Form of the sign manual.*  
Signed.

*Form of the agreement for the Peshcush, &c. to the imperial Sircar.*

Account of the agreement for the Peshcush, &c. made for obtaining the grant of the Sunnud, for the Zemindarry of the Kiffmut Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar Sautgaum, &c. in the name of us the English Company, for the year 1165, of the Bengal era.

20101 Rupees Peshcush  
Peshcush of the Imperial Sircar, 12101  
Nezeranna Subahdarree, 5000 rupees.  
Vizier's Fees,  
3000  
Rupees 222,958 10 2 3.

*Mem.* Here follows, in the original, a description of the particulars of the several Purgunnahs as before specified.

No. XLV.

*Sunnud for the free Tenure of the Town of Calcutta, &c. to the Honourable East India Company, given under the Seal of the Nabob Allah ô Dowla Meer Mahomed Saddoc Khan Bahader Assud Jung, Dewan of the Subah of Bengal.*

To the Muttasfeddees for the affairs for the time being and to come, and to the Zemindars, and Chowdrahs, and Taalookdars, and Canongoes of the Mouza of Govindpoor, &c. in the districts of the Purgunnah of Calcutta, belonging to the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengala. Be it known, that, in consequence of the Ferd Sawal, signed by the glory of the nobility and administration, Shujah ul Muluck Hoffam ô Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, Nazim of the Subah, and the Ferd Hucceekut and Muchulca signed conformable thereto, the forms of which are herein fully set forth, the rents of the aforesaid Mouzas, &c. which adjoin to the factory of the most noble of merchants, the English Company, amounting to eight thousand eight hundred and thirty-six rupees, and something more, from the \* 1st of Rabbi ul Sauni 5th Sun, according to the endorsement, are forgiven, to the end that they provide for the defence of their factory, and the safeguard of the

\* Beginning of December, 1758.

sea-ports herewith. It is their (the Muttasfeddees, &c.) duty to desist from all claims for the rents, nor in any way, nor by any means, oppress or disturb them. In this particular be they punctual.

Dated as above.

† Let the endorsement be wrote.

*Particulars of the Endorsement.*

In consequence of the Ferd Sawal, signed by the glory of the nobility and administration, Shujah ul Muluck Hossam ô Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, Nazim of the Subah and the Ferd Huckeckut and Muchulca, signed conformably thereto, the forms of which are herein fully set forth; the rents of the Mouza of Govindpoor, &c. in the districts of the Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. belonging to the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, and dependent on the Khalsa Shereefa, and the Jaghire of the Sircar, which adjoin to the factory of the noblest of merchants, the English Company, amounting to eight thousand eight hundred and thirty-six rupees and something more, from the † latter season of Oodaee, in the year eleven hundred and sixty-four (1164) of the Bengal era, are forgiven the noblest of merchants aforesaid.

Mouzas and Mahals 22  $\frac{1}{2}$

Mouzas 20  $\frac{1}{2}$ , Mahals (2 Markets) 2

The amount according to the Ferd signed by the Canongoes of the Subah.

*Form of the sign manual.*

Be the Sunnud granted.

*Form of the Ferd Sawal.*

The noblest of merchants, the English Company, represent, that the factory for carrying on their trade in the Purgunnah of Calcutta, lying near the sea, and being liable to continual alarms and interruptions from the enemy, for their defence they have made a tank of water round their factory, and left an esplanade on all sides at the distance of a cannon-shot, and that the Mouza of Govindpoor, &c. in the districts of the Purgunnah of Calcutta, &c. of the Sircar of Sautgaum, belonging to the Paradise of Nations, the Subah of Bengala, dependent on the Khalsa Shereefa and Jaghire of the Sircar, adjoin thereto; they request that a Sunnud, exempting them from the payment of the rents thereof, be granted them. In this particular what are your commands?

Mouzas 20  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Mahals (2 Markets) 2

Amounting, according to the account signed by Canongoes of the Subah, to 8836 4 3 2 rupees.

Mouza of Govindpoor, &c. belonging to the Purgunnah of Calcutta. Mouzas with Kiffimutteas. 12.

In all 6  $\frac{3}{4}$  Mouzas. Amount 2542 14 2 3.

† This is wrote by the Roy-royan.

† In the original  
Feslet Kruff.



- Kerria Kiffimutt of Govindpoor  
 Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 338 11 16 2 Jaghire.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Mirzapoor  
 Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 131 10 17 3.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Gunnispoor, in the bounds of the  
 Molunga of the Khalsa  
 Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 171 13 19 2.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Chowrungee of the Jaghire  
 Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 44 8 2 2.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Dhulland  
 Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 227 11 12 2.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Jella Colunda  
 Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 266 2 13 0.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Dhela Danghee of the Jaghire  
 Mouza of 12 annas—Amount 582 15 6 3.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Anhattee of the Jaghire  
 Mouza of 6 annas—Amount 184 13 16 1.  
 Kerria Salduah of the Jaghire  
 One Mouza—Amount 355 13 11 0.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Bharee Birjhee  
 Mouza of 6 annas—Amount 63 2 4 2.  
 Kerria Kifpoorperra of the Jaghire  
 One Mouza—Amount 191 0 5 0.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Bharee Serampoor of the Jaghire  
 Mouza of 4 annas—Amount 34 5 17 1.  
 Kiffimutt Mouza of Dhellunt, &c. belonging to the  
 Purgunnah of Paikan  
 Twelve Mouzas, including Kiffimutteas, in all  $6\frac{1}{4}$  Mouzas  
 of the Khalsa—Amount 1894 4 2 0.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Dhellunt  
 Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 253 10 12 1.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Soota Looatee  
 Mouza of 6 annas—Amount 113 7 1 1.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt Govindpoor  
 Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 161 3 13.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Chowrungee  
 Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 97 7.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Mirzapoor  
 Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 150 8 8 1.  
 Kerria Hocul Koorea  
 One Mouza—Amount 178 12 1.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Deccan Paikparra  
 Mouza of 2 annas—Amount 15 9 15.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Dhela Danghee  
 Mouza of 4 annas—Amount 156 13 6.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Anhattee  
 Mouza 10 annas—Amount 218 10 12  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Jella Colunda  
 Mouza of 8 annas—Amount 147 2 16 1.  
 Kerria Kiffimutt of Bharee Birjhee  
 Mouza of 10 annas—Amount 227 2 2.

Kerria Kiffmutt of Bharee Serampoor  
 Mouza of 12 annas—Amount 123 12 7.  
 Mouza of Shimla, &c. belonging to the Purgunnah of  
 Manpoor  
 Three Mouzas entire of the Khalsa—Amount 331 15 11.  
 Kerria Shimla one Mouza—Amount 121 15 3 2.  
 Kerria Maukhund one Mouza—Amount 180 4 13 2.  
 Kerria Audinghu one Mouza—Amount 29 11 14.  
 Mouza of the town of Calcutta, &c. belonging to the  
 Purgunnah of Ameer-abad  
 Six and a half Mouzas and Mahals—Amount 4008 10 11.  
 Kerria of the \* town of Calcutta  
 One Mouza—Amount 1376 13 7 2.  
 Kerria Kiffmutt of Soota Lootee  
 Mouza of 10 annas—Amount 1392 9 14 2.  
 Kerria Kiffmutt of Deccan Paikparra  
 Mouza of 14 annas of the Jaghire—Amount 479 2 2.  
 Kerria of Birjhee  
 One Mouza of the Jaghire—Amount 114 7 2 2.  
 Kerria of Serampoor  
 One Mouza of the Jaghire—Amount 50 13 15 2.  
 Market of Soota Lootee  
 One Mahal of the Khalsa—Amount 272 2 2.  
 Market of Govindpoor  
 One Mahal of the Khalsa—Amount 322 12 5 2.  
 Kerria Kiffmutt of Aboab Fouzdaree of the town of  
 Calcutta, &c.—Amount 8 3 18 1.

*Form of the sign manual,*

The Muchulca being taken according to the form.

Be the Sunnud granted.

*Mem.* Here follows the Ferd Huckee kut, and also the Muchulca of the Company, which are in the same form as those in the Sunnud foregoing for the Company's Zemindarry.

No. XLVI.

*A Treaty between the Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Khan, and the Company.*

Company's  
Seal.

Meer Mahomed  
Coffim Khan  
Bahader's Seal.

Two treaties have been written of the same tenor and reciprocally exchanged, containing the articles undermentioned, between Meer Mahomed Coffim Khan Bahader, and the † Nabob Shums o Dowla Governor, and the rest of the Council for the affairs of the English Company, and during the life of Meer Mahomed Coffim Khan Bahader, and the duration of the factories of the English Company in this country, this

\* In the original it is Dhee Calcutta.

† Governor Vanfittart.

agreement

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Dated t  
September,

agreement shall remain in force. God is witness between us, that the following articles shall in no wise be infringed by either party.

1. The Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader shall continue in possession of his dignities, and all affairs be transacted in his name, and a suitable income shall be allowed for his expences.

2. The Neabut of the Subahdarree of Bengal,\* Azim-abad, and Orissa, &c. shall be conferred by his excellency the Nabob on Meer Mahomed Cossim Khan Bahader; he shall be vested with the administration of all affairs of the provinces, and, after, his Excellency shall succeed to the government.

3. Betwixt us and Meer Mahomed Cossim Khan Bahader, a firm friendship and union is established, his enemies are our enemies, and his friends are our friends.

4. The Europeans and Telingas, of the English army shall be ready to assist the Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Khan Bahader, in the management of all affairs; and in all affairs dependent on him, they shall exert themselves to the utmost of their abilities.

5. For all charges of the Company and of the said army and provisions for the field, &c. the lands of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, shall be assigned, and Sunnuds for that purpose shall be written and granted. The Company is to stand to all losses, and receive all the profits of these three countries, and we will demand no more than the three assignments aforesaid.

6. One half of the Chunam produced at Silhet for three years, shall be purchased by the Gomastahs of the Company, from the people of the government, at the customary rate of that place. The tenants and inhabitants of those districts shall receive no injury.

7. The ballance of the former Tuncaw shall be paid according to the Kistbundee agreed upon with the Roy-royan; the jewels which have been pledged, shall be received back again.

8. We will not allow the tenants of the Sircar to settle in the lands of the English Company, neither shall the tenants of the Company be allowed to settle in the lands of the Sircar.

9. We will give no protection to the dependents of the Sircar in the lands or in the factories of the Company, neither shall any protection be given to the dependents of the Company in the lands of the Sircar; and whosoever shall fly to either party for refuge, shall be delivered up.

10. The measures for war or peace with the Shah-zada, and raising supplies of money, and the concluding both these points shall be weighed in the scale of reason, and whatever is judged expedient shall be put in execution; and it shall be so contrived by the joint counsels, that he be removed from this country, nor suffered to get any footing in it. Whether there be peace with the Shah-zada, or not, our agreement with Meer Mahomed Cossim Khan Bahader, we will (by the grace of God) inviolably observe as long as the English Company's factories continue in this country.

Dated the 17th of the month Sefter in the 1174th year of the Hegira, or 27th September, 1760.

*Sign manual of Meer Mahomed Cossim Khan.*

This was sealed on the 18th of the month Sefter, in the eleven hundred and seventy-fourth of the Hegira, and the proposals are agreed to.

\* Or Bahar.

## No. XLVII.

*Sunnud under the seal of the Nabob Nasser ul Muluck Imteaz o Dowla Nesserat Jung, Meer Mahomed Cossim Khan Babader.*

To the Zemindars, Canongoes, Taalookdars, tenants, husbandmen, and chiefs of the villages of the Purgunnah of Burdwan, &c. the Zemindarry of the Rajah Tilluckchund, in the districts of the Subah of Bengal. Be it known, that whereas divers wicked people have traiterously stretched forth their hands to plunder the subjects and waste the royal dominions; for this reason, the said Purgunnah, &c. is granted to the English Company, in part of disbursement of their expences, and the monthly maintenance of five hundred European horse, two thousand European foot, and eight thousand Sepoys, which are to be entertained for the protection of the royal dominions; let the above officers quietly and contentedly attend and pay to the persons appointed by the English Company, the stated revenues, and implicitly submit in all things to their authority. And the office of the collector of the English Company is as follows: They shall continue the Zemindars and tenants in their places, regularly collect the revenues of the lands, and deliver them in monthly for the payment of the expences of the Company, and the pay of the above-mentioned forces, that they may be always ready, chearfully and vigorously to promote the affairs of the king. Let this be punctually observed.

Dated the 4th of the moon Rabbi ul Awuul, 1st sun, answering to the 1st of the month Cartic, 1176, Bengal style.

N. B. The Sunnuds for the Chuckla of Midnapoor in the districts of the Subah of Orissa, and for the Tannah of Islamabad or Chittagong appertaining to the Subah of Bengal, are worded as the above.

*Sunnud under the seal of the Nabob Nasser ul Muluck, &c.*

To the Droga of Chunam, to the Naib of Silhet. Be it known, that whereas the English Company are constructing a fort in Calcutta, and meet with great obstacles in finishing that work, in the want of stone Chunam; for this reason it is ordered, that of whatever quantity of Chunam is produced at that place, one half (the price thereof being received agreeable to the rate of that place) be delivered to the Gomastahs of the English Company for the term of three years, that no delays may be occasioned in finishing the fort aforesaid; and the other half is to be sent for the Sircar. Let this be punctually observed.

Dated the 4th of the moon Rabbi ul Awuul, 1st sun, answering to the 1st of the month Cartic, 1176, Bengal style.

## No. XLVIII.

*Articles of an intended Treaty between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company, and Meer Mahomed Jaffer Ally Khan Babader, drawn up by a Committee of the Council in Mr. Vansittari's government, and dated July 6, 1763.*

1st, To confirm to the Company the cession of the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapoor and Chittagong, made by Meer Cossim, either by Jagheeree, Sunnuds, or such

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such deeds as may secure the property of them, in the strongest manner, to the Company for ever.

2dly, To ratify and confirm to the English, the privilege granted by their Firmaun, and several Husbulhookums, of carrying on their trade by means of their own Dufstuck, free from all duties, taxes and impositions, in all parts of the country, excepting the article of salt, on which, according to a resolution already taken, we agree to pay a duty of two and a half per Cent. on the Rowana or Hoogly market price.

3dly, That he do grant to the Company, the exclusive right of purchasing the saltpetre of the province of Poonna; that he do also grant to them, for the space of five years, the sole privilege of making Chunam, in the province of Silhett; half whereof shall be delivered to the Fouzdar there, for the Nabob's use, at the rate which the prime cost and charges may amount to.

4thly, That the troops of the English army shall always be ready to be employed in the service of the Nabob, for the support of his government, and the defence of his country; the Nabob on his part shall agree, that he will maintain in his pay, no greater number of troops than 6000 horse, and 12000 effective foot, for the protection of his frontiers, and collection of his revenues.

5thly, That wherever he shall think proper to fix his court, he shall agree to a body of our forces being always cantoned near his person, for the security thereof, and protection of his government; and that a Company's servant shall reside at his court, to transact any affairs between the Company and the government.

6thly, That the late Perwannahs issued out by Cossim Ally Khan, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years, shall be reversed and called in, as they are detrimental to the revenues of the government, and highly destructive of the immunities enjoyed by the Company from their Firmaun.

7thly. That the Nabob shall engage to cause the rupees coined in Calcutta, to pass in every respect throughout his government without any deduction, equally the same with the rupees struck in his own mint.

8thly, That he shall defray all the expences and loss accruing to the Company from the war, and stoppage of their investment, and reimburse to all private persons, the amount of the authenticated losses, which they may sustain in their trade in the country.

9thly, That for the former purpose, he shall give thirty lacks of rupees; for the latter, ten lacks of rupees.

10thly, That the most authentic account of these losses shall be laid before a Committee of the Board; and that all sums of money which may exceed the losses sustained by the Company and private persons, shall be faithfully restored to the Nabob.

11thly, That whatever treasure or effects may be seized at Mongheer or elsewhere, belonging to Cossim Ally Khan, the Nabob shall be put in possession of, to enable him to make good the stipulations in the ninth article.

12thly, That if we should not be so fortunate as to seize Cossim Ally Khan's treasure and effects, the Nabob shall assign over the revenues of certain lands for making good the sums stipulated.

13thly, That the treaty entered into between the Nabob and the Dutch, in the year 1760, to which we, by the desire of both parties, signed as guarantees, shall, after his restoration to the government, be renewed; and with regard to the French, he shall engage, that when they come to re-establish themselves in Bengal, they shall not be permitted to build forts, or keep up any forces, or hold any territories whatever, exclusive of their trading factories.



## No. XLIX.

*Articles of a Treaty and Agreement between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company, and the Nabob Shujah ul Muluck Hossam ô Dowla Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung.*

Company's  
Large Seal.

The Seal of the Nabob Meer  
Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader  
Mahabut Jung, &c.

*On the part of the Company.*

We engage to reinstate the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader, in the Subahdarree of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, by the deposal of Meer Mahomed Cossim Khan; and the effects, treasure, and jewels, &c. belonging to Meer Mahomed Cossim Khan, which shall fall into our hands, shall be delivered up to the Nabob aforementioned.

*On the part of the Nabob*

1. The treaty which I formerly concluded with the Company upon my accession to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the Company, their Governor, and Council, as my own, granting Perwannahs for the currency of the Company's business; the same treaty I now confirm and ratify.

2. I do grant and confirm to the Company, for defraying the expences of their troops, the Chuchlahs of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, which were before ceded for the same purpose.

3. I do ratify and confirm to the English the privilege granted them by their Firmaun and several Husbulhookums, of carrying on their trade by means of their own Duffuck, free from all duties, taxes, or impositions, in all parts of the country, except the article of salt, on which a duty of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. is to be levied on the Rowana or Hoogly market price.

4. I give to the Company half the saltpetre which is produced in the country of Poornea, which their Gomastahs shall send to Calcutta. The other half shall be collected by my Fouzdar, for the use of my offices; and I will suffer no other person to make purchases of this article in that country.

5. In the Chuchlah of Silhet for the space of five years, commencing with the Bengal year 1170, my Fouzdar and the Company's Gomastah, shall jointly prepare Chunam, of which each shall defray half the expences; and half the Chunam so made shall be given to the Company, and the other half shall be for my use.

6. I will maintain twelve thousand horse and twelve thousand foot in the three provinces. If there should be occasion for any more, the number shall be increased by consent of the Governor and Council proportionably to the emergency. Besides these, the forces of the English Company shall always attend me when they are wanted.

7. Wherever I shall fix my court, either at Murshed-abad, or elsewhere, I will advise the Governor and Council; and what number of English forces I may have occasion for in the management of my affairs, I will demand them, and they shall be allow-

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ed me; and an English gentleman shall reside with me to transact all affairs between me and the Company: and a person shall also reside on my part at Calcutta, to negotiate with the Governor and Council.

8. The late Perwannahs issued by Cossim Ally Khan, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years, shall be reversed and called in, and the duties collected as before.

9. I will cause the rupees coined in Calcutta, to pass in every respect equal to the Siccas of Moorshed-abad, without any deduction of Batta; and whosoever shall demand Batta, shall be punished.

10. I will give thirty lacks of rupees, to defray all the expences and loss accruing to the Company from the war and stoppage of their investment; and I will reimburse to all private persons the amount of such losses proved before the Governor and Council, as they may sustain in their trade in the country; if I should not be able to discharge this in ready money, I will give assignments of land for the amount.

11. I will confirm and renew the treaty which I formerly made with the Dutch.

12. If the French come into the country, I will not allow them to erect any fortifications, maintain forces, hold lands, Zemindarries, &c. but they shall pay tribute and carry on their trade as in former times.

13. Some regulations shall be hereafter settled between us, for deciding all disputes which may arise between the English agents and Gomastahs in the different parts of the country, and my officers.

In testimony whereof, we the said Governor and Council have set our hands and affixed the seal of the Company to one part hereof, and the Nabob aforementioned hath set his hand and seal to another part hereof; which were mutually done and interchanged, at Fort William, the 10th day of July 1763.

Signed,

HENRY VANSITTART. JOHN CARNAC. WILLIAM BILLERS.  
WARREN HASTINGS. RANDOLPH MARRIOTT. HUGH WATTS.

*Demands made on the part of the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffer Khan, and agreed to by the Council, at the time of signing the Treaty.*

1. I formerly acquainted the Company with the particulars of my own affairs, and received from them repeated letters of encouragement and kindness, with presents: I now make this request, that you will write in a proper manner to the Company, and also to the King of England, the particulars of our friendship and union, and procure for me writings and encouragement, that my mind may be assured from that quarter, that no breach may ever happen between me and the English, and that every Governor, Counsellor, and Chiefs of the English, that are here or may hereafter come, may be well disposed and attached to me.

2. Since all the English gentlemen assured of my friendly disposition to to the Company, confirm me in the Nizamut, I request that to whatever I may at any time write, they will give their credit and assent, nor regard the stories of designing men to my prejudice, that all my affairs may go on with success, and no occasion may arise for jealousy or ill-will between us.

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3. Let no protection be given by any of the English gentlemen to any of my dependents, who may fly for shelter to Calcutta, or other of your districts; but let them be delivered up to me on demand. I shall strictly enjoin all my Fouzdars and Aumils on all accounts, to afford assistance and countenance to such of the Gomastahs of the Company as attend to the lawful trade of their factories; and if any of the said Gomastahs shall act otherwise, let them be checked in such a manner as may be an example to others.

4. From the neighbourhood of Calcutta to Hoogly, and many of their Purgunnahs bordering upon each other, it happens that on complaints being made, people go against the Taalookdars, Ryots, and tenants of my town, to the prejudice of the business of the Sircar; wherefore let strict orders be given that no person be sent from Calcutta on the complaints of any one upon my Taalookdars or tenants; but on such occasions let application be made to me or the Naib of the Fouzdarry of Hoogly, that the Company may be subject to no loss or devastations. And if any of the traders which belonged to the Bucksbunder and Azingunge, and have settled in Calcutta, should be desirous of returning to Hoogly, and carrying on their business there as formerly, let no one molest them. Chandernagore and the French factory were presented to me by Colonel Clive, and given by me in charge to Ameer Beg Khan: for this reason, let strict orders be given that no English gentleman exercise any authority therein, but that it remain as formerly under the jurisdiction of my people.

5. Whenever I demand any forces from the Governor and Council for my assistance, let them be immediately sent me, and no demand made on me for their expences. The demands of Nabob Shujah ul Muluck Hossam ô Dowlah, Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahader Mahabut Jung, written in five articles, we, the President and Council of the English Company, do agree, and set our hands to, in Fort William, the 10th July, 1763.

Signed,

HENRY VANSITTART. WILLIAM BILLERS. JOHN CARTIER.  
WARREN HASTINGS. RANDOLPH MARRIOTT. HUGH WATTS.

No. L.

*Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Ally Khan's Note, for the payment of five lacks of rupees per month, for the expences of the Company's troops during the war with Shujah ul Dowlah. Dated September 16th, 1764.*

Account of money settled for the expences of the European and Sepoys, the artillery, and the raising of the cavalry, which shall be paid a month sooner or later, according to the particulars under-mentioned, from the beginning of the month Sesser (31st July, 1764, of the 5th year of the reign,) till the removal of the troubles with the Vizier; viz.

In the province of Bengal, at Moorshed-abad	—	—	300,000
In the province of Bahar, at Patna	—	—	200,000
		Total rupees	500,000

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Written the 19th of Rabbiul Awwul, the 5th year of the Jaloos, (16th September 1764.)

N. B. I will include in the aforefaid fum, whatever balance may be due from me on account of my former agreement with the Company.

## No. LI.

## A.

*Proposals made by the King Shah Aalum, and enclosed in a letter from Major Heſtor Munro to the Preſident and Council at Bengal, dated from the camp at Benâres, the 22d of November, 1764.*

If this country is to be kept, put me in poſſeſſion of it, and leave a ſmall detachment of the troops with me, to ſhow that I am protected by the Engliſh, and they ſhall be at my expence, that if any enemy come at any time againſt me, I will make ſuch connections in the country that with my own troops, and the aforementioned ſmall detachment, will defend the country, without any farther aſſiſtance from the Engliſh, and I will pay them of the revenues of the country what ſum they ſhall demand yearly. If the Engliſh will, contrary to their intereſt, make peace with the Vizier, I will go to Dehly, for I cannot think of returning again into the hands of a man who has uſed me ſo ill. I have no friends I depend on more than the Engliſh; their former behaviour to me will make me ever reſpect and regard them; now is their time to be in poſſeſſion of a country abounding with riches and treaſure: I ſhall be ſatisfied with whatever ſhare they pleaſe of it. The Rohillas were always enemies to the imperious Vizier, they are all my friends.

## B.

*Articles to be executed by the King, incloſed in a letter from the Preſident and Council at Bengal, to Major Heſtor Munro, commander in chief of the army; ſent the 6th December 1764.*

In conſideration of the aſſiſtance and fidelity of the Engliſh Company, which has freed us from the inconveniencies we laboured under, and ſtrengthened the foundations of the empire which God has given us, we have been graciously pleaſed to grant to the Engliſh Company our royal favours according to the following articles, which ſhall remain firm both in preſent and in future.

As the Engliſh Company have been put to a great expence, and their affairs expoſed to danger, by the war which the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla, unjuſtly and contrary to our royal pleaſure waged againſt them; we have therefore aſſigned to them the country of Ghazepoor, and the reſt of the Zemindarry of Bulwant Sing, belonging to the Nizamut of the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla; and the regulation and government thereof, we have given to their diſpoſal, in the ſame manner as it was in the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla's. The aforeſaid Rajah having ſettled terms with the chiefs of the Engliſh Company, is, according thereto, to pay the revenues to the Company; and the amount ſhall not belong to the books of the royal revenue, but ſhall be expunged from them. The army of the Engliſh Company having joined our ſtandard, ſhall put us in poſſeſſion of Allah-abad, and the reſt of the countries belonging to the Nizamut of the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla; and the revenues, excepting thoſe of Rajah Bulwant Sing's Zemindarry, ſhall be in our entire management and diſpoſal.

As the English Company will be at a further expence in putting us in possession of Allaha-bad, and the rest of the Nizamut of the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla, we will therefore, as we get possession, grant to them out of our treasury, such a proportion of the revenues as the exigencies of our affairs will admit of; and when we are put in full possession, we will reimburse the whole expences of the Company in this business, from the time of their joining our royal standard.

## C.

*Firmaun, executed by the King. Dated December 29th, 1764.*

As the English Company have been put to great expence, and their affairs exposed to danger by the war which the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla unjustly and contrary to our royal pleasure waged against them; we have therefore assigned to them the country of Ghazepoor, and the rest of the Zemindarry of Rajah Bulwant Sing, belonging to the Nizamut of the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla; and the regulation and government thereof we have given to their disposal, in the same manner as it was in the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla's. The aforesaid Rajah having settled terms with the chiefs of the English Company, is, according thereto, to pay the revenues to the Company.

The army of the English Company having joined our standard, shall put us in possession of Allahabad and the rest of the countries belonging to the Nizamut of the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla; and the revenues, excepting those of Rajah Bulwant Sing's Zemindarry, shall be in our entire management and disposal.

It becomes the Company to shew their grateful sense of our royal favours, and to exert themselves to the utmost in the proper management and regulation of the country, to encourage and befriend our subjects, to punish the contentious, and expel the rebellious from their territories. They must use their best endeavours to promote the welfare of our people, the Ryots and other inhabitants, to prohibit the use of things of an intoxicating nature, and such as are forbidden by the law of God; in driving out enemies, in deciding causes, and settling matters agreeably to the rules of Mahomed and the law of the empire, so that the inhabitants may apply themselves, with peace of mind and satisfaction, to the cultivation of the country, and the exercise of other their professions, and that the weak may not labour under oppression and violence. They will consider these as our strict injunctions.

Written on the 4th day of Rejub, the 6th year of the reign. December 29th, 1764.

## No. LII.

*Articles of a treaty and agreement concluded between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company, and the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla. Dated in February 1765.*

*On the Part of the Company.*

We the Governor and Council do engage to secure to the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla, the Subahdarree of the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, and to support him therein with the Company's forces against all his enemies. We will also at all times keep up such force as may be necessary, effectually to assist and support him in the defence of the provinces; and as our troops will be more to be depended on than any the Nabob can have, and less expensive to him, he need therefore entertain none but such

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such as are requisite for the support of the civil officers of his government, and the business of his collections through the different districts.

We do further promise, that, in consideration the Nabob shall continue to assist in defraying the extraordinary expences of the war now carrying on against Shujah ul Dowla, with five lacks of rupees per month, which was agreed to by his \* father, that whatever sums may be hereafter received of the King, on account of our assistance afforded him in the war, shall be repaid to the Nabob.

*On the Part of the Nabob.*

In consideration of the assistance the Governor and Council have agreed to afford, in securing to me the succession in the Subahdarree of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, heretofore held by my father, the late Nabob Meer Jaffier Ally Khan, and supporting me in it against all my enemies, I do agree and bind myself to the faithful performance of the following articles.

1st. The treaty which my father formerly concluded with the Company † upon his first accession to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the Company and of their Governor and Council as his own, and granting Purwannahs for the currency of the Company's trade, the same treaty, as far as is consistent with the articles hereafter agreed to, I do hereby ratify and confirm.

2. Considering the weighty charge of government, and how essential it is for myself, for the welfare of the country, and for the Company's business, that I should have a person who has had experience therein to advise and assist me, I do agree to have one fixed with me, with the advice of the Governor and Council, in the station of Naib Subah, who shall accordingly have, immediately under me, the chief management of all affairs: And as Mahomed Reza Khan, the Naib of Dacca, has in every respect my approbation, and that of the Governor and Council, I do further agree, that this trust shall be conferred on him; and I will not displace him without the acquiescence of those gentlemen: And in case any alteration in this appointment should hereafter appear adviseable, that Mahomed Reza Khan, provided he has acquitted himself with fidelity in his administration, shall, in such case, be reinstated in the Naibship of Dacca, with the same authority as heretofore.

3. The business of the collections of the revenues shall, under the Naib Subah, be divided into two or more branches as may appear proper: And as I have the fullest dependence and confidence on the attachment of the English, and their regard to my interest and dignity, and am desirous of giving them every testimony thereof, I do further consent, that the appointment and dismissal of the Muttasaddes of those branches, and the allotment of their several districts, shall be with the approbation of the Governor and Council. And considering how much men of my rank and station are obliged to trust to the eyes and recommendations of the servants about them, and how liable to be deceived, it is my further will, that the Governor and Council shall be at liberty to object and point out to me when improper people are entrusted, or where my officers and subjects are oppressed; and I will pay a proper regard to such representations, that my affairs may be conducted with honour, my people every where be happy, and their grievances be redressed.

4. I do confirm to the Company, as a fixed resource for defraying the ordinary expences of their troops, the Chucklahs of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, in as full a manner as heretofore ceded by my father ‡. The sum of five lacks of Sicca rupees per month for their maintenance, was further agreed to be paid by my father; I agree to pay the same out of my treasury, whilst the exigency for keeping up so large an army continues. When the Company's occasions will admit a diminution of the

\* Appendix, No. 50.

† Appendix, No. 39.

‡ Appendix, No. 49.

the expences they are put to, on account of those troops, the Governor and Council will then relieve me from such a proportion of this assignment, as the increased expences incurred by keeping up the whole force necessary for the defence of the provinces will admit of; and as I esteem the Company's troops entirely equal thereto and as my own, I will only maintain such as are immediately necessary for the dignity of my person and government, and the business of my collections throughout the provinces.

5. I do ratify and confirm to the English the privilege granted them by their Firmaun and several Husbulhookums of carrying on their trade by means of their own Dultuck, free from all duties, taxes, or impositions in all parts of the country, excepting in the article of salt, on which a duty of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. is to be levied on the Rowana or Hoogly market price.

6. I give to the Company the liberty of purchasing half the saltpetre produced in the country of Purnea, which their Gomastahs shall send to Calcutta: the other half shall be collected by my Fouzdar for the use of my offices; and I will suffer no other persons to make purchases of this article in that country.

7. In the Chucklah of Silhet for the space of five years, commencing with the Bengal year 1171, my Fouzdar, and a Gomastah on the part of the Company, shall jointly provide Chunam; of which each shall defray half the expence, and half the Chunam so made, shall be given to the Company.

8. Although I should occasionally remove to other places in the provinces, I agree that the books of the Sircar shall be always kept, and the business conducted at Moorshed-abad, and that shall as heretofore be the seat of my government: And wherever I am, I consent that an English gentleman shall reside with me to transact all affairs between me and the Company; and that a person of high rank shall also reside on my part at Calcutta, to negotiate with the Governor and Council.

9. I will cause the rupees coined in Calcutta to pass in every respect equal to the Siccas of Moorshed-abad, without any deduction of Batta; and whosoever shall demand Batta, shall be punished. The annual loss on coinage by the fall of Batta, on the issuing of the new Siccas, is a very heavy grievance to the country; and after mature consideration, I will, in concert with the Governor and Council, pursue whatever may appear the best method for remedying it.

10. I will allow no Europeans whatever to be entertained in my service; and if there already be any, they shall be immediately dismissed.

11. The Kistbundee for payment of the restitution to the sufferers in the late troubles, as executed by my father, I will see faithfully paid; no delays shall be made in this business.

12. I confirm and will abide by the treaty which my father formerly made with the Dutch.

13. If the French come into the country, I will not allow them to erect any fortifications, maintain forces, or hold lands, Zemindarries, &c. but they shall pay tribute, and carry on their trade as in former times.

14. Some regulations shall be hereafter settled between us, for deciding all disputes which may arise between the English Gomastahs and my officers in the different parts of the country.

In testimony whereof, we the said Governor and Council have set our hands, and affixed the seal of the Company to one part hereof, and the Nabob before named has set his hand and seal to another part.

(A true copy.)

W. MAJENDIE, Secretary.

*Mem.* This treaty was executed by the President and Council of Fort William, on the 20th February 1765, and by the Nabob on the 25th of the same month.

No.

*Firmaun of  
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## No. LIII.

*Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, granting the Dewannee of Bengal, Bahar and Oriffa, to the Company. Dated August 12th, 1765.*

At this happy time our royal Firmaun, indispenfibly requiring obedience, is iffued, That whereas in confideration of the attachment and fervices of the high and mighty, the nobleft of exalted nobles, the chief of illuftrious warriors, our faithful fervants and fincere well-wifhers, worthy of our royal favours, the Englifh Company, we have granted them the Dewannee of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriffa, from \* the beginning of the Fufful Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as a free gift, and Ultungau, without the affociation of any other perfon, and with an exemption from the payment of the customs of the Dewannee, which ufed to be paid to the court; it is requifite that the faid Company engage to be fecurity for the fum of twenty-fix lacks of rupees a year, for our royal revenue, which fum has been appointed from the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla Bahader, and regularly remit the fame to the royal Sircar; and in this cafe, as the faid Company are obliged to keep up a large army for the protection of the provinces of Bengal, &c. we have granted to them whatfoever may remain out of the revenues of the faid provinces, after remitting the fum of twenty-fix lacks of rupees to the royal Sircar, and providing for the expences of the Nizamut: it is requifite that our royal defcendents the Viziers, the beftowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Mutafeddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the bufinefs of the Sultanut, the Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the prefent, uſing their conſtant endeavours for the eſtabliſhment of this our royal command, leave the faid office in poſſeſſion of the faid Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever; looking upon them to be infured from diſmiſſion or removal, they muſt on no account whatfoever give them any interruption, and they muſt regard them, as excuſed and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the Dewannee, and royal demands. Knowing our orders on the ſubject to be moſt ſtrict and poſitive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar of the 6th year of the Jaloos.

(the 12th Aug. 1765.)

*Contents of the Zimmun.*

Agreeably to the paper which has received our ſign manual, our royal commands are iffued, That in confideration of the attachment and fervices of the high and mighty, the nobleft of exalted nobles, the chief of illuftrious warriors, our faithful fervants and fincere well-wifhers, worthy of our royal favours, the Englifh Company, we have granted them the Dewannee of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriffa, from the beginning of the Fufful Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as a free gift and Ultungau, without the affociation of any other perfon, and with an exemption from the customs of the Dewannee, which ufed to be paid to the court, on condition of their being fecurity for the fum of twenty-fix lacks of rupees a-year, for our royal revenue; which fum has been appointed from the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla Bahader; and after remitting the royal revenue, and providing for the expences of the Nizamut, whatfoever may remain we have granted to the faid Company.

*The Dewannee of the Province of Bengal.*

*The Dewannee of the Province of Bahar.*

*The Dewannee of the Province of Oriffa.*

*Fir-*

No. LIV.

*Firmaun from the King Shah Allum, for the Dewannee of the Province of Bengal.*

At this happy time, our royal Firmaun indispensibly requiring obedience, is issued, That in confideration of the attachment of the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them, as a free gift and Ultungau, agreeably to the Zimmun from the beginning of Rubby Tuccacooy-ul of the Bengal year 1172, the office of the Dewannee of Khalfa Shereefa, of the province of Bengal (the Paradise of the Earth), with the conditional Jagheer thereof, without the association of any other person. It is requisite that our royal descendents the Viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttasfeddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the business of the Sultanut, the Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the present, using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever; looking upon them to be insured from dismissal or removal, they must on no account whatsoever give them any interruption, and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the Dewannee, and demands of the Sultanut. Knowing our orders on this subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar of the 6th year of the Jaloos,  
(the 12th of Aug. 1765.)

*Contents of the Zimmun.*

Agreeably to the paper which has received our sign-manual, we have granted the office of the Dewannee of the Khalfa Shereefa of the province of Bengal, (the Paradise of the Earth) with the conditional Jagheer thereof, as a free gift and Ultungau to the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, without the association of any other person, from the beginning of the Rubby Tuccacooy-ul of the Bengal year, 1172.

Fort William, 30th September 1765.

(A true Copy)

ALEX. CAMPBELL. S. S. C.

No. LV.

*Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, for the Dewanny of the province of Bahar.*

At this happy time, our royal Firmaun, indispensibly requiring obedience, is issued, That in confideration of the attachment of the high and mighty, the noblest of

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of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them, as a free gift and Ultumgau, agreeably to the Zimmun, from the beginning of the Rubby Tuccacooy-ul of the Bengal year 1172, the office of the Dewannee of the Khalfa Shereefa of the province of Bahar, with the conditional Jagheer thereof, without the association of any other person. It is requisite that our royal descendants, the Viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttasfeddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the business of the Sultanut, the Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the present, using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever. Looking upon them to be insured from dismission or removal, they must on no account whatsoever give them any interruption; and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the Dewannee, and demands of the Sultanut. Knowing our orders on this subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th year of the Jaloos.  
(the 12th of August, 1765.)

*Contents of the Zimmun.*

Agreeably to the paper which has received our sign-manual, we have granted the office of Dewannee of the Khalfa Shereefa of the province of Bahar, with the conditional Jagheer thereof, as a free gift and Ultumgau, to the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, without the association of any other person, from the beginning of the Rubby Tuccacooy-ul, of the Bengal year 1172.

Fort William, 30th September, 1765.

ALEX. CAMPBELL. S. S. C.

No. LVI.

*Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, for the Dewannee of the Province of Orissa.*

At this happy time, our royal Firmaun, indispensibly requiring obedience, is issued, That in consideration of the attachment of the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them, as a free gift and Ultumgau, agreeably to the Zimmun, from the beginning of Rubby Tuccacooy-ul, of the Bengal year 1172, the office of the Dewannee of the Khalfa Shereefa of the province of Orissa, with the conditional Jagheer thereof, without the association of any other person. It is requisite that our royal descendants, the Viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttasfeddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the business of the Sultanut, Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the present, using their

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constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever. Looking upon them to be insured from dismissal or removal, they must on no account whatsoever give them any interruption; and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the Dewannee, and demands of the Sultanut. Knowing our orders on this subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th year of the Jaloos.  
(the 12th of August, 1765.)

*Contents of the Zimmun.*

Agreeably to the paper which has received our sign-manual, we have granted the office of the Dewannee of the Khalsa Shereefa of the province of Orissa, with the conditional Jagheer thereof, as a free gift and Ultungau, to the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, without the association of any other person, from the beginning of the Rubby Tucca-cooy-ul, of the Bengal year 1172.

Fort William, 30th September, 1765.

(A true Copy.)

ALEX. CAMPBELL. S. S. C.

No. LVII.

*Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, confirming to the Company the Chuclahs of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, and the twenty-four Purgunnahs of Calcutta, &c. before ceded to them by the Nabobs Meer Cossim Ally Khan, and Meer Jaffier Ally Khan, dated August 12th, 1765.*

At this happy time, our royal Firmaun, indispensibly requiring obedience, is issued, That the Chuclahs of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, and also the twenty-four Purgunnahs of Calcutta, &c. (the Zemindarry of the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company) which were granted to the said Company in the time of Meer Mahomed Cossim and Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan, deceased; we, in consideration of the attachment of the said Company, have been graciously pleased to confirm to them, from the beginning of the Fufful Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as a free gift and Ultungau, without the association of any other person. It is requisite that our royal descendents, the Viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttasfeddees of the Dewannee, the managers of the business of the Saltanut, the Jagheerdars and Croories, as well the future as the present, using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said districts and Purgunnahs in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever. Looking upon them to be insured from dismissal or removal, they must on no account whatsoever give them any interruption, and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all manner of customs and demands.

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Written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th year of the Jaloos.  
(the 12th August, 1765.)

*Contents of the Zimmun.*

Agreeably to the paper which has received our sign-manual, our royal commands are issued, that the Chuclahs of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, and also the twenty-four Purgunnahs of Calcutta, &c. (the Zemindarry of the English Company) which were granted to the said Company in the time of Meer Mahomed Cossim, and Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan, deceased, be confirmed to the said Company, as a free gift and Ultumgau, without the association of any other person.

*Chuclah of Burdwan.*

*Chuclah of Midnapore.*

*Chuclah of Chittagong.*

The twenty-four Purgunnahs of Calcutta, &c. (the Zemindarry of the English Company.)

Fort William, September 30th, 1765,

*(A true Copy.)*

ALEX. CAMPBELL, S.S.C.

No. LVIII.

*Treaty between the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla, the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla, and the English Company, executed at Illah-abad, August 16th, 1765.*

*(Sealed and approved by the King.)*

Whereas the right honorable Robert Lord Clive, Baron Clive of Plassey, Knight companion of the most honourable order of the Bath, major-general and commander of the forces, President of the Council, and Governor of Fort William, and of all the settlements belonging to the united Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and John Carnac, Esquire, brigadier-general, colonel in the service of the said Company, and commanding officer of their forces upon the Bengal establishment, are invested with full and ample powers, on the behalf of his excellency the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla, Subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and likewise on behalf of the united Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, to negotiate, settle, and finally to conclude a firm and lasting peace with his highness the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla, Vizier of the empire: Be it known to all those, to whom it may or shall in any manner belong, that the above named plenipotentiaries have agreed upon the following articles, with his highness.

1. A perpetual and universal peace, sincere friendship, and firm union shall be established between his highness Shujah ul Dowla and his heirs on the one part, and his excellency Nudjum ul Dowla, and the English East India Company on the other, so that the said contracting powers shall give the greatest attention to main-

tain between themselves, their dominions and their subjects, this reciprocal friendship, without permitting on either side any kind of hostilities to be committed from henceforth, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever; and every thing shall be carefully avoided, which might hereafter prejudice the union now happily established.

2. In case the dominions of his highness Shujah ul Dowla shall at any time hereafter be attacked, his excellency Nudjum ul Dowla, and the English Company, shall assist him with a part or the whole of their forces, according to the exigency of his affairs, and so far as may be consistent with their own security; and if the dominions of his excellency Nudjum ul Dowla, or the English Company, shall be attacked, his highness shall in like manner assist them with a part, or the whole of his forces: in the case of the English Company's forces being employed in his highness's service, the extraordinary expence of the same is to be defrayed by him.

3. His highness solemnly engages never to entertain or receive Cossim Ally Khan, the late Subahdar of Bengal, &c. Sombroo the assassin of the English, nor any of the European deserters within his dominions, nor to give the least countenance, support, or protection to them: he likewise solemnly engages to deliver up to the English whatever Europeans may in future desert from them into his country.

4. The King Shah Aalum shall remain in full possession of Korah, and such part of the province of Illah-abad as he now possesses, which are ceded to his Majesty as a royal demesne for the support of his dignity and expences.

5. His highness Shujah ul Dowla engages in the most solemn manner to continue Bulwant Sing in the Zemindarries of Benâres, Ghazepore, and all those districts he possessed at the time he came over to the late Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan, and the English, on condition of his paying the same revenue as heretofore.

6. In consideration of the great expence incurred by the English Company, in carrying on the late war, his highness agrees to pay them (fifty) 50 lacks of rupees in the following manner, viz. (twelve) 12 lacks in money, and a deposit of jewels, to the amount of (eight) 8 lacks, upon the signing of this treaty; (five) 5 lacks one month after, and the remaining (twenty-five) 25 lacks by monthly payments, so as that the whole may be discharged in (thirteen) 13 months from the date hereof.

7. It being firmly resolved to restore to his highness the country of Benâres, and the other districts now rented by Bulwant Sing, notwithstanding the grant of the same from the King to the English Company; it is therefore agreed, that they shall be ceded to his highness in manner following, viz. They shall remain in the hands of the English Company with their revenues, till the expiration of the agreement between Bulwant Sing and the Company, being on the 27th November next; after which his highness shall enter into possession, the fort of Chunar excepted, which is not to be evacuated, until the 6th article of this treaty be fully complied with.

8. His highness shall allow the English Company to carry on a trade, duty free, throughout the whole of his dominions.

9. All the relations and subjects of his highness, who in any manner assisted the English during the course of the late war, shall be forgiven, and no ways molested for the same.

10. As soon as this treaty is executed, the English forces shall be withdrawn from the dominions of his highness, excepting such as may be necessary for the garrison of Chunar, or for the defence and protection of the King in the city of Illah-abad, if his majesty should require a force for that purpose.

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11. His highness the Nabob Shujah ul Dowla, his excellency the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla, and the English Company promise to observe sincerely and strictly, all the articles contained and settled in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said contracting powers generally and reciprocally guarantee to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

*Signed, sealed, and solemnly sworn to, according to their respective faiths, by the contracting parties at Illab-abad, this 16th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1765, in the presence of us,*

EDMUND MASKELYNE,  
ARCHIBALD SWINTON,  
GEORGE VANSITTART.

SHUJAH (L. S.)  
and (L. S.) al DOWLA's Seal  
Ratification.

Fort William, September 30th 1765.

(A true Copy)

ALEX. CAMPBELL, S. S. C.

MIRZA COSSIM KHAN,  
RAJAH SEETABROY,  
MEER MUSSHALA.

No. LIX.

*Articles of Agreement between the King Shah Aalum, and the Company, relating to the tribute to be paid to him from the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, dated August 19th, 1765.*

The Nabob Nudjum ul Dowlah agrees to pay to his majesty out of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, the sum of 26 lacks of rupees a-year, without any deduction for Batta, on bills of exchange, by regular monthly payments, amounting to rupees 216,666 10 9 per month; the first payment to commence from the 1st of September of the present year; and the English Company, in consideration of his majesty's having been graciously pleased to grant them the Dewannee of Bengal, &c. do engage themselves to be security for the regular payment of the same. It shall be paid month by month from the factory at Patna, to Rajah Seetabroy, or whomsoever his majesty may think proper to nominate, that it may be forwarded by him to the court: but in case the territories of the aforesaid Nabob should be invaded by any foreign enemy, a deduction is then to be made out of the stipulated revenues, proportionable to the damage that may be sustained.

In consideration of Nudjee Khan's having joined the English forces, and acted in his majesty's service in the late war; his majesty will be graciously pleased to allow him the sum of two lacks of rupees a-year, to be paid by equal monthly payments; the first payment to commence from the 1st of September of the present year; and in default thereof, the English Company, who are guarantees for the same, will make it good out of the revenue allotted to his majesty from the territories of Bengal. If the territories of Bengal should at any time be invaded, and on that account a deduction be made out of the Royal revenue, in such case a proportionable deduction shall also be made out of Nudjee Khan's allowance.

Dated the 19th of August, 1765.

Fort William, 30th September, 1765.

(A true Copy.)

ALEX. CAMPBELL, S. S. C.

No. LX.





tiff replied and the said defendants, Lewis and Ramfunder, rejoined; and the plaintiffs proceeded to an examination of divers witnesses, without any regard to the said other defendants, who were on the spot, and had never been served with process.

And your petitioners further shew, that when the plaintiff was about examining his witnesses, he applied to your petitioner, Harry Verelst, in order to have the matter settled by an amicable determination of some gentlemen of this place, in order, as he said, to save expence and trouble to this Honourable Court; and, at the same time, gave your petitioner to understand, that the said suit should be stayed until the said arbitration should be finally agreed upon. That your petitioner, Harry Verelst, has since been indisposed; and the arrival of the Europe ships hath prevented him from attending to the said suit, of which the plaintiff took an unfair advantage, by getting the said cause set down to be heard, when, at the same time, he was treating with your petitioner about an amicable determination; and your petitioner had ordered the witnesses proofs and vouchers to be sought for, in order to be examined into by the arbitrators; but your petitioner was greatly surpris'd on hearing of the proceedings of the plaintiff, and the means he used to bring on the cause to a trial.

That your petitioner has since had the perusal of the plaintiff's bill, and is advised, that the allegations therein set forth are false and groundless, and that the witnesses by him produced are of mean and low degree, and hath reason to believe that the oaths administered unto them are not binding to their cast; and, notwithstanding the plaintiff's having deceived you petitioner in manner before set forth, yet, as this Honourable Court are the guardians of our laws and liberties in these parts, and will not hear and determine matters of this moment without giving the concerned a hearing, when proofs and evidences are ready to be brought, and which your petitioners are ready to produce:

Therefore humbly pray, that they may be at liberty to lay the said proofs before this Honourable Court, and examine one or more witnesses or witnesses; that the defendants and all concerned, as well as the plaintiff's may be heard, and the truth of the matter brought to light for the satisfaction of all parties, and that judgment of this Court may be had thereon.

And your petitioners will ever pray &c.

(Signed) Whittall, Attorney.

Calcutta, August, 1763.

No. 62.

To the Honourable the Mayor's Court, at Calcutta, at Fort William, in Bengal,  
 Between Petrusse Arratoon, administrator of Coja Parseek Arratoon, } Complainant,  
 deceased, }  
 And Ramnarrain, otherwise Mozundâr, Tom Lewis, Ramfunder }  
 Dewan, Sunkér Seal, Rhadakistna Chowdry, Radacanto } Defendants,  
 Mozundâr, Dindoyal Roy Ranshaw, Kittinarrain Bose, }  
 Mocheram Tagore, and Bolleram Tagore, }

*The humble Petition of the Defendant Tom Lewis, and also of Harry Verelst.  
 and Francis Sykes, Esqrs.*

SHEWETH,

That the said Coja Parseek Arratoon did, on or about the fifteenth of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, prefer his bill of complaint in this Honour-

Honourable Court, against your petitioner Tom Lewis and the other defendants above named, for a pretended demand of Arcot rupees sixty thousand four hundred and thirty-two, on account of a purchase of salt at Nattoor, or some other place or places up the country, which the complainant would insinuate was forced from his Gomastahs there; to which bill of complaint your petitioner Tom Lewis filed his answer, and other proceedings in the said cause were had in this Honourable Court, wherein the same is still depending.

And your petitioners humbly shew, that they were each of them concerned one third in the salt purchased at Nattoor, or the other place or places up the country, as aforesaid, and that the same was fairly bought and purchased at the then price at that Aurung, of some black merchants there, whose property the same appeared to be, and no ways connected with the said Coja Parfeek Arratoon. That soon after the bargain was made, a sudden rise of salt happening in the market, the proprietors were desirous of being off their bargain, which occasioning a difference, the same was submitted to arbitration at Nattoor, and given in favour of the purchaser. But the proprietors not satisfied with the award (although they had signed bonds to abide by the same) sought protection under the said Coja Parfeek Arratoon, who preferred the bill of complaint herein before mentioned, in this Honourable Court, against your petitioner Tom Lewis and the other defendants above named, for a greater quantity of salt than was delivered, and at a higher price than the market ever bore. That on hearing that the suit was about to be brought to a hearing, without your petitioner Tom Lewis, or his attorney, properly supporting the same by the testimony of witnesses who were acquainted with the just transaction; and your petitioners Harry Verelst and Francis Sykes, being each (as aforesaid) one third interested therein, your petitioner, Harry Verelst, requested the hearing of the cause might be postponed until proper enquiries could be made into the true state of the case. That your petitioner, Harry Verelst had several conferences on the occasion with the present complainant Petrus Arratoon, who said he would readily consent to an amicable arbitration of the matter, and repeatedly offered and requested your petitioner, Harry Verelst, to decide the same himself, which he objected to, being a party concerned, but told the said Petrus Arratoon, that he would call down the witnesses from Nattoor, when he should be glad to have the matter settled by arbitration; and the said Petrus Arratoon quite approving thereof, the witnesses, namely Kistna Sarran of Nattoor, Vakeel, Ramfan of Nattoor, merchant, and Kittinarrain Bose of Chandernagore, were sent for down to Calcutta, and their depositions there taken by Mr. John Bryer, the late examiner of this Honourable Court; after which your petitioner, Harry Verelst, requested the said Petrus Arratoon would himself nominate the arbitrators, and he did accordingly nominate Thomas Cooke and Joseph Price, of Calcutta aforesaid, merchants; and arbitration-bonds were thereupon prepared, and one of them executed by your petitioner Harry Verelst, and the attorney of your petitioner Francis Sykes; but, on their being presented to the said Petrus Arratoon, he refused to execute his, unless the matter was to come before the Court upon the depositions only which were in favour of the complainant; upon pretence, that although the depositions of the said three witnesses were taken by the examiner, yet that the interrogatories were not properly filed, or marked *filed*, in this Honourable Court, or that they were taken without the complainant's having an opportunity of cross-examining them; which circumstances (if they were true) your petitioners were totally unacquainted with, and cannot conceive from whence the same could arise, but which, your petitioners humbly apprehend, can by no means be attributed to them, who cannot be supposed to be acquainted with the forms required or prescribed by a court of judicature, but who were desirous that every fair step should be taken for the benefit of all parties, and the proceedings should

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should be conducted with the greatest regularity and uprightneſs. That, notwithstanding what has been alledged by the oppoſite party, your petitioners humbly aver, that the complainant knew that the ſaid three witneſſes were preſent in Calcutta for a conſiderable time, and that therefore he muſt have had every opportunity of croſs-examining them; but to obviate every objection which the complainant can make, as far as is in the power of your petitioners, your petitioners are ready and willing, at their own expence, to call the ſaid three witneſſes down again to Calcutta, that the complainant may have an opportunity of croſs-examining them, and in order to do the complainant every juſtice in their power, and to aſcertain a true ſtate of facts.

Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray, the depoſitions of the ſaid three witneſſes, ſo taken by Mr. John Bryer, the late examiner of this Honourable Court as aforeſaid, may be deemed and taken as part of the proceedings had in this cauſe, and that your petitioners may have the benefit thereof at the day of hearing; and that, if this Honourable Court ſhall ſo think proper, the ſaid witneſſes may be, at your petitioner's expence, again called down to Calcutta, in order that the complainant may croſs-examine them, or avail himſelf of every advantage he can of their preſence; and that your petitioners may have all ſuch further and other relief in the premiſes as unto this Honourable Court, after due conſideration had thereof, may think meet or agreeable to equity.

And your petitioners ſhall ever pray, &c.

Calcutta, the 4th May, 1770.

(Signed) Sealy, Attorney.

True Copy.

No. 63.

*To the Honourable John Spencer, Eſq; Preſident and Governor, &c. Council of Fort William.*

The humble PETITION of the native inhabitants of Calcutta, together with the Merchants, Banyans, and others, whoſe eſtates, intereſts, or habitations, are in any part of the kingdom of Bengal, Bahar, or Oriſſa, within the juriſdiction of the Engliſh.

SHEWETH,

That whereas on, or about the 27th day of February laſt paſt, Radachurn Metre, grandſon of Govindram Metre, heretofore of Calcutta, Jemmutdar, (whoſe ſteady attachment and ſervices to the Engliſh are too eminent to be ſoon forgot) was condemned to death at the general quarter ſeſſions of the town of Calcutta, there held on the day and date aforeſaid, being indicted for and convicted of a crime of which he is intirely innocent; but for want of being acquainted with the laws by which he was tried, as well as the manner of defending himſelf, and proving his innocence, is now fallen a victim to the malice of his proſecutors and his own ignorance.

Your petitioners, therefore, beg leave to ſet forth the general conſternation, aſtoniſhment, and even panic, with which the natives at all parts, under the denomination of the Engliſh, are ſeized by this example of Radachurn Metre; they find themſelves ſubject to the pains and penalties of laws to which they are utter ſtrangers, and are liable, through ignorance, unwillingly to incur them; as they are no ways intereſted in thoſe laws, they cannot tell when they tranſgreſs them, many things being, it ſeems, capital by the Engliſh laws, which are only fineable by the laws of your petitioner's

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forefather's, subject to which they have hitherto been bred, lived, and been governed, and that, till very lately, under the English flag.

Your petitioners shew, that from their extreme ignorance of the laws to which they are but so lately subjected, they are in danger of suffering much, from not knowing how to apply for those benefits and indulgencies which they are advised are by law allowed, and which they ought to have; and that the last proceedings against the unhappy Radachurn Metre were, in many points, defective and premature, and the sentence precipitate; as there were many circumstances that required the nicest and most scrupulous examination, and the most attentive consideration, before condemnation passed: And your petitioners are farther advised, that such sentence ought not to have been passed till after the expiration of four days, a term allowed the prisoner by law for arresting judgment, and bringing his writ of error: and that it is, on that account, when a prisoner is brought to the bar to receive sentence, the judge always asks him—What he has to say why judgment should not pass? A question that has more than mere matter of form in it; for if he can shew good and sufficient cause, they will, on his proper representation, rehear the matter, of which benefit in law the unhappy culprit was deprived, by the sentence immediately following the verdict.

And farther your petitioners are advised, that the said indictment was very erroneous and naught, and that the said prisoner could not have been arraigned thereon, had he been versed in the laws to make his exceptions thereto. Lord Chief Justice Hales saying, "that there is great exactness required in indictments where life is at stake," and therefore very nice exceptions are allowed thereto; and your petitioners farther shew, that the whole of the evidence tended to prove a negative, which in law is held impossible to be done. Farther your petitioners are advised, that the prisoner was tried for felony, though his crime, when proved to the full, is no more in law than a misdemeanor; for the forgery of a deed of gift, of mere personal chattles, is no way within the statute. "Again, he who writes a deed in another name, and seals it in his presence, is not guilty of forgery, because the law looks on this as the other's own act;" and that, when the jury recommended the prisoner to the mercy of the court, a due forbearance of the sentence would have enabled him to have set these and many other circumstances in their true light; an advantage which he has lost through his ignorance of the laws by which he was tried, and which must ever be the case in future, unless the greatest care and circumspection be used by the judges, who are said in law to be a council for the prisoner.

Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray this honourable Board to grant them a reversal of the said sentence, as it was pronounced out of time, and grant the prisoner a rehearal; or, if that cannot be obtained, that they will, at least, respite the execution of the unhappy condemned creature, till report be made to his Majesty of Great Britain, and his most gracious pleasure be known thereon; and farther your petitioners pray, that the laws to which they are to be subject, may be translated into the Bengally tongue, that they may be enabled to know what will make them obnoxious thereunto.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Dated Calcutta,  
March, 1765.

Signed by 95 of the principal native inhabitants  
of Calcutta.

*Extract*

## No. 64.

*Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated February 8, 1764.*

PAR. 23. As no agents or Gomastahs are to reside, on account of private trade, at any of the inland parts of the country, all business, on account of licensed private trade, is to be carried on by and through the means of the Company's covenanted servants, resident at the several subordinate factories, as has been usual.

24. We are under the necessity of giving the beforegoing orders, in order to preserve the tranquility of the country, and harmony with the Nabob; they are rather outlines than complete directions, which you are to add too and improve upon, agreeable to the spirit of, and our meaning in them, as may be necessary to answer the desired purposes. And if any person or persons are guilty of a contravention of them, be they whomsoever they may, if our own servants, they are to be dismissed from the service; if others, the Company's protection is to be withdrawn, and you have the liberty of sending them forthwith to England, if you judge the nature of the offence requires it.

## No. 65.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated May 3d, 1764.*

It is the opinion of the Board, and—Resolved, That all the Europeans, Portuguese natives, and Armenian agents, who are now up the country, shall have notice given them to settle their concerns, so as to return to Calcutta by the 30th of November next; and that, after that time, no European shall be permitted to go up the country, under any pretence whatsoever, or any other agents be employed in our trade but Bengal natives.

## No. 66.

*Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated May 11th, 1765.*

The Select Committee observing with regret the contempt shewn for the positive and repeated orders of the Governor and Council, for recalling free merchants residing up the country,—

Resolved, that the former orders on that head be now enforced, and letters dispatched to the chiefs of the several subordinations, requiring of them, at the expiration of one month after notice given, to convey in safety to Calcutta all who refuse to comply with a measure so salutary to the Company, and necessary to the peace and good order of the country.

Being informed also, that a great number of Europeans, stragglers from ships, and others, who have no claim from indentures to any share of the Company's protection, are variously employed up the country, and dispersed all over the Nabob's dominions, to the great prejudice of the Company and molestation of the natives;—

Resolved, They be immediately secured, and brought to Calcutta. The Committee, finding some difficulty in procuring an exact account of the names of such Euro-



peans,—Agreed, that the chiefs of the subordinate factories be made acquainted with the resolution of the Committee, and required to transmit, without delay, the most accurate lists in their power of all Europeans not immediately in the Company's service, who reside in or about their respective districts.

No. 67.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated May 13th, 1765.*

The President lays before the Board an extract of the proceedings of a Select Committee, held the 11th instant, containing their resolutions for enforcing the orders of the Board for recalling to the Presidency the free merchants and others, residing up the country.

No. 68.

*Extract of Ditto, dated the 20th following.*

Agreed and ordered, in consequence of the proceedings of the Select Committee laid before the Board last council day, That public advertisement be made, enforcing our orders already given for the return of the English, Portuguese, and Armenian agents, employed in the different parts of the country, to the Presidency; and requiring all whoever most strictly to arrive by the first of August, and their constituents to give them due notice accordingly.

No. 69.

*Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated June 11th, 1765.*

Received a letter from the chief and Council at Dacca, dated the 8th instant, setting forth the prejudice that must arise to the affairs of the gentlemen of that factory, should the order for recalling free merchants be immediately enforced.

Agreed, That four months beyond the time limited in those orders, be allowed to their several agents, and that we write them to this effect.

No. 70.

*Extract of Ditto, dated the 21st following.*

Messrs. Vansittart and Plowman setting forth in a letter to the Committee, the loss that must arise to \* Mr. Henry Vansittart, should his agent, Mr. Hargrave, at Rungpoor, be recalled at the time required by the late order of the Committee, and requesting that an indulgence of three or four months longer may be granted:—

Agreed, that the secretary acquaint them that Mr. Hargrave will be allowed four months from this date, for collecting Mr. Vansittart's affairs; and that he likewise inform all, who may apply in future, that the Committee are resolved to see the Company's orders rigidly enforced at the expiration of this period.

Mr. Skinner sends in a letter on the same subject:—

Ordered, his request be granted, and that the secretary acquaint him of the above-mentioned resolution.

Received a letter from Mr. Scotney at Patna, representing to us the prejudice it would be to his own affairs, as well as those of his constituents, should he be obliged to return to Calcutta in the space of one month. Mr. Scotney's representation being thought disrespectful and improper;—

Ordered,

\* late Governor Vansittart.

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Ordered, The secretary write him in answer, that such applications, it is expected, should be made in terms more moderate and respectful; but that, influenced by no consideration of the manner in which he chose to ask for an allowance of time, we agree to grant him four months longer from this date, for collecting his affairs; at the expiration of which he is required to repair to Calcutta, without farther notice.

No. 71.

*Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated August 10th, 1765.*

On the 26th ultimo, the secretary was directed to write to all the chiefs of the subordinates, enclosing an advertisement for recalling all free merchants, and other Europeans, by the 21st October next, and also to fix up the said advertisement on the Court-house, and other public places in Calcutta.

No. 72.

*Extract of Ditto, dated October 5th, 1765.*

Observing that our orders to the chiefs of the subordinates, to send lists to the Committee of all Europeans residing within their several districts who are not in the Company's service have been neglected;—

Resolved, That we now repeat the above orders, requiring them positively not only to send the most accurate lists in their power, but the persons themselves to Calcutta, by the 21st instant, at which time the Company's protection will absolutely cease, and they must stand to all the consequences of being left entirely in the power of the country government.

No. 73.

*Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors, to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated December 24th, 1765.*

PAR. 16. We think it necessary to establish, that all trade to be carried on within provinces where factories are established, shall be carried on by our servants at such factories, and their agents only, who shall transact the business of our other servants, on receiving the established commission; and on any refusal to accept such commission, or any tendency to monopolize, the servants of Calcutta, or other parts, are at liberty to send their own black Gomastahs; who are, nevertheless, to be accountable for their conduct to the Company's servants, within whose jurisdiction they reside. All districts not comprehended within the jurisdiction of each subordinate, shall be considered as within the jurisdiction of the Board of Calcutta.

No. 74.

*Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated February 19th, 1766.*

Read the following letter from Mahomed Reza \* Cawn, to the Right honourable lord Clive, President and Governor, &c. gentlemen of the Select Committee.

“ MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

“ The Zemindars of the Purgunnahs of Radshy, and other districts of the Subah of Bengal, complain that the factories of English gentlemen in the Purgunnahs are ma-

\* Acting minister to the Nabob of Bengal.

ny,

ny, and their Gomastahs are in all places, and in every village almost throughout the province of Bengal; that they trade in linen, chunam, mustard-seed, tobacco, turmeric, oil, rice, hemp, gunnies, wheat, &c. in short, in all sorts of grain, linen, and whatever other commodities are produced in the country. That, in order to purchase these articles, they force their money on the Ryots; and having, by these oppressive means, bought their goods at a low rate, they oblige the inhabitants and shopkeepers to take them at a high price, exceeding what is paid in the market. That they do not pay the customs due to the Sircar, but are guilty of all manner of seditious and injurious acts; for instance, when, at any time, the Malguzarry is demanded of the Taalookdars, Ryots, &c. subjects of the Sircar, the aforesaid Gomastahs, under pretence of debits due, or accounts to be settled, do not let them go, or suffer the revenue to be taken from them; and upon complaints, and at the instance of lying informers, and base men, they place their Peons over the Ryots, and involve them in a variety of troubles. That by pressing people into their service, and imposing many and divers commands on the officers of government, the inhabitants, the tradesmen, and others, they ruin every body, and reduce the villages and Gunges to a state of desolation.

“It is by these iniquitous practices that the people of the country have been ruined and driven to flight, and that the revenues of the Sircar have been injured. There is nothing of worth left in the country. If justice be not done in this case, how will it be possible, in future, to collect the duties of the government or its revenues?”

“All the Zemindars make the same complaint; and what I have herein written, is only an abridgment of the accounts given at large by them of violence and oppression.

“As it is requisite for the prosperity of the country, and the well-being of the inhabitants, also for the obtaining the full revenues and duties, that the poor, &c. have justice done them, and that disturbances be put an end to; I have, therefore, represented these matters to you, gentlemen of the Committee, that whatever shall appear equitable, you will consider on and put in execution.”

It appearing from this representation of facts, supported by a number of corroborating circumstances, that the business of government has suffered great obstruction, and the public revenue been considerably injured, from the privileges assumed and exerted by Gomastahs, employed in different parts of the country by the Company's covenanted servants;—

Agreed, therefore, that we recommend to the Board, to prohibit, under the severest penalties, all Company's servants, whether residing at the presidency, the subordinates, or the Aurungs, from yielding countenance, shelter, or protection, to any of their Gomastahs, who shall interfere directly or indirectly with the affairs of government; or, upon any pretence whatever, give impediment or obstruction to the officers of the revenue, in levying the collections of the several districts committed to their charge; and that in all matters of dispute or difference, whereby the revenues can possibly be affected, their Gomastahs, or constituents, shall apply to the government for redress; and, in case of refusal, to the resident at the Durbar, or the chief of the nearest subordinate, who shall apply through the regular channel, the Governor and Council, or the Select Committee.

No. 75.

*Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to lord Clive, dated May 17th, 1766.*

PAR. 9. We have had too much occasion to remark the tyrannic and oppressive conduct of all European agents who have got away from under the eye of the Presidency; and we wish your lordship would make it an object of your consideration how to confine the

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the said Europeans as much as possible to the Presidency, and to those subordinates where the largeness of the investment may require it to be conducted by covenanted servants preferable to Gomastahs.

No. 76.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated June 9th, 1766.*

Ordered, That notice be affixed at the usual places of advertisement, requiring all persons entitled to Duffucks to send in to the President lists of their Gomastahs in the different parts of the country, distinguishing the place of their residence, the service they are employed on, with the time required for that service, that they may be furnished with Purwannahs accordingly.

No. 77.

*Extract of ditto, dated August 25th, 1766.*

Letter from the resident at Benâres, dated the 12th instant, read, acknowledging the receipt of our letter of the 28th ultimo, enclosing a letter from Mr. Bolts, in answer to our orders regarding him, acquainting us, that as he is not sensible it is in his power to comply with that part of our instructions which requires him to take care Mr. Bolts does not exceed the time prescribed, he shall wait our farther commands before he ventures to take any step in so delicate an affair.

Letter from Mr. Bolts, inclosed in the above letter from Mr. Sage, read, setting forth his reasons for having staid at Benâres beyond the time we limited him to, and requesting us to indulge him with a longer stay to settle his own and the affairs of his constituents, which he represents to be extremely intricate.—

Agreed, we write in answer to Mr. Sage, that we did not imagine him so little acquainted with the nature of our orders as to be in doubt how far it behoved him to put them into execution; that, notwithstanding what Mr. Bolts alledges in his letter, we are well assured, that, instead of making it his business to settle his affairs at Benâres, which was the sole reason for his being permitted to return thither, *he entered into new concerns*; that he is, therefore, to inform Mr. Bolts, that we are determined our orders shall not be trifled with, and that he is to consider himself as suspended the Company's service, from the 28th of this month, for not complying with our positive injunctions for his return to Calcutta. However, in consideration of the plausible reasons which he now, for the first time, assigns, he is farther to acquaint Mr. Bolts, that, provided he arrives in Calcutta by the 10th of October, his suspension will be taken off; and, if for this purpose, he does not leave Benâres by the 1st of October, he is to send him away by force.

No. 78.

*Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated September 10th, 1766.*

Daily complaints arriving of violence and insults offered to the servants of the Government, and the agents of private merchants, by the Company's servants residing at the different Aurungs,—

Resolved,

Resolved, that we call down from the Aurungs all Company's servants and other Europeans, as the only means of securing the necessary authority to the government, and protection to individuals; and that we suffer only the servants employed at the factories of Patna, Dacca, Cossimbazar, and Chittagong, with the assistants to the Supervisor of Burdwan and Midnapore, to remain up the country.

No. 79.

*Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated October 31st, 1766.*

Having, in our proceedings of the 19th of February last, Resolved, That no Gomastahs employed by the Company's servants, or other Europeans trading under licences from the Company, should in future interfere directly or indirectly with affairs relating to the government; and also that such Gomastahs should, in all disputes with the country people, apply for redress and justice, to the chief of the nearest subordinate, to the ministers, to the resident at the Durbar, or to the Council, or Select Committee.

And it being now the intention of this Committee to fulfil, in the most effectual manner, the honourable Company's instructions respecting the inland trade, and to remove all cause of disturbance and oppression committed in the interior country under sanction of the English name:—

Resolved, That in future all Gomastahs, whether employed on account of the Company or individuals, shall strictly refrain from interfering in any matters that may tend to interrupt the collections, or disturb the business of the government.

That they shall scrupulously avoid taking cognizance of any disputes or differences that they may have with the country people, or assuming to themselves any degree of judicial authority.

That in all such points of difference and dispute, whether with respect to trade or otherwise, they shall appeal first to the nearest officer of the government; and, in case of delay or refusal of redress from him, they shall then lay their complaint before Mahomed Reza Cawn, or the resident at the Durbar, or the Council, or the Select Committee.

That whoever shall be found deviating from the evident meaning and intent of this Resolution, (a copy of which will be sent to Mahomed Reza Cawn, and to the resident at the Durbar) shall immediately forfeit their employment and the Company's protection, and likewise be subject to such farther punishment as the Council or Committee may think proper to inflict.

That, to prevent any interruption to trade, Mahomed Reza Cawn be desired to issue orders to all officers of the government, to yield every possible encouragement to licensed trade, and to the business of those Gomastahs who shall duly confine themselves to the above restrictions.

Also that Mahomed Reza Cawn be desired to direct the officers of the government to call upon all Gomastahs to register their Perwannahs, or licences of trade, and Duffucks, at the head Cutcherree of the Aurung, or district, where they reside; and likewise to order the public officers of each Aurung, or district, to send him a regular monthly return of all Perwannahs or Duffucks so registered.

Notice having already been given, pursuant to our resolution of the 19th of February last, that all Gomastahs should apply to the President for Perwannahs, and the allowance of time for that purpose being now deemed fully sufficient,—

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Agreed, That Mahomed Reza Cawn be desired to issue orders to the officers of the government, to call upon the Gomastahs in the different parts of the provinces immediately for their Perwannahs; and to send all persons, who cannot produce a proper authority for their trade and residence, without delay to Calcutta.

And, farther, to prevent all frauds arising from counterfeit and forged Dustucks,—  
Agreed, The custom-master be directed to make a monthly return to the resident at the Durbar, of all Dustucks and Perwannahs entered in his office; the same to be communicated to the ministers, whereby they may be able to detect all imposition and fraud, by comparing the monthly returns from the custom-house with those made from the Aurungs, &c.

No. 80.

*Extract of a letter from the Court of Directors to the Select Committee, at Fort William, in Bengal, dated November 21st, 1766.*

PAR. 14. We are well pleased to remark your attention to our orders, in calling down the free merchants. Their proper employment is in the sea-service, as Captains and Supra-cargoes in the country trade, or settled as merchants at Calcutta; and if hereafter we find any infringement of our orders in this respect, we shall assuredly send for them home, and testify our displeasure at those who have protected them, or permitted them to go up the country. We are determined to have as few Europeans as possible about the country. You are to keep to the spirit of these our resolutions as much as possible; for we have the strongest sense of the injuries the natives have suffered from having Englishmen exercising an authority over them.

No. 81.

*Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated February 11th, 1767.*

Upon revisal of the proceedings of the 31st October last, relative to the regulation of Gomostah's,—

Agreed, We make the following addition to our former orders, viz. That the resident at the Durbar be directed to recommend to the ministers their obliging all the officers of the several districts to specify, in the returns they make to the government, such Perwannahs as have expired, in order that the ministers may be able to ascertain the number of Perwannahs now in force, without which it will be difficult to prevent frauds and impositions.

Repeated orders having been issued for recalling to the Presidency all Europeans who are not employed by the honourable Company, or furnished with a licence from the Council or the Governor; and information being now received that divers vagrants are dispersed over the country in contempt of the above orders,—

Resolved, That we write to the subordinate settlements and the commanding officers of the brigades, to seize, and send down under a guard, all Europeans who are not duly authorized by a written licence from the Board or the Governor, to reside out of the Presidency.

No. 82.

*Extract of a letter from Colonel Smith to the Select Committee at Fort William, dated Head-Quarters, near Keir-abad, January 3d, 1768.*

“ There is one circumstance which it is necessary I should now just touch on, because it requires a speedy remedy; I shall enlarge upon it hereafter. The Nabob represented to me the great inconveniences which arise from the Gomastahs and dependents of English gentlemen residing in his dominions, particularly at Gurrackpore, Mirzapore, and in the Zemindarry at Benâres and Ghazepore; that he was extremely tender in exerting his authority over any of those who even assumed the English name, notwithstanding, that these people were guilty of many impositions and extortions on his subjects, as well as defrauding him of his duties. Now, as he had received repeated assurances from the Presidency, that no private trade should be carried on in his dominions, so he requested, that I would not only exert my power to free his country from the Armenians and Bengals in the service of individuals, but that I would also represent the same to you, so that effectual means might be taken for their expulsion. Sensible of the justice of this representation, I did not hesitate to assure him, that nothing was farther from the design or approbation of the English Sirdars; that I had heard our President made it a point neither to grant Dustucks nor Perwannahs into his excellency's dominions; that no consideration whatsoever could induce the English chiefs to suffer the advantages or emoluments of individuals to be the means of giving him the most distant cause of uneasiness or concern. I assured him of my ready concurrence in every measure to suppress this growing evil, and would represent it in the strongest manner to the Committee, that effectual measures might be taken to remove it; and desired that he would apprehend all those who were guilty of any imposition in our name, which, so far from giving umbrage to the English Sirdars, would be esteemed a favour conferred on us. I farther added, that, to convince his excellency how desirous I was to strike at the root of this evil, on my return to Allah-abad, it should be my care, that the Perwannah he himself had granted to Ishmael Beg, (one of his own subjects) for the exclusive privilege of making saltpetre on account of the English gentlemen, and upon condition that he furnished the Nabob with whatever quantity he wanted at prime cost, should be returned, that he might be convinced no private advantage whatsoever could weigh with an Englishman, which might, in the remotest degree, affect the public. The Nabob said, in answer, “ That he esteemed “ this as a fresh instance of attention and regard.”

“ As I have been informed of these circumstances not only from the Nabob, but Rajah Bulwant Sing has also represented to me the late frequency of English Dustucks and English Perwannahs, it is but too apparent, notwithstanding the resolutions of the Presidency, that there is an abuse in this matter. I do, therefore, most earnestly recommend to the Committee, that they will enter upon the most vigorous measures for entirely abolishing a system so fraught with pernicious consequences, and which very system had so lately proved almost fatal to the Company's welfare in Bengal.”

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No. 83.

*Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated February 16th, 1768.*

Notwithstanding the orders which have been issued to the chiefs and residents of subordinate factories, and to the commanding officers of the brigades for apprehending and sending down to the presidency every European they may find trading about the country without permission, the Committee with astonishment observe that there are some persons still pursuing this practice without molestation; it is, therefore, Resolved to issue positive orders to the subordinats and brigades, and to enjoin them to a strict obedience to our honourable masters commands.

No. 84.

*Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated February 23d, 1768.*

The Committee being determined to put an effectual stop to the granting of Dustucks and Perwannahs for conveying of private merchandize into Sujah al Dowlah's dominions under the sanction of the English:—

Agreed, we write to the chiefs of Cossimbazar and Patna, forbidding them to grant either Dustucks or Perwannahs to any person whomsoever, and directing them to recall all the Gomastahs without delay, who may be trading therein with such Dustucks or Perwannahs given them from those factories.

No. 85.

*Copy of a letter from Mr. Verelst to the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, dated Fort William, February 27th, 1768.*

I am much surprized to learn from Colonel Smith, that divers people, taking the name of English Gomastahs, have been guilty of great villanies and extortions in your excellency's country; of this I was entirely unacquainted, or I would have endeavoured to have remedied it; nor has any one any authority from me, nor will I in future give any, either for trade or residence in your excellency's country. I must, therefore, make it my particular request that, should any one take the English name as a screen for his mal-practices, you will immediately cause him to be apprehended and sent hither, that his falsehood may meet its due punishment. You cannot oblige me more than by detecting these impostors. I write this so positively and strongly, that you may see how very attentive I am to cut off all occasion of uneasiness to you.

No. 86.

*Copy of a letter from Mr. Verelst to Rajah Bulwant Sing, dated Fort William, February 27th, 1768.*

I cannot help being astonished to find, from Colonel Smith's letters, that Dustucks and Perwannahs, under the English name, are current in your districts, and that

Gomastahs commit frequent extortions and oppressions under that sanction. After the plain directions which I gave your Vakeel at Murshedabad, I am very much surprized that you should have neglected to inform me of these practices. I now, therefore, positively write to you, that I will neither grant myself, nor suffer others to grant, any Duffuck with the English seal, for the conveyance of goods to any part of Sujah al Dowlah's territories, only for such necessaries as may be occasionally going to the army; and I must farther direct you to transmit me a copy of all Duffucks for necessaries, the instant they come to your hands, that no room for evasion or pretext may remain. As I have frequent complaints from the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, that divers people assume the name of English Gomastahs; I therefore desire that you would issue positive orders throughout your districts, for all such offenders to withdraw themselves without delay; and you will immediately cause Coja Melcombe, and Coja Gregory, and a Bengally, named Ram Setcher, to be sent down under confinement to Maha Rajah Seetabroy; for none of these people have any title to residence within the territories of the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah.

No. 87.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Hare (then second of the English factory at Patna, and since a member of the Council in Calcutta) to Mr. Verelst, dated Patna, January 16th, 1768.*

A.

Long before these gentlemen (Messrs. Alexandet and Jekyll) had any Gomastah in Bulwant Sing's country, the Rajah had farmed the saltpetre business in the Sircar of Ghazepoor to my Gomastah, COJA GREGORY.

*Extract of ditto to ditto, dated February 2d, 1768.*

B.

I did myself the honour of addressing you, under date the 16th ultimo, since which Bulwant Sing has taken a Mutchulcah from COJA GREGORY, my Gomastah at Choesa, not to buy saltpetre.

*Extract of ditto to ditto, dated March 12th, 1768.*

C.

Till the receipt of your order, under date the 24th ultimo, I was utterly a stranger to this trade's having been prohibited either by the Company or the Select Committee, to the regulations of both which I have, at all times, paid the strictest obedience; and what confirmed me in an opinion that it could not have been illicit, was the eagerness with which it was prosecuted by several Company's servants at the same time, and in the same places. As to my having employed Armenian Gomastahs in my service, I did not imagine that the Company's orders relating to them were meant to extend beyond the provinces, especially as these very Gomastahs were known to be employed by Mr. Bolis. In obedience to your commands, I have immediately ordered them down; but as a large sum of money is already advanced for different articles of trade in that country,

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must entreat your permission to send a Bengal Gomastah to collect in my outstanding debts, and dispatch such goods as are already purchased down to me\*.

No. 88.

*Extract of a letter from Captain Harper to Mr. Verelst, dated Faiz-abad, March 14th, 1768.*

The Nabob has acquainted me that some people at Gurrackpore having taken upon them to say they are Gomastahs to English gentlemen, are guilty of many irregularities, to the prejudice of his servants; he has, therefore, applied to me for a guard of Sepoys to apprehend and bring them to Faiz-abad, that their behaviour may be enquired into. I have complied with the Nabob's desire, by supplying him with a Jemadar and twenty Sepoys. It will not be improper, here, to acquaint you, that there are several Armenians at Benâres, and one or two at this place, who often make use of the English name for a sanction to the behaviour which they would not otherwise dare to practise. The Nabob has often told me that he would expel them his dominions, but I apprehend he will be tardy in doing this, as I learn that they are very communicative in what they hear from Calcutta; and which, with their own embellishments, is conveyed to the Nabob through Meer Mughallah, who was formerly Cossim Ally Cawn's, and now his excellency's physician; and that it is by his influence the Nabob is diverted from putting his former design of turning them out of his territories into execution. It is well known how designing and intriguing a set of people the Armenians are, and I do not think it improbable that if they are permitted to reside in the Nabob's country, they may be the cause of disputes with him. If you approve of writing to the Nabob on this subject, I dare say he will expel them, as he has already expressed to me how glad he should be to have them turned away.

No. 89.

*Copy of a letter from the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah to Mr. Verelst, received April 3d, 1768.*

I have received your friendly letter by the hands of Captain Harper, and was rejoiced thereby. It is plain that my friendship with the English Sirdars, and particularly with your excellency, is firm; neither does it need the common phrases of the world to set it off. You also have shewn yourself so profuse of favours towards me, that I cannot find any expressions equal to my sense thereof. I can only wish that the Almighty may give our connection daily strength, and our friendship hourly warmth. Considering what you write on the subject of the Armenians, as proceeding from your perfect cordiality, I am delighted therewith. What can be more suitable to our interests, than that we should mutually exert ourselves in disarming all

\* These extracts of Mr. Hare's letters are given to testify the attention and ready obedience that gentleman paid to the resolutions and public orders of the Select Committee of Fort William, for the recall to the presidency of all Armenians, Europeans, &c. employed as English agents in the inland provinces; in contradistinction to Mr. Bolts's behaviour on the like occasion. It is also worthy notice, that one of Mr. Hare's agents at this time, in Bulwant Sing's country, was the very Armenian (Coja Gregory, or Gregore) that Mr. Bolts also employed, and has since insinuated to come to England, to support, with others, his own prosecutions by a pretended accumulation of grievances: an Armenian who has endeavoured to impose a belief before the Committee of the house of Commons, that he never acted as an English Gomastah or agent in Bulwant Sing's dominions. Such is the credit due to Armenian faith.

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such as may be the abettors or authors of evil? In the affair of the saltpetre, which was the first, every inquietude was removed, and every thorn extracted at once; but by a momentary adersion of your excellency's regard, and now that you have written regarding Rafael and Estevan, that matter is done. As they have some outstanding debts incurred in the course of their business here, they petitioned earnestly for two or three days respite to settle their accounts, after that they will no more presume to reside here. Rajah Bulwant Sing has acquainted me with your excellency's orders about the Armenians in those districts, and I have instructed him to give implicit obedience to whatever you shall signify on the occasion; as whatever is agreeable to you, cannot fail of being satisfactory, I say of being satisfactory to me. For the rest, consider me as one solicitous after your welfare, and favour me with frequent accounts thereof.

No. 90.

*Copy of a letter from Mr. Verelst to the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, dated Fort William, April 26th, 1768.*

I am sorry to inform your excellency that, in consequence of my letters to you, concerning the English Gomastahs, and your orders thereupon, I find your officers have exercised a severity beyond what either of us intended; they have seized and sent away many, without allowing them the shortest time to adjust their affairs; and others, from this kind of treatment, find it impossible even to receive the debts lawfully due to them. As these losses must fall heavy on many individuals, I think it but just to request your excellency to indulge them with two months licence to withdraw their effects, and settle their affairs; and, at the same time, give such orders to the officers of your dominions, that they may lend them all assistance for the more speedy dispatch of the matter.

No. 91.

*Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated April 27th, 1768.*

The President informs the Committee, that orders have been issued to the officers at the Chokeys, to suffer all merchandize belonging to the natives of this country to pass, on their paying the customary duties.

The Board being sensible of the great disadvantages resulting from an immediate recall of all Gomastahs of individuals, trading in the countries of the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah and Rajah Bulwant Sing, under the sanction of the English name; it is Resolved, to allow them to reside there for the space of two months, for the adjustment of the affairs of their constituents, and the collection of their outstanding balances: that they shall, on no account whatsoever, be allowed to engage in any new concerns, and that they shall quit those countries immediately after the expiration of the time limited for their residence.

And, in order to facilitate the adjustment of their affairs, as well as to prevent the frauds and other abuses to which such a restriction might otherwise expose them, it is farther Resolved and Agreed, that the President do inform Sujah al Dowlah and Bulwant Sing, of these injunctions laid on all Gomastahs in their countries, and to request they will grant them every reasonable assistance they may require, for the speedy regulation of their concerns.

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Agreed, that the foregoing resolution be laid before the President and Council, and that we do recommend to them, to issue their orders for effectually preventing any trade being carried on beyond the provinces, by Gomastahs assuming the English name.

Ordered, That all the chiefs of subordinates be apprized of the Committee's resolutions, concerning the recall of private Gomastahs from the countries of Sujah al Dowlah and Bulwant Sing.

## No. 92.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated May 18th, 1768.*

"The foregoing extract of Committee Proceedings being laid before the Board, and the Council unanimously concurring in the same opinion, they directed an advertisement to be published accordingly."

*Note.* In reply to the charge of inconsistency and partiality in these orders of the Select Committee, adduced by Mr. Bolts, we must observe, that permission was given to that gentleman, at his own request, to return to Benâres in March 1766, and to reside there till the month of October following, which was two months more than the time he first solicited. That in March 1767, he applied for letters to Sujah al Dowlah and Bulwant Sing, to assist his Gomastahs in closing his mercantile concerns, which were readily granted by Mr. Verelst; and that, notwithstanding these and other repeated indulgencies, his Armenian agents remained in the territories of Ghazepore and Oud to March 1768, when they were at length seized, after the most undoubted proofs had been received, that Mr. Bolts was, contrary to his solemn promise, entering upon fresh engagements. Proofs which have been since farther confirmed by his own confession before a Committee of the honourable house of Commons. Surely a just distinction was made betwixt the agents of Mr. Bolts, and those of other gentlemen, who had not incurred any suspicion of entertaining dangerous projects, and who had not insulted the Board, by a contempt of repeated orders.

## No. 93.

*Extract of a letter from the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah to Mr. Verelst, received August 1st, 1768.*

I cannot express my thanks for the favour you have done me in putting an end to the English trade in my territories. May the Almighty long preserve you, for I have still greater expectations from your friendship.

## No. 94.

*Translation of a letter from Messrs. Johnstone, Hay, and Bolts, to Meer Sheer Ally Cawn, the Fouzdar of Purnea; recorded on Fort William Consultations, December 27th, 1762.*

Our Gomastah Ramchurn-Dofs, being gone into those parts, meets with obstructions from you, in whatever business he undertakes; moreover, you have published a prohibition to this effect, that whoever shall have any dealing with the English, you will seize his house, and lay a fine upon him. In this manner have you prohibited the people under your jurisdiction. We were surprized at hearing of this affair, because

cause that the royal Firmaun, which the English nation is possessed of, is violated by this proceeding; but the English will by no means suffer, with patience, their Firmaun to be broke through. We therefore expect that, upon the receipt of this letter, you will take off the order you have given to the Ryots; and, in case of your not doing it, we will certainly write to the Nabob, in the name of the English, and send for such an order from him, that you shall restore, fully and entirely, whatever loss the English have sustained, or shall sustain, by this obstruction; and that you shall repent having thus interrupted our business, in despite of the royal Firmaun. After reading this letter, we are persuaded you will desist from interrupting it, will act agreeably to the rules of friendship, and so that your amity may appear, and will by no means stop the Company's Duffucks.

No. 95.

*Extract of a letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated February 8th, 1764.*

PAR. 7. The conduct and behaviour of Mr. William Bolts, a factor, falling next under our consideration, they appear, so far as he was connected with Messrs. Johnstone and Hay, to be very improper; especially in joining with them in an audacious and impertinent letter to the Fouzdar of Purnea, as it stands on your Consultations of the 27th December 1762, and for which the President recommended it to the Council to pass some censure upon him. He appears, likewise, to have been guilty of irregular practices, in respect to carrying on his private trade: let him be called into Council, and reprimanded according to his deserts; and inform him, if his conduct is not more satisfactory for the future, we shall dismiss him from the service.

No. 96.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated February 24th, 1766.*

Mr. Bolts sends in a letter, requesting permission to return to Benâres in his former station.

The Board do not think Mr. Bolts entitled to the indulgence he requests, from his late conduct at Benâres, but that he may have permission to return thither in a private capacity to settle his affairs, till the 1st of July next.

Agreed, he be advised in answer accordingly.

No. 97.

*Extract of a letter from the Court of Directors to the Select Committee at Fort William in Bengal, dated May 17th, 1766.*

PAR. 48. You will observe by the general letter to the President and Council accompanying this, the very ample powers we have entrusted you with, for preserving peace, tranquility, discipline, harmony, good order, and subordination in Bengal; powers which, we doubt not, you will make use of in such a manner, as will, in all circumstances, be most for the Company's interest, as well as reflect honour upon yourselves.

*Extract*

No. 98.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated July 28th, 1766.*

Mr. Bolts having exceeded the time limited in Consultation the 24th February last for his return to Calcutta from Benâres;—

Ordered, that Mr. Sage, the resident at that factory, be directed to inform him, that the Board are displeas'd with the neglect he has shewn to their orders; that he is, therefore, to send him down immediately; and that, unless Mr. Bolts arrives in Calcutta by the 28th August, he will stand dismissed the service.

No. 99.

*Extract of Mr. Bolts's letter to the Governor and Council of Fort William, dated November 10th, 1766.*

I propose going to Europe as soon as I can settle my private concerns; which business, together with the employment to which your lordship, &c. gentlemen have been pleas'd to appoint me, as alderman in the Mayor's Court, will engross the whole of my time; I therefore humbly request permission to resign the service of the honourable Company.

No. 100.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated January 5th, 1767.*

Mr. Bolts having had permission to resign the honourable Company's service, in consequence of his letter to the Board (of the 10th November last) and entered on the proceedings of the 24th following;—

Ordered, That intimation be given to him by the secretary, that as he cannot claim any title to remain longer in India, he is positively required not to engage farther in commercial concerns, and to prepare to embark for England in one of the Company's returning ships of this season.

No. 101.

*Copy of a letter from Mr. Bolts to the President, &c. members of the Select Committee.*

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

I have several very considerable out-standing balances within the provinces now under the management the honourable Company, the recovery of which, without the favourable interposition of your authority over the country government being altogether impossible; and the late regulations of the honourable Board, making my present application necessary, I hereby request to be favoured with your assistance, and that you will be pleas'd to grant me Perwannahs upon the different Zemindars, &c. of the districts where they lay, directing them to summons the Assammys to their Cutcherrys, to confront them with my Gomastahs, and, after proof of the justice of the demands to enforce the payment. The sums, as per particular lists, are, viz.

In the districts of Purnea	—	Current Rupees	10,939	13	6
Goragaut Sheeb Gunge	—	—	6,029	12	6
Rungpore	—	—	1,777	9	6
Dinagepore	—	—	2,320	10	6
Shawpore, Purg Santofe, Krifndeeb, and Gopindibaug	—	—	151	9	6

Current rupees 21,219 7 6

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The following are balances due from the Zemindars themselves of sundry districts much nearer at hand; but being balances arising upon accounts of mercantile transactions, which may be liable to altercation, and being more immediately under the inspection of your honourable Board, I should be glad you would be pleased to appoint in Calcutta some person or persons, either Europeans or black merchants, versed in the transactions of the country, to examine into the justice of the demands, which are as follows:

Due from the Zemindar of Jeffore, Nilcanto Roy,	S. rupees	13,029	12	0
Ditto of Tumlook, to the 13th November past,		2,501	10	6
Ditto of Sujah-mootah, ditto, — —		10,938	7	0
Fouzdar of Ragimaul — —	A. rupees	636	4	0
	Rupees	27,106	1	6

I shall very readily abide by the decision of the persons you may be pleased to appoint.

After the letter which the late honourable President and Council were pleased to write me, relative to my commercial affairs, it may not, on this occasion, be improper to say something on the subject, that you, Gentlemen, may be able to judge what an arduous, nay, I may say, an impossible task has been imposed upon me. I have, by sea and land, of my own and other people's, about eight\* lacks of rupees now out, and actually employed in lawful trade, which no way interferes with any part of the honourable Company's investment. Amongst this, there is above one hundred and sixty thousand † rupees of woollens, &c. goods which I bought at the Company's last outcry, and which were only dispatched up the country about two months ago. In the mean time, to comply as nearly as possible with what seems to me to be the intention of the order of the honourable Board, I assure you, Gentlemen, upon my honour, that I have not lately, and shall not enter into any new inland concerns; and that I shall hold none, but such as I have been already some time engaged in, and which I am obliged to prosecute to bring in outstanding balances. Farther, I will engage, under any penalty, that no part of my trade shall, within the three Subahs, in any shape, interfere with any part of the honourable Company's investment.

I farther beg leave to assure you, Gentlemen, that I shall never be guilty of any infringement of the laws of Great Britain, or the bye-laws of the honourable Company, where their jurisdiction extends; and that, out of their jurisdiction, I shall freely submit to the customs and laws of the country. In this situation, I hope, I shall not fail of giving satisfaction; and I shall cheerfully submit to whatever you, Gentlemen, may esteem just, and require only an equitable allowance of time, to be indulged with those privileges which have ever been allowed, not only to gentlemen who have resigned, but those who have been dismissed the service.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, &c.

Fort William, the  
11th February, 1767.

WILLIAM BOLTS.

No. 102.

*Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated March 3d, 1767.*

Mr. Bolts sends in a letter to the Committee, (dated 11th of February, 1767) requesting our assistance in collecting several balances due to him in different parts of the provinces:—

• 100,000 l.

† 20,000 l.

Agreed,



Agreed, We recommend to the President to grant Mr. Bolts Perwannahs upon the Zemindars in the manner he desires; also, that the court of Cutcherry be directed to examine into his claims on the Zemindars, as specified in his letter; but that we strictly enjoin him to enter into no fresh concerns, as the Board will expect implicit obedience to the orders he has already received, although they dispense with the immediate execution, in consideration of the particular situation of his affairs.

## No. 103.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Verelst to the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, dated Fort William, March 9th, 1767.*

Mr. Bolts having represented to me, that he has several out-standing ballances unsettled in your excellency's territories, on which account he employs a Gomastah, I request he may be indulged with liberty to conclude his affairs. I must, however, hope, that as the sending of Gomastahs into those parts may give occasion to many altercations, your excellency will, in future, withdraw your protection from them.

## No. 104.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Verelst to Rajah Bulwant Sing, of the same date.*

I am informed by Mr. Bolts, that some Gomastahs of his, whom he employed in his concerns at Meerzapore, have not yet collected the out-standing ballances due to that gentleman; I therefore request, that no interruption may be given these Gomastahs.

## No. 105.

*Extract of a letter from the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah to Mr. Verelst, received April 17th, 1767.*

In regard to Mr. Bolts's money, which you desire me to interpose my assistance in collecting with all expedition; and that in future I should forbid all others from residing, and on no account permit the English gentlemen to carry on a commerce within my territories, in order to prevent all possibility of a dispute; by the blessing of God, I will, even with redoubled diligence, apply to the speedy collection of Mr. Bolts's concerns, and, insisting on the just demands from all parties, cause payment of the same. For the rest, my friendship for you is impressed on my heart, and the strong assurances you write me of invariable regard, give me the greatest confidence that all affairs will have a happy and successful conclusion.

## No. 106.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated the 24th August, 1767.*

Ordered, that the Secretary do inform Mr. Bolts, that the Lord Holland will be dispatched for England in the course of next month; and that we positively insist on his proceeding by that ship.

No. 107.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated October 1st, 1767.*

Mr. Bolts, in two letters, one to the Board, the other to the Secretary to the Council, assigns the situation of his private affairs to be such as renders his immediate departure impossible; but assures the Board, that, as soon as they are adjusted, he shall with pleasure obey the order.

Ordered, The Secretary do acquaint Mr. Bolts, that, after the indulgence he has already had, his private concerns are no inducement for us to recede from our orders; and we therefore expect, that he will embark in the next ship that sails for Europe. Farther, that we hear he is carrying on an improper intercourse with the Dutch, to the prejudice of the honourable Company's affairs, and, on that account, positively forbid his leaving Calcutta, without our express permission.

Ordered, also, That the Mayor's Court be acquainted herewith, that they may apply for another alderman in his room.

No. 108.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Kelsall, chief of the English factory at Dacca, to the President, dated September 18th, 1767.*

In a letter I had the honour to address you in the month of May last, I mentioned, though in a cursory manner, the footing on which the Dutch had then newly re-established their factory at Dacca, not, as the event has shewn, to transact business on behalf of their Company, but, under the sanction of public authority, to fulfil a private compact of Messrs. Vernet and Bolts.

The late Dutch resident, Mr. Lankeet, disdained to accept a commission on such terms, whereupon he was superseded. His successor, when he found, instead of a representative of the Company, that he was sent up in the capacity of a mere Gomastah, to fulfil a private engagement, in like manner declined it. Both these gentlemen have ever since been violently persecuted by Mr. Vernet.

Here is an Armenian, one Coja Miguel Sarties, a man that has before done business for Mr. Bolts, who, not so scrupulous as either of the Dutch gentlemen, has made no difficulty of accepting the commission. The business is now in his hands, and, to fulfil it, he has had made over to him a sum to the amount of near \* seven lacks of rupees: so enormous a sum I should have thought even beyond the conscience even of an Armenian to presume to invest, and should have doubted my information, if I had not received it from the best authority, *one of the Dutch gentlemen.*

I have thought it my duty to give you this intelligence, and trust, sir, you will take measures for defeating the intentions of Messrs. Vernet and Bolts, and of the Armenian their agent, which must materially prejudice our Company's business and the trade in general, since, in order to get in their investment, they must necessarily purchase at an advanced price.

\* 87,500 l.

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No. 109.

*Extract of a letter from Colonel Smith to the Select Committee, dated Headquarters at Allah-abad, October 23d, 1767.*

I remember to have mentioned in Committee, that Monf. Gentil was a very improper person to be with Sujah al Dowlah. I am fully convinced of this, and wish some mode could be thought on to have him removed. The person who has had the establishment of Sujah al Dowlah's artillery is one of Monf. Gentil's comrades, and formerly was an officer in the French service.

No. 110.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Maddison to Mr. Verelst, dated Patna, October 23d, 1767.*

A fleet of thirty boats arrived here yesterday laden with opium, saltpetre, &c. which took my name, and a Peon came twice to Noon-golah, to apply for Polwars, saying, he was ordered to apply to Mr. Mudie for that purpose. Upon enquiry, I find they belong to Mr. Bolts, whose time of a Dustuck being expired, may probably have given his people this order, to have them pass unmolested. I thought it necessary to make you acquainted with this, lest I might fall under any suspicions of passing other people's goods under my name.

No. 111.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated November 5th, 1767.*

The President lays before the Board the following letters from Mr. Bolts, on which he requests their sentiments, after they have perused his Minute, which he delivers in upon the subject, viz. an Address from Mr. Bolts to the Court of Directors, ditto to this Board, ditto to the honourable the Mayor's Court, ditto to Messrs. Becher and Alexander.

*To Harry Verelst, Esq. President, &c. gentlemen of Council at Fort William.*

GENTLEMEN,

I request you will be pleased to transmit the accompanying address to the Court of Directors by the next conveyance. It is partly in vindication of myself from the groundless and reproachful accusations with which your President has been pleased to charge me, through the channel of the Select Committee, and partly on other affairs, in which the interest of the honourable Company is deeply concerned.

It is doubtless a hardy task for me, in the present situation of affairs, to make a public attack on the President, when the majority of his Secret Committee and Council are also parties concerned, but a regard for my own character obliges me to it; and as I have on my side truth and facts, which are obstinate and scorn to bend, I dare, in this impolitic and uncustomary manner, brave the envenomed shafts of future oppression and injustice, which cannot in malignancy exceed those I have already unconcernedly sustained.

As the majority of the members sitting at the Board are gentlemen who have been but a short time in this country, and are doubtless as unacquainted with the political wiles and customs of the Banyans, who have been the principal engines employed throughout

throughout the affairs concerning me, as they are unacquainted with that more-especially-requisite the country languages, they must have been exposed to great impositions; and it is very probable they have been misled in these affairs by the artifice of a veteran, upon whose integrity they placed an implicit reliance. It is, therefore, but just that I should attribute the concurrence of some of those gentlemen to their having been deceived.

If any explanations or proofs be required upon any part of my address to the honourable the Court of Directors; upon intimation thereof from your honourable Board, I will readily descend to particulars, and hope to give every satisfaction that can be required.

I am Gentlemen, &c.

Calcutta, October 18th, 1767.

(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS.

*To Thomas Woodward, Esq. Mayor, and the Gentlemen Aldermen of the honourable Mayor's Court of Calcutta.*

SIRS,

I am acquainted with the extraordinary step the Governor and Council have taken towards effecting my removal from my seat at your honourable Board, in open defiance of his Majesty's most gracious charter, and I congratulate myself, as well as the community, upon the just disregard with which you have been pleased to treat this glaring attempt to an infringement of the British liberties; an attempt which, had it been given way to, would have been of the most dangerous consequence, as a precedent for rendering your Court dependent, and of course useless to society, for whose relief our most gracious sovereign and parliament have been pleased to establish it, whereby British subjects would have been as easily deprived of their property and fortunes, as in the present despotic reign they have been of their liberties and every British privilege. Though the letter to your honourable Court appears under the sanction of the Governor and Council, I consider it only as the act of Governor Verelst alone, as I shall make it hereafter appear to the world. Consider in this light how deplorable would be our situation if, at the bare desire of a Governor, or even a Governor and his Council, the express orders of the charter should be set aside, and a *free British subject* exposed to be deprived of his honour and liberty. A malicious man, high in station, who boasts that he is beyond punishment, and that justice cannot reach him, would have it always in his power to spread ruin into every family against which he had any aversion; but where law and liberty reign, where men hold not their property or honour at the mercy of one or few, this security begets in them a disposition which is inconsistent with servility and adulation.

Let us not then suffer our liberties to be invaded by fraud or will, or destroyed by force; if we do, a dismal confusion must then quickly ensue, and villainous accusation, public and private rapine and plunder, illegal imprisonments, confiscations and proscriptions, diffusing universal misery, will become the common law of the land.

I defy the President and Council legally to disqualify me from holding my honourable seat at your Court; and I am confident that you, gentlemen, will never suffer me otherwise to be dismissed; permit me at the same time to assure you, Sirs, that I would not miss a single day's attendance at your Court, even when it is not my turn of rotation, was I not necessitated to do it sometimes in consequence of the oppression with which I have been treated, as I hope in due time to evince to the shame of my oppressors.

Yet as I should be glad to know upon what this extraordinary request has been founded, and to have so curious a document by me, I request you will be pleased to order me an authenticated copy of the letter from the President and Council.

Permit me to offer my sincerest wishes for the prosperity of the honourable Court, and the success of your endeavours to secure the happiness of the community, by an impartial administration of justice.

Who am with great respect, &c.

Calcutta, October 8th, 1767.

(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS, Alderman.

To ALL who shall see these presents or hear them read. I Thomas Woodward, Esq. Mayor of the town of Calcutta at Fort William in Bengal, do hereby make known and certify, that John Holme, who hath signed and attested the certificate hereunto annexed, is register of the honourable the Mayor's Court at Calcutta aforesaid, legally sworn and admitted, dwelling in this town of Calcutta aforesaid; and that to acts, instruments, procurations, and other writings by him signed and attested, is full faith and credit given in Court and without.

IN FAITH AND TESTIMONY whereof, I the said Mayor have caused the seal of the office of mayoralty of the said town of Calcutta to be hereunto put and affixed, and the copy of the letter mentioned in the said certificate hereunto also annexed. Dated in Calcutta aforesaid, this 14th day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven.

(Signed) THO. WOODWARD, Mayor. (L. S.)

I John Holme, Register of the honourable the Mayor's Court at Calcutta at Fort William in Bengal, do hereby certify and attest, that the within written is a true copy of a letter from Mr. William Bolts, one of the Aldermen of the said Court, directed to Thomas Woodward, Esq. Mayor, and the gentlemen Aldermen of the honourable the Mayor's Court at Calcutta, carefully collated by me with the original, at present in my possession, as Register of the said Court.

IN FAITH AND TESTIMONY whereof I have hereunto set my hand at Calcutta aforesaid, the fourteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven.

(Signed) JOHN HOLME, Register.

*To Richard Becher and James Alexander, Esqrs.*

GENTLEMEN,

I have this day sent in to the Board an address to the honourable the Court of Directors, in vindication of myself from the unjust accusations laid to my charge in the proceedings of the Select Committee; and as you, gentlemen, are the only members at the Board who are not more or less parties concerned, I can pretty well foresee the treatment I am like to meet with on the occasion.

As you, gentlemen, were not upon the spot during the transactions of which I complain, you must of necessity have formed your opinions from the partial proceedings of the Committee, and from the more partial representations of those in whose company you daily are. In this situation, I am not a stranger to the malignant accounts with which your ears must have been continually tingling, and which, like water continually dropping upon a stone, must no doubt have made some impression, and have disposed you to believe every thing you heard against me, especially as you heard nothing on the other side of the question from me, who, depending on the rectitude of my actions, have hitherto been silent.

From



From my address to the Court of Directors you will be acquainted with every thing in which I have been concerned, on which the unjust sentence of the Committee has been pronounced against me unheard; hear all, then, and let justice hold the scale.

Do not think, gentlemen, that the intent of this address is to sue for favour; that I scorn: I speak only to your consciences as men of integrity, and to set you upon your guard against the artifices of many combined against me alone, without any reasonable cause, or other foundation, than what is built upon their private interests, personal connections; and piques.

All I wish for is, from a principle of gratitude to the Company, that the partiality with which I may be treated may not force me, in my own defence, to print and publish to the world at home, what may add to the national odium against the Company.

Calcutta, Oct. 18, 1767.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS.

*The President's Minute.*

This address to the honourable Court of Directors, which is now before you, is, in my opinion, the most convincing proof that could be brought of the propriety and necessity of the Committee's resolutions regarding Mr. Bolts. The misrepresentations and falsehoods that fill this production, appear too obvious to require being particularly pointed out. In regard to the invectives levelled against me, I flatter myself that my principles, my character, and my conduct, are too well known to the whole settlement to give room for the least belief of the truth of one of them.

For my reasons for bringing the complaints against Nobkissen before the Select Committee, I must beg leave to refer you to my Minutes on that occasion, which are entered on the face of their proceedings.

But as amongst the numerous falsities in Mr. Bolts's letter, there happen to be two facts, which he has artfully misrepresented and obscured, I must intrude upon your patience whilst I give a plain recital of them.

You may remember, gentlemen, that in consequence of the resolutions of the Select Committee, Ramnaut was to be delivered up to the government, to be made accountable for the numberless extortions and villanies he had been guilty of at Maulda, and other places in the government's jurisdiction.

Mr. Bolts inserts in his letter that Ramnaut, during his confinement, had no demands made upon him, except for some salt, and for a parcel of boats, which had been sold him by me upon very advantageous terms.

I allow that Ramnaut did purchase these articles belonging to me; but that the terms on my part were advantageous, or that a single demand was made upon him on my account during his confinement, I do most solemnly deny.

The case was as follows:

Ramnaut, some time since, employed a relation of his to purchase, under a feigned name, a quantity of salt, which I had consigned to Mr. Barwell at Maulda; by the same method, he bought of my Baniân a parcel of boats, which I had before purchased of Mr. Burdett at a less price than I had given for them, though they were in a much better condition when I sold them than when I bought them. When the money for these things was demanded, Ramnaut declared himself the purchaser, but pleaded poverty, and claimed my protection, that he might be enabled to raise the money.

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By this villainous artifice he was in hopes to have screened himself from the power of the government, and to have evaded restitution of the money he had extorted from the natives. But, on the contrary, it was my repeated request to the ministers that they would make him accountable for every rupee of his extortions from the unhappy people at Maulda, who had been ruined by his villainy; and I positively forbid any demands being made upon my account, until full and ample restitution had been obtained for the sufferers.

Of the truth of this relation I call upon the ministers, upon Mr. Sykes, and I could name many others to bear testimony; a testimony which must entirely overset Mr. Bolts's assertion, that Ramnaut was confined at the city upon account of the debt he owed me: nay I can go still farther; I can declare upon honour that I have not yet received a single rupee, or rupee's worth, of the debt; nor will I receive any, until all the unhappy sufferers by Ramnaut's extortion, whom I cannot too much compassionate, are fully indemnified.

In regard to the question which Mr. Bolts has put for me to Ramnaut, about the Denagepore Zemindars, he, as the author, can only answer it; that I was not, I solemnly declare. I never had any concerns at Dinagepore, nor do I know that Ramnaut had any, except some extortions he was guilty of; and I very likely might have asked him, Whether he had made restitution?

Another assertion of Mr. Bolts's I cannot but reply to, in vindication of my character. He says, that when Gocul Sonar preferred his complaints at the general quarter sessions, in a petition to the grand jury, it is remarkable that I, the then chief justice upon the bench, put the paper into my pocket; and he assigns a reason, that I declare never occurred to me: on the jury sending the petition into the court, it was as well my opinion as that of the other gentlemen upon the bench, that it ought to be referred for trial to the court of Zemindarry, where all criminal causes betwixt native and native, when no British life or property is concerned, have usually been tried. It was in consequence of this opinion referred to the Zemindar, whose proceedings thereupon have already been reported to you, and where the infamy of the prosecution, so warmly espoused by Mr. Bolts, so plainly appears.

My opinion in this method of justice is not, as Mr. Bolts endeavours to insinuate, particular in this instance; my sentiments therein stand recorded long since upon the face of the Consultations.

I now leave to you, gentlemen, to take such notice of this insult upon the person and character of your President as you may deem necessary for the support of his government. I forbear giving my own opinion, as Mr. Bolts has already declared, that all the resolutions against him have been formed entirely by me.

Fort William, Nov. 5, 1767.

(Signed) HARRY VERELST.

The several letters from Mr. Bolts, and the President's Minute, in reply to those parts of the above letters, which relate to himself, being attentively considered,—

Resolved, unanimously, that we express in the strongest terms to the President our entire approbation of his conduct in the whole course of the proceedings relative to Mr. Bolts, and the keenest resentment of this Board at the insolent and libellous attack on his character and station, as well as the insult offered to our authority, and to this government, from the factious attempt of an incendiary to sow the seeds of jealousy and distrust in our Council, to disturb the harmony and confidence that so happily subsisted among the several members of the Board, and to destroy those blessings which

which the public confessedly enjoy under the mild and upright administration of our honourable Governor.

Resolved, That we support with all our weight and influence the just and necessary exercise of the Governor's authority, and the authority of the Board, for the preservation of peace, order, and tranquility in this settlement, and throughout the honourable Company's possessions in \* Bengal; and that we punish, to the utmost extent of our power, the unparalleled endeavours of Mr. Bolts to sap the foundation of all government, to subvert, by the factious cry of liberty, the principles of subordination, and to loosen all those sacred ties whereby men are united together.

Resolved, That our former orders to Mr. Bolts for proceeding to England shall be repeated; and that in case of disobedience to, and contempt of our authority, his person shall be seized, and forcibly sent home a prisoner in one of the ships of this season.—And lastly it is

Resolved, That the several letters written by Mr. Bolts shall be entered after this consultation, and transmitted to the honourable Court of Directors, as the strongest proof that can be exhibited of the necessity of the measures we have pursued for the support of government, and the most absolute conviction to our honourable masters, that unless they will vindicate their own authority, as exercised in unavoidable acts by their representatives in India, and assert the privileges of their royal charter, their settlements and government must infallibly be precipitated into anarchy and confusion.

It is farther agreed, That we fully express our sentiments on this important subject in our next advices to the honourable the Court of Directors.

Mr. Ffloyer lays before the Board the following minute upon the above subject :

As Mr. Bolts, in his letter to the Court of Directors, has placed a part of my conduct in a false point of view, I think it a piece of justice due to my own reputation, to lay before you, gentlemen, the matter on which he treats, in its real light; lest my honourable masters should deem me guilty of an impropriety of conduct, when I only inadvertently committed a mistake.

In the month of March last, when I was the acting justice and Zemindar, the President delivered to me a complaint which had been preferred to the grand jury at the quarter sessions, by one Gocul Sonar against Nobkissen, and desired me to enquire into it as Zemindar. I did so; but, on attesting the depositions which had been taken by me, I signed them as justice of the peace, instead of Zemindar. I was not sensible of the mistake until the next morning, when I acquainted the President with it; and, as a confirmation thereof, referred him to the officers of the Cutcherry, who were the only persons made use of by me, during the whole course of the enquiry. My report to the President, which has been laid before this Board, and the records of the court of Zemindarry, will, I hope, sufficiently evince, that I acted therein in the judicial capacity of Zemindar only, and not as one of his majesty's justices of the peace. But when I consider the tenor of Mr. Bolts's conduct, I am not surprised to find him willing to support himself by every piece of artifice he can devise.

Every member of this Board, who has acted in these two offices, (which have generally centered in one person) must be sensible that complaints are often made at the same time, some of which require the exertion of a Zemindar's authority, and others are cognizable only by a justice of the peace. In such a situation, can a mistake be wondered at; and can any unprejudiced person, upon a review of these circumstances, conclude that I have been intentionally culpable?

I solemnly declare it was a mistake, occasioned in the manner herein related; and, I trust, that the honourable the Court of Directors, upon a consideration of Mr. Bolts's conduct, will be inclined to credit this declaration in preference to his insinuations.

\* Appendix, p. 192. No. 97.

(Signed) CHARLES FFLOYER.

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No. 112.

*Extract of the Select Committee's letter to Colonel Smith, dated Fort William, November 17th, 1767.*

The Committee have recommended to the President the taking effectual steps for removing Monsieur Gentil and his associates from the court and councils of Sujah al Dowlah, which we hope to effect without laying a disagreeable restraint on the Nabob's inclinations. The measure becomes necessary, but we are desirous of observing on this, as upon all other occasions, the most punctilious delicacy towards his highness.

No. 113.

*Extract of General Smith's letter to the Select Committee, dated December 11th, 1767.*

The nature of the intelligence transmitted from Calcutta, by Sujah al Dowlah's Vakeel, is without limits; the Nabob is almost as fully acquainted with the parliamentary proceedings, concerning the Company's affairs, as I am. How far the importance and dignity of the Company, and the weight and influence of administration are lessened in his esteem by this communication, may be easily conceived. Whilst a Vakeel is so easy and so sure a channel to communicate intelligence, few men will be found so hardy as to maintain a direct correspondence with the Nabob; but there is a man who has obliquely offered so great an insult to our President, that, was I present at the Board, I would move for the exertion of our authority to the utmost extent, to free the settlement from so dangerous an inhabitant. I mean Mr. Bolts: and the enclosed copy of a letter to Monsieur Gentil, (the original is in my possession) residing in Sujah al Dowlah's court, wherein he asserts an absolute falsehood, which tends to lessen that essential dignity and necessary influence of our President, is surely deserving of your severest resentment. Nor is this the only letter he wrote; for the Nabob acquainted a person of undoubted honour, that Mr. Bolts had wrote the same to Meer Mufhallah, formerly physician and confidant of Cossim Ally, from whom the Nabob heard it. Hereafter, I may lay before you other proofs of the extent of the intelligence communicated through the Vakeel.

No. 114.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. William Bolts to Mr. Gentil, dated Calcutta, June 19th, 1767.*

J'ai écrit une lettre au Navab à qui je vous prie de faire mê tres humble respects: nous avons eu un vaisseau d'Europe Anglois, et un autre François: les affaires de notre Compagne sont dans une grande agitation devant le Roi and le parlement d'Angleterre; et selon les lettres que j'ai reçu il a grande apparence que mon *Associé* Monsieur Johnstone viendra *Gouverneur de la part du Roi*. Je ferai charmé de recevoir de temps en temps de vos nouvelles qui suis avec une parfait considération,

Mon eher Monsieur,

Votre tres humble Serviteur,

GUILLAUME BOLTS."

C c 2

No.



No. 115.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Maddison to Mr. Verelst, dated Allah-abad, November 26th, 1767.*

As the fleet of boats, I mentioned in my last, left Patna a day or two after I had the honour of transmitting you an account of them, your orders there will probably arrive too late; but as there are more fleets to be dispatched, they will certainly be in time for them.

During my stay at Faiz-abad, I casually got into my hands a letter from Mr. Bolts to Monsieur Gentil, in his own writing; where, besides some other circumstances, (which are not perhaps unexceptionable) he acquaints him, that "the affairs of the Company were in great agitation before the King and parliament; and that, according to the letters he had received, there was great appearance that his associate, Mr. Johnstone, would come out governor on the part of the King." Finding from the letter, &c. that he had wrote to the Nabob, I set myself to discover the contents of that letter, but in vain. At last I took occasion, one day, when the Nabob was enquiring what news from Europe, to tell him, that we had no news which could be depended on; and that the intelligence Mr. Bolts had communicated to him, concerning Mr. Johnstone's coming out governor on the part of the King, was certainly erroneous. He answered me with precipitation, "No, no, he did not write it to me, he wrote it to Meer Mufhallah, and I had it from him." I delivered the letter to Colonel Smith, and suppose he has, ere this, acquainted you fully of this matter.

Permit me, however, to suggest to you another channel of intelligence to the Nabob, which Mr. Bolts has been instrumental in forming, and which still remains open, I mean his Armenian Gomastahs. He had one at Faiz-abad, Coja Rafael; another at Benâres, Coja Melcombe; and a third near Ghazipore, Coja Gregory; these people have been perpetually filling the country and the Nabob's court with lying rumours; have reported that Mr. Bolts was returning to Benâres with greater power than before, that he was even set out, and a variety of other falsehoods, in order to mislead the Nabob, and best answer their own purposes. Coja Melcombe, in particular, had a constant correspondence at Calcutta; and I have intelligence, which I believe may be depended on, that he has lately reported at the Nabob's court, "that he was going to enter into Mr. Rumbold's service, or had entered into it, and would bring a letter from the Council, that no English Gomastah should be licensed except himself;" every circumstance of which is utterly false, and the news is not four days old. The Armenians, indeed, in general, seem to have adopted a system of fixing themselves in the Nabob's dominions, as they were formerly at Murshed-abad; and though the Nabob has, on account of some of their mal-practices, forbid them his province, yet, as English Gomastahs, he is, perhaps, cautious of expelling them. How far this circumstance may be worthy of your attention, you will be the most proper judge; but, as a fact, I thought it necessary to lay it before you.

I learnt a circumstance at Benâres, concerning Mr. Bolts's manner of passing his fleets, which may not be improper to communicate; he procured, last year, a considerable number of Dustucks from Mr. Middleton, for saltpetre, tincal, &c. and as some of these Dustucks have lately been seen in Coja Melcombe's hands, it is probable he avails himself of these.

No.



No. 116.

*Extract of a letter from the President and Council of Fort William, in Bengal, to the Court of Directors, dated December 10th, 1767.*

We are now come to a subject which calls for your most serious consideration: it relates to the conduct of Mr. William Bolts, lately in your service, and we think it proper to introduce it here, as it requires a full exertion of the privileges granted in the royal charter to you, and delegated to your representatives in India, to represent, in a proper manner, the insult given to our government in the person of our President, and the daring attempt not only to lessen our influence in the country, whereby your interest would infallibly suffer, but also to destroy that harmony which now so happily prevails in your councils. These purposes, so unnatural to a British subject, who had acquired an opulent fortune in your service\*, Mr. Bolts has attempted to effect by personal addresses to our Board, and secret correspondences carried on through the means of Armenian agents, at the courts of Sujah al Dowlah, and of other princes†.

We acquainted you, in our last letter, that, in consequence of a resolution taken by the Select Committee regarding Mr. Bolts, we had sent him positive orders to return to Europe this season. Some time after, we received a long letter from Chinsura, at which place he frequently resided for some time past, informing us, with much freedom of style, that, if we would take his concerns, and those of his constituents, off his hands, he would comply with our directions.

The insolence of his reply induced us not only to repeat our orders, but, on his return to town, to forbid him quitting the colony until the time of his embarkation arrived; in defiance of which he immediately withdrew from the Presidency, and returned to Chinsura, from whence he sent us a most insulting letter, reflecting upon the character of our President, and of several of the members of our Board. This was accompanied by a long address to you, the absurdity and malice of which is too evident to require any strictures from us; we shall therefore forward it without remarks a number in the packet. The measures we had recourse to on this occasion were these; first, unanimously to assure the President, that we approved of the whole of his conduct, during the course of his proceedings with regard to Mr. Bolts, and that we entertained the warmest resentment against Mr. Bolts for presuming upon so libellous and unjust an attack upon the character of our Governor‡; and next to determine on repeating our peremptory orders to him to proceed to Europe without delay; with which if he refuses compliance, we shall seize him by force, and send him prisoner on one of the ships of this season. The expediency of fulfilling this resolution becomes more evident from the intelligence which we have since received of his informing Monsieur Gentil, a Frenchman at the court of Sujah al Dowlah, by letter, that the Company's affairs in Europe were in the utmost confusion; and that his associate Mr. Johnstone, as he terms him, would be appointed Governor here on the part of his majesty. An attested copy of this letter appears on our Consultations, and the original is now in the hands of Col. Smith. Several other letters to different people in power at the Hindostan courts have been seen.

\* Mr. Bolts was little more than six years a servant to the Company in Bengal, during which he acquired a fortune of 90,000 l.—Vide Considerations, p. 12.

† Appendix, p. 204. No. 115. &c. &c.

‡ Appendix, p. 201 and 202.

No. 117.

*Extract of a letter from the Select Committee to Colonel Smith, dated Fort William, December 22d, 1767.*

We very much approve of the information you have sent us, regarding Mr. Bolts's conduct in the carrying on a correspondence with Monsieur Gentil at the court of Sujah al Dowlah, and have laid the same before the Council; whose sentiments, as well as ours, we with pleasure observe, entirely concur with those you have expressed on that subject. We request you will use your endeavours with the Nabob, to remove Mr. Bolts's Gomastahs from his dominions.

No. 118.

*Extract of a letter from General Smith to Mr. Verelst, dated Meer Abzul's, March 9th, 1768.*

After the very strong representations made by Sujah al Dowlah to me, concerning Armenians and other Gomastahs, you will be surpris'd when I tell you, that to one of those very men whom, two months since, he intended to chase from the country by a guard of English Sepoys, he has lately granted a pension of three hundred \* rupees per month. I have heard that † Purfect Roy has some communication with ‡ Coja Petrus.

No. 119.

*Extract of a letter from Capt. Harper to Mr. Verelst, dated Faiz-abad, March 20th, 1768.*

His excellency desired me to acquaint you, that he esteems himself much obliged for the care you are at to prevent any persons taking on them the English name to the prejudice of his servants. His excellency's reply to your letter I have just received, and now inclose. Coja Rafael, the § Armenian, was lately taken into the Nabob's service, through the influence of the physician Meer Mufhallah, and allowed three hundred \* rupees per month. I shall take particular care, to see that his excellency's order for sending the two Armenians away be properly enforced.

No. 120.

*Extract of ditto, dated Faiz-abad, March 29th, 1768.*

I had the honour to address you on the 20th instant, on the subject of the Armenians, and enclosing a statement of the Nabob's military force. I am now to acquaint you, that his excellency being informed that the two Armenians, Rafael and Esteven, intended, instead of complying with his orders to go down, to remove from hence to Ferruck-abad, applied to me the day before yesterday for a guard to apprehend them. I immediately sent Sepoys, and the Armenians are now in custody. His excellency has desired me to let them remain ten days to settle their business, and then send them prisoners to Patna, which I shall accordingly do.

\* 37 l. 10 s.

† Sujah al Dowlah's Vakeel at Calcutta.

‡ A principal Armenian inhabitant of Calcutta, mentioned in the case of Parfeek Arratoon; see Introduction, p. 24. and brother to Coja Gregore, one of Meer Cossin's most active generals, in his war with the English in the year 1763.

§ One of Mr. Bolts's agents, now in England.

No.

No. 121.

*Copy of a letter from Mr. Verelst to Mr. William Bolts, dated Calcutta, March 31st, 1768.*

SIR

I have received your letter of the 30th instant, and am to acquaint you that I know of no orders for impeding the business of your Gomastahs in particular, in the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah or Bulwant Sing. Repeated complaints have been received from those two princes of the oppressive conduct of Gomastahs taking the English name and carrying on trade in their countries. The honourable Company have been pleased to express their orders for the positive prohibition to their servants of all trade whatever in those provinces, and the Presidency of Fort William have resolved to put a stop to it in future, by a recall of all such Gomastahs. How far, or by what right, your Gomastahs can be allowed to continue there after the time already allotted you for the adjustment of your concerns, must be determined by the government here.

I am your most obedient servant

(Signed) H. VERELST.

No. 122.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Verelst to Mr. William Bolts, dated Calcutta, April 9th, 1768.*

SIR,

I have your letters of the 2d and 7th instant, and am again to repeat to you that the resolutions taken and the orders given for recalling the English Gomastahs in the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah and Bulwant Sing, were general, not particular; but that as the names of such persons came to my knowledge, it became necessary to point them out.

No. 123.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated the 4th May, 1768.*

Colonel Smith delivers the following minute:

Colonel Smith having perused the Proceedings of the Select Committee, as well as the Resolutions of Council, concerning Mr. Bolts, he now takes this first opportunity of expressing in person to the Board, those sentiments he wrote to the Select Committee in his letter of December 11th, 1767\*. It appears from the Consultations of the 5th of November, 1767 †, that you determined to repeat the former orders for Mr. Bolts to proceed to England; and, in case of disobedience to those orders and contempt of your authority, that his person should be seized, and sent home prisoner in one of the ships of last season.

I have carefully examined your records, in order to discover if the posterior conduct of Mr. Bolts had been such as to induce you to postpone your former resolution, but find your resolution stands unrevoked and unexecuted.

It appears also from the Proceedings of the Select Committee, that Mr. Bolts, ever since your resolution of the 5th November, has been corresponding with the country powers; this correspondence is wisely and expressly prohibited to individuals by the orders of our honourable masters‡. If you had not already entered into a resolution of sending Mr. Bolts to Europe, most undoubtedly I would have made such a motion; but when I read an unanimous decree of your Board for taking such measures on this

\* Appendix, p. 203. No. 113.

† Appendix, p. 201 and 202.

‡ Introduction, p. 38.

occasion as appear absolutely necessary for the public service, I cannot but conjure you, gentlemen, to enforce obedience to your resolutions, to support the dignity of government; for, should we suffer Mr. Bolts with impunity to bid defiance to our authority, the consequences are so very obvious, that to mention them is unnecessary. I do therefore move, That the resolution of the Board of the 5th November, 1767, shall be carried into execution, and, in case of disobedience to your orders on the part of Mr. Bolts, that he shall positively be sent prisoner to Europe on the first ship which shall be dispatched from this Presidency.

(Signed) RICHARD SMITH.

The Board still adhere to their former resolution of sending Mr. Bolts to England,—

It is therefore Agreed and Resolved, That he shall be sent to England by the first ship that is dispatched this season.

No. 124.

*Copy of a letter from Mahomed Reza Cawn (acting minister to the Nabob of Bengal) to Mr. Verelst; inclosing Mr. Bolts's Proclamation. Recorded on Fort William Consultations, the 15th of August, 1768.*

Coja Rafâel and Coja Estevân, two Armenians, who were under the custody of Captain Harper, and sent by him to Colonel Barker, and by the Colonel delivered to Maha Rajah Seetabroy, and by Seetabroy conducted hither to me, are now at Mursheedabad. Mr. Bolts issues a writing in the style of a public order, or proclamation, to all ranks of people; and affixes his seal upon the face thereof, in manner of a Firman, and sends it hither. The sense of it is, that whosoever shall imprison or molest the aforesaid Armenians, shall be answerable for all his ballances and outstanding concerns. A copy of the writing is inclosed for your perusal, and the original is deposited with Mr. Sykes. I cannot comprehend what Mr. Bolts could propose by such a writing. The Armenians are both here; consequently, what Mr. Bolts has written is directly levelled at the Nizâm, (Nabob) and the executive officers of the government acting under me; and there never was an instance yet of any one who wrote in such a style to the Nizâm, and the officers of the government.

*Copy of a PROCLAMATION under Mr. Bolts's Hand and Seal.*

“BE IT KNOWN AND SIGNIFIED—Whereas I have appointed Coja Rafâel Usannes Padry to collect my ballances and outstanding debts, and to get together all my concerns in trade, which are now dispersed abroad in divers places. The aforesaid person will collect in the ballances from the several Assammies, according to justice and equity, and will also get together and bring away all such concerns in trade as are there outstanding on my account. Whoever, therefore, shall, without cause or pretence, impede and hinder this business, or any way molest the aforesaid person, he shall become responsible for my ballances and outstanding concerns, and I will take due account of my affairs from him. I have written this by way of declaration.”

(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS. (L. S.)

No.

No. 125.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated August 26th, 1765.*

The President acquainted the Board, as a farther proof of the misconduct of Mr. Bolts, that Mr. Baber, when sub-secretary, had reported to him that Mr. Bolts, instead of duly executing the covenants sent out by the Company, prohibiting any of their servants receiving presents, did elude their orders, and, instead of executing them himself, employed a writer to sign his name for him, who was also one of the subscribing witnesses to the deed.

The Board calling upon Mr. Baber to give his information in this point, he acquainted them as follows:—When I was sub-secretary, Mr. Bolts came to me at the secretary's office in the council house, and after telling me he had something of importance to say to me, he took me aside, and asked me, "if I could let him see his covenants sent out by the Company, prohibiting their servants accepting presents; to which I replied I could." He then desired me to go into a room where there were not any gentlemen writing; I took him into the council room, and after shewing him his covenants, he requested me, in the most earnest manner, "to execute them afresh;" alledging, as a reason for making this request, "that the signing was not his own but his writer's; and this circumstance was known to Mr. Sage, who he was apprehensive would make it public." I told him, "it was not in my power to grant him such a request," and peremptorily refused him; after this denial he then requested, "I would keep this matter a profound secret;" I told him, "as long as I could do it consistently with my duty to my employers I would; but if it should ever be of consequence to disclose this matter I must look upon this promise to be void."

No. 126.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated September 5th, 1768.*

Mr. Baber delivered in his information upon oath as follows:

That in or about the month of September, which was in the year of our Lord 1766, he, the said Edward Baber, being then sub-secretary to the said United Company's President and Council at Fort William, in Bengal aforesaid, William Bolts of Calcutta, at Fort William in Bengal aforesaid, came to him the said Edward Baber at the secretary's office in the Council-house at Calcutta aforesaid, and then and there told him the said Edward Baber, that he the said William Bolts had something of importance to say to him the said Edward Baber, and then the said William Bolts took the said Edward Baber aside, and asked, if he could let him, the said William Bolts, see his covenants, meaning the deed of covenants made, or mentioned to be made, between him the said William Bolts of the one part, and the said United Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, of the other part, and bearing date on or about the 9th day of May, which was in the year of our Lord 1765, and which was sent out from England by the said United Company, in order to prohibit their servants from accepting of presents from any of the Nabobs or other princes in India, &c. to which the said Edward Baber answered he could; whereupon, the said William Bolts, desired him the said Edward Baber, to go with him the said William Bolts, into a room where there were not any gentlemen writing, upon which he, the said Edward Baber, went with the said William Bolts into the Council-room, and then and there shewed him the said William Bolts, the said deed of covenants; whereupon, the said William Bolts requested him the said Edward Baber,

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in the most earnest manner, to permit him the said William Bolts, to execute that deed afresh, or over again, and to allow him the said William Bolts, to take the said deed home with him for that purpose, meaning to his the said William Bolts's own house, wherein he then lived, at Calcutta aforesaid, alledging, the reason for making that request, *that the signing was not his own, but his writer's*; meaning, that the name of him the said William Bolts, as it then appeared to be signed and wrote, or set and subscribed to the said deed, *was not of his the said William Bolts's own proper hand writing*, but that the same was signed and wrote, or set and subscribed, by his the said William Bolts's writer; *and that the circumstance, or fact, was known by Mr. Sage*, meaning one Isaac Sage, who was then in the service of the said United Company, who the said William Bolts said *he was apprehensive would make it public, and turn it to the prejudice of him the said William Bolts*, or expressed himself in words to that or the like purport or effect; whereupon, the said Edward Baber then told him the said William Bolts, that it was not in the power of him the said Edward Baber, to grant or comply with the beforementioned request of the said William Bolts; upon which, the said William Bolts made use of several arguments, in order to induce and prevail upon him the said Edward Baber to grant or comply with the said William Bolts' beforementioned request, amongst other things insinuating, *that it might be done without ever coming to the knowledge of the President, or any of the Council at Fort William in Bengal aforesaid*; whereupon the said Edward Baber, in order to free himself from any farther importunities of him the said William Bolts, then told the said William Bolts, that he the said Edward Baber was of a different opinion, and also that he thought it inconsistent with his duty; but in case he the said William Bolts had a mind, they would go and consult Mr. Campbell upon it, meaning one Alexander Campbell, then in Calcutta aforesaid, in the service of the said United Company, and who was a particular friend and acquaintance of him the said William Bolts; but he the said William Bolts then rejected that offer or proposal, and begged that the said Alexander Campbell might not be made acquainted with the before mentioned affair or transaction, whereupon the said Edward Baber peremptorily refused to permit the said William Bolts to execute the said deed afresh, or over again, or to allow him to carry the same home with him to his the said William Bolts' own house for that purpose; and thereupon the said William Bolts most importunately solicited him the said Edward Baber *to keep the before mentioned matter or transaction a profound secret*, upon which the said Edward Baber then and there told the said William Bolts, that so long as he could keep it a secret consistently with his duty to his employers, meaning the said United Company and their President and Council at Fort William aforesaid, he would, but if it should be of consequence to discover that matter or transaction, the said Edward Baber would look upon that promise to be void, and inconsistent with his duty to his before mentioned employers.

No. 127.

*Copy of a Paper affixed to the door of the Council house at Calcutta, between the 5th and the 19th September, 1768.*

To the PUBLIC.

Mr. Bolts takes this method of informing the public, that the want of a printing press in this city being of great disadvantage in business, and making it extremely difficult to communicate such intelligence to the community as is of the utmost importance

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portance to every British subject, he is ready to give the best encouragement to any person or persons who are versed in the business of printing, and will undertake to manage a press, the types and utensils of which he can produce.

In the mean time he begs leave to inform the public that, having in manuscript many things to communicate, which most intimately concern every individual, any person, who may be induced by curiosity, or other more laudable motives, will be permitted, at Mr. Bolts' house, to read or take copies of the same; a person will give due attendance at the house from ten to twelve every morning.

No. 128.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated September 13th, 1768.*

The Board came to the following resolution:—

Mr. William Bolts having obstinately refused complying with our frequent and repeated orders to return to England; having persisted to insult our authority and government, and to subvert the principles of subordination; having aggravated every circumstance of his conduct, which is strongly pointed out and represented in our Consultations of 5th November, 1767, and which then made us deem it necessary, for the support of our authority, and for the preservation of the peace, order, and tranquility of this settlement, and throughout the honourable Company's possessions in Bengal, to resolve on seizing his person, and forcibly sending him home, it became more particularly incumbent on the Board to enforce these orders;—

And it is accordingly Agreed and Resolved, to send Mr. Bolts home a prisoner on board the *Valentine*, if he refuses to comply with our orders; and Captain Purvis having expressed to the President some doubts how far he may be made responsible for the execution of such a measure, Mr. Bolts having already served Captain Purvis with a protest against taking him on board the *Valentine*, the Board, in order to remove every apprehension which Captain Purvis seems to entertain of the consequence of detaining him, do farther Agree, as the agents and representatives of the Company, to give Captain Purvis an indemnification for his satisfaction, and from that consideration only, as they are well convinced of the legality of such a measure, that it will meet with the approbation of the honourable the Court of Directors, as well as those similar measures which were taken in the year 1766, with regard to the officers who resigned and were sent home.

No. 129.

*Captain Robert Coxe's Report to the Board, in respect to his taking charge of Mr. Bolts.*

Calcutta, Sept. 23d, 1768.

That finding the doors open he went up stairs, and found Mr. Bolts alone, and shewing him the Board's order Mr. Bolts said he would not leave his house unless Captain Coxe made him a prisoner and forced him; the Captain telling him he was glad to find him so well prepared to leave the place, he said he had expected he should be forced away, and had been very busy in getting himself in readiness. After this Captain Coxe thinking he made a very unnecessary delay, and fearing he intended to procure himself to be arrested for debt, desired him to make dispatch, upon which he again said he would not go unless Captain Coxe forced him. Whereupon the Captain called two Sepoys, who put their hands on his shoulder by his own desire, saying, he would not go if they did not take hold of him; he

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then came down stairs, desiring some gentlemen present to take notice that he was forced out of his house. Captain Coxe adds, that Mr. Bolts was, in every respect, prepared for this order, having his books and papers in great form, which he delivered to his attornies, telling them, that every thing was so plain they could not mistake, observing that plain directions were given as to such debts as they were to get in.

No. 130.

*Extract of an additional Letter from the President and Council at Fort William, in Bengal, to the Court of Directors, dated September 24th, 1768, and sent by the Valentine.*

We beg leave to add a circumstance relative to Mr. Bolts, that has happened since closing our dispatches. We informed you in our letter, we had directed him to be sent by force to England, if he refused to comply with our orders; we imagined he did refuse to comply with them, and Captain Robert Coxe was ordered to seize him with a guard, and carry him on board the Cuddalore schooner, which was prepared to receive him and his necessaries, but was particularly cautioned that, in performing this service, he should force no doors, locks, or windows, and use as little violence as the nature of the case would admit. Mr. Bolts has been accordingly conducted on board the Cuddalore schooner, and is now proceeding to be embarked on board the Valentine, in order to be sent to England; and we must beg leave to observe to you, gentlemen, that it appears, from the whole tenor of his conduct, that his aim has been to reduce us to the necessity of taking this measure; he had prepared himself for the voyage; and he had, we are informed, all his papers and every thing necessary ready, in order to embark, when he was seized by Captain Coxe.

## On the R E V E N U E S.

No. 131.

*To the Right Honourable Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c. Gentlemen of the Select Committee.*

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

Calcutta, Sept. 13th, 1765.

In consequence of your appointment of me to the Supra-visorship of the Burdwan affairs, I immediately applied myself to the examination of the accounts of the revenues of that country, as far as they had been transmitted to the Board, from the Company's first taking possession of that province. The following is a summary statement thereof, specifying each year's demands and payments.

Dr.		Burdwan Revenues, 1761.		Cr.	
		Rupees.		Rupees.	
To balance of 1760	-	511000	: 0 : 0	Total receipts	- - - 3304881 : 12 : 6
Malguzarry 1761	-	3250000	: 0 : 0	Balance due	- - - 456118 : 3 : 6
		<u>3761000</u>	<u>: 0 : 0</u>		<u>3761000 : 0 : 0</u>
					Dr.

Dr.	Burdwan Revenues, 1762.	Cr.
	Rupees.	Rupees.
Malguzarry 1762	- - - 3400000 : 0 : 0	Total receipts
An overplus	- - - 121635 : 8 : 0	- - - 3521635 : 8 : 0
	3521635 : 8 : 0	

Dr.	Burdwan Revenues, 1763.	Cr.
Malguzarry 1763	- - - 3400000 : 0 : 0	Total receipts
		- - - 3344200 : 0 : 0
		Ballance due
		- - - 55800 : 0 : 0
		3400000 : 0 : 0

Dr.	Burdwan Revenues, 1764.	Cr.
Malguzarry 1764	- - - 3200000 : 0 : 0	Total receipts
		- - - 3149737 : 4 : 3
		Ballance due
		- - - 50262 : 11 : 9
		3200000 : 0 : 0

Dr.	The Burdwan Rajah Account Ballances.		Cr.
To amount ballance 1761	456118 : 3 : 6	An overplus 1762	- - - 121635 : 8 : 0
	1763 55800 : 0 : 0	Ballance	- - - 440545 : 7 : 3
	1764 50262 : 11 : 9		562180 : 15 : 3
	562180 : 15 : 3		

Which will be accounted for as follows - - - - - 440545 : 7 : 3  
 Deduct Mudge-kiraut for the year 1761, allowed to the Conguy's  
 and other officers, neglected to be struck off the Malguzarry in the  
 above statement of that year - - - - - 51103 : 6 : 0

389442 : 1 : 3

Deduct Poolbundy advanced for repairs of dykes,  
 roads, &c. to be paid by them - - - - - 41000 : 0 : 0  
 Difference of Batta on monies remitted, which the  
 Rajah accuses the Podars of the Calcutta treasury of  
 not having brought to account, and which he engages  
 to prove, if not, he is to pay the same - - - - - 45426 : 10 : 0

86426 : 10 : 0

Deduct cash paid into the treasury from June 30th to July 6th - - - 303015 : 7 : 3  
 - - - 162752 : 0 : 0

Rupees, 140263 : 7 : 3

By the above statement you will observe, that, at the close of the fourth year, there was immediately due from the Rajah rupees 303015:7:3, which I demanded of him, insisting on the full payment of it before we came to any settlement for the present year. He made many objections to a compliance, particularly remarking, that, as he had been

been divested of all power and influence in the collections, he thought it unjust to be obliged to answer for any losses and deficiencies in the revenues which have arose from the bad conduct of those who had the management. However, as I persisted in his complying with the Malguzarry he had agreed for, he at length consented, and paid into the treasury the sum of rupees 162,752 in part of his ballance, and executed an obligation to pay the remainder rupees 140,263:7:3 in two months, which I accepted, and desired him to proceed to Burdwan, and that I should, in consequence of my appointment, immediately follow him. The sum of rupees 41,000, lent by the Company, under the head of Poorbundy, to the tenants, for the necessary repairs of dykes, roads, &c. is still outstanding, and, when due, will be collected and brought to the Company's credit. In the settling the accounts there appears a deficiency of rupees 45,426:10, which the Rajah complains of as owing to the roguery of those people in Calcutta appointed to shroff and receive the money, and which I cannot think him any ways answerable for, as it is evident the whole was dispatched from Burdwan. The Rajah has since paid part of the bond he gave for rupees 140,263:7:3, and I make no doubt but he will shortly discharge the whole.

On my arrival at Burdwan, and inspecting the state of the revenues and collections for the preceding as well as the present year, I was surpris'd to find a large decrease of the revenues from the first of our taking possession. The rents of the province, according to the Jumabundy, or rent-roll, of 1168, or 1761, amounted to rupees 3,724,474:10:8, which by the \* outcry of 1169, were encreas'd rupees 529,034:1:11, also by Chaukeran Balgazarry affairs (or lands allotted for servants, resumed this year) rupees 103,825, making in all rupees 4,357,334:0:7, out of which rupees 3,785:4:4 were deducted for the Rajah's Nuncar in one of the Purgunnahs, the sum therefore due was rupees 4,353,548:12:3, of which were collected from the farmers rupees 3,460,985:1:8. For the year 1170, or 1763, the same Jumabundy and with some small articles of encrease, came to rupees 4,481,035:10:15, of which were collected rupees 3,719,464:9:4. The very great ballances of these two years, amounting to rupees 1,654,134:12:6, made the honourable Board sensible of the impossibility of the then farmers complying with their agreements, and that the lands could not be made to produce any thing equal to the valuation in consequence of the \* outcry in 1169; they therefore issued an order, whereby those who chose it might relinquish or keep their farms on making good their ballances out of their private fortunes, and that such as were not able should have their farms taken from them, and their goods sold to do it. Many were glad to take advantage of the first order, altho' certain ruin attend'd it; and many more were obliged to submit to the latter, by which lands to the amount of rupees 2,615,434:4:4 became Cofs. The disadvantages of collecting in that manner were so evident, that it was resolv'd to endeavour to farm them out again for the third year on the best terms that could be procur'd. The examples, however, of the two former years were sufficient to prevent men of substance and credit from offering themselves; so that only to the amount of rupees 580,429:4:0 was taken at a considerable discount from the former Jumma or valuation, although the most profitable were selected out of the whole by the Muttafeddees, who were well acquainted with what they would produce. The rest, amounting to rupees 2,035,034:4:0, still continued Cofs, and Sheikdars, or collectors were appointed to them, people in every respect as unworthy and infamous in their characters as the purchasers of the year 1169, who had been just dismissed, by which the expences in collecting were very considerably encreas'd. The Jumabundy of 1171, including an encrease this year of rupees 3,013:9:16, amount'd to rupees 4,484,049:4:11 out of which is to be deducted rupees 12,744:4:18 for losses sustained by hail, &c. so that rupees 4,471,304:15:13 remained due; of this sum was only collected rupees 3,512,39:33:0, so that there appears to be a ballance for

\* Public sale.

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for the first year of rupees 892,563:10:15; for the second, rupees 761,571:1:11; and for the third, rupees 958,911:12:13, making together, for the three years for which the lands were sold at outcry, a deficiency in the estimation made from the sales of 1169 of rupees 2,613,046:8:19. Out of the ballance of the third year, the sum of rupees 554,124:6:14 arises from the Coss-lands only, a sum much larger than the amount-advances bid at the outcry, not a rupee of which can ever be recovered, as the revenues of these lands are collected by servants appointed for that purpose, whose duty it was to pay into the treasury—only what they receive from the tenants, on settling whose accounts no farther demand could be made upon them. From the above account you will observe how very short of what was estimated in 1169 the real produce of the province has been, and how little prospect there was of its mending; nor do I think it can be otherwise whilst the same plan of an outcry is pursued. The being put into immediate possession of lands, of which the purchaser is to have the sole collection, independent of the Rajah and his officers, or the chief and Council, on his agreeing to pay into the Cutcherry a certain sum, is a sufficient inducement for men of desperate fortunes, such as have no method of livelihood, and who, by their mal-practices in other parts, were incapable of getting employment, to come and offer themselves as purchasers, thereby securing an immediate subsistence, and hoping by their oppression to get some profit, even should they buy in the lots too dear to obtain any thing by them in a fair way; and as the sale was public, no bidder could there be consistently objected to. With these views, they cared not what they bid; and while the old farmers, who had possession, perhaps, from father to son for many years past, continued to rise in their offers, and probably exceeded the real value of the lands, rather than be turned out of what they esteemed their estates and habitations, and insulted by new comers; these last always thought they could afford something more: thus the greatest part of the province fell into the hands of a set of rapacious wretches, who revelled in the produce of the lands which ought to have been paid into the Cutcherry; the consequence of which was, that, at the close of the year 1170, a most enormous ballance was incurred, as has been above remarked, and the Ryots, who had been oppressed by the head farmers, and many ruined, were obliged to desert their lands which then became uncultivated. The substantial farmers, who, rather than quit their habitations, had purchased at the outcry, at an exorbitant rate, were obliged to relinquish their farms on making good the ballances out of their private fortunes, by which many were ruined, whilst all the satisfaction that could be obtained from the others, was to turn them out, without hopes of ever recovering any thing from them.

It is a circumstance that must appear evident to every one who reflects on the nature of this scheme, how prejudicial it will ultimately prove to the country. If the leases are granted for so short a time, it only serves as an incitement to ill-disposed people to take them; having no concern in the future success and welfare of the country, they pay no regard to any thing but the enriching themselves at the expence and to the detriment of the industrious Ryot, by which the lands soon become neglected and uncultivated. It is a known custom here for the farmers, who are desirous of encreasing the number of their tenants, and promoting the good of their country, to assist them from time to time with money towards purchasing the necessary implements for cultivation, as well as to support their families till the produce of their lands enable them to support themselves, and which I have never known repaid in less than three years. It is not, therefore, to be expected that people in the above circumstances should attempt improvements at a certain loss; on the contrary, when the lands are disposed of at a moderate rent, to substantial and creditable people, to be held in perpetuity, it becomes their own interest, equally with that of the government, to encourage the cultivation.

After the heavy losses and real detriment the first outcry had proved of to the whole province, I was greatly surpris'd to find, on my arrival there, that it had been again expos'd to public sale; however, purchasers had only been found for about 22 lacks of rupees, so great was the prejudice taken at the former sale, and the whole of that very considerably under the Jumma-bundy of 1169, excepting the farms lately held by Messrs. Johnstone, Hay, and Bolts, on which a great advance was bid\*; the rest of the province, for which there were no bidders, became Co's; the statement of the revenues of these lands is as follows:

Christian Æra,	Bengal Æra,	Rupees.	Annas.	Pice.
1760, or	1167	1,014,242	: 1	: 4
1761, -	1168	1,166,910	: 3	: 10
1762, -	1169	1,272,854	: 0	: 15
1763, -	1170	1,272,854	: 0	: 15
1764, -	1171	912,237	: 1	: 5

By which you will observe the great difference in the Jumma, or valuation of them, between 1169, and 1171, the first and the last years of the outcry, besides the almost certainty, from the distress the lands were left in, of their decreasing as much again in their value, if continued to be collected in this manner, and attended with a very considerable addition of expence in servants, &c. that must be employed in that service. Such a prospect of inevitable ruin I thought required some immediate step to be taken. Nothing appearing so effectual as what I mentioned above, I endeavour'd to engage men of substance and character to take the charge of them, with a promise, that if they exerted themselves in the improvement, they should never be dispossest, but meet with all due encouragement and favour from the Company. In consequence of this many offer'd, and considering how far the season was advanced, I thought no time should be lost in putting them into immediate possession; and notwithstanding the best part of the time for cultivation is elapsed, they have agreed to pay, within very little, what they yielded last year; the next year they give an encrease, the third a larger, and the fourth they will fully pay what they produced in 1167; after which, should it be found necessary to lay any general encrease or tax upon the province, these people will subject themselves threto equally with others.

I make no doubt but the Company will receive this year from thirty-two to thirty-three lacks, which is as much as they have hitherto got upon a medium. The Rajah has already offer'd thirty-two for his Malguzary; but as on a farther scrutiny into the several branches of the business, and diminishing the several very heavy charges at present upon the province, I may somewhat encrease it, I have hitherto deferred coming to any agreement with him; since, if I did, whatever should arise, would of course go to him. I have already represent'd to him the great and unnecessary charge of his troops, the monthly pay of which is rupees 22,000; the more so as the Company keep there a battalion of Sepoys for the service of the province. He has struck off 7000 rupees per month, and I am in great hopes I shall be able to lessen this charge still more.

The Bazee Zemeen, or charity lands, are said to amount to between four and five lacks of Begas, great part of these it has been thought (and I believe with reason) to be misapplied; the Board has repeatedly order'd a scrutiny to be made into the Sunnuds and claims, but I do not find it has ever yet been properly settled, and a tax was to have been laid on such as, on examination, should be found to be in the possession of people no ways entitl'd thereto; last year the revenues fell so very

\* For the Court of Directors sentiments hereon, See extract of their letter to the Select Committee in Bengal.—Appendix, p. 137, paragraph 17.

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short, and some expedient being thought necessary to raise more money, if possible, to complete the Company's Malguzarry, Mr. Johnstone taxed the whole of this land at 9 Annas per Bega, without regard to what was really applied to the purposes it was intended for, except some which Mr. Marriott had cleared during his short stay at Burdwan: as these lands have ever been held sacred and free from any imposition, I must think so general an order would not have met with the sanction of the Board, had the case been properly stated to them; but there appears to me to have been an absolute necessity for some extraordinary measure, since the revenues of the country could not supply the Malguzarry, although at the same time the Board agreed to receive two lacks less than the Rajah had before settled; for the consequence of this has been, that many of these lands have been left uncultivated, until very lately, on my assurances that such as can prove their claims shall have their lands given up for the future; as many of these lands have become the property of people whose want of merit and qualifications to entitle them to such an indulgence, serve but to make it a nursery of indolence; and as the right of reversion is vested in the Rajah, I represented it to him, and have obtained in behalf of the Company the reversion of what shall fall to him by death, until it amounts to one half of the whole, as a fund for the use and support of such invalidated Sepoys and others, as have or may suffer in our service: the better to secure this, as soon as possible, a regular register of them is making.

On examining into the circumstances of the principal farmers of the province, I found that the most considerable part of the lands was farmed by Muttasfeddees, and those the most profitable selected out by them; it is through these people we are to acquire a knowledge into the state of the country, the revenues and customs in collecting; and while they, by being such extensive farmers, have so large an interest, they do their utmost not only to keep us ignorant but also to deceive us in points of the greatest consequence; besides which, being themselves capable, and no doubt guilty of great frauds in their accounts, they are under the necessity of conniving at the same in others, to prevent a detection in themselves. They are very sensible how these arguments may be used against them, and are the more cautious of letting it be known what lands they have; they, therefore, have a custom of making several Gomastahs to take them, giving different people in their families for securities; this is not only the custom of the heads, but is followed by every petty Mohooree in each office; exclusive of which, the infamous practices used by them to obtain the lands at the outcry at an under rate, are most notorious. I would therefore recommend, that such Muttasfeddees as hold a large quantity of lands, should be obliged to quit them, or their offices, and that nobody holding any post be permitted to farm, except it be a very small quantity for the conveniency of their house and family; I would, however, defer it till the beginning of next year, as the heavy collections are now coming on, and their quitting their farms immediately might be very prejudicial.

The obtaining a true knowledge of the revenues, and just valuation of the country, has ever been strenuously recommended by the Company, but we have been very far from acquiring it. It was Mr. Johnstone's opinion, as has been before remarked, that the best method was to expose the province to a public sale, and that the amount that should be bid, would fix its utmost value; however, exclusive of the many disadvantages of this plan just explained, and which we have learnt from experience, there remains another very material objection, and which is the cause of the Muttasfeddees recommending it, viz. that it leads to no discovery of what they have hitherto concealed, as (supposing the justness of Mr. Johnstone's argument) it can only fix the value of those lands we are at present acquainted with; whereas, I believe, nobody doubts but by finding out the quantity of lands which really exist, the revenues coming into

the Sircar would be greatly encreased, I mean exclusive of what might be discovered in the Bazee Zemeen, which itself must be very considerable. The great quantity of lands in possession of the different Muttasfeddees, have been selected out of the whole province as the most profitable, containing more cultivated ground, and producing a greater profit than is by most people imagined; these they ever kept amongst themselves, to prevent their real value being known. I would therefore recommend, that an account should be made of every Purgunnah, and every village, haut, &c. in it, its Jumma, and the exact measurement of its lands, and as much of this last as possible to be executed by surveyors appointed by you; the Muttasfeddees have ever opposed this, and represented it as impracticable, because they are sensible it must tend to their disgrace, and the diminishing their advantages; but which, I am convinced, may be overcome, notwithstanding every obstacle from them is to be expected: it will be the more easy too when such as chuse to hold their offices are divested of their lands, and the rest only farmers without the influence of office. The above objections which they have raised make it the more desirable, since it is known they have their interest in avoiding it.

On my arrival at Burdwan I found the Rajah, as he had before assured me, quite unacquainted with the transactions and affairs of his country, and without the respect due to his office: his incapacity, and the necessity of our superior influence and power, may be urged as a reason for it; but I think it will be better policy to have him fully acquainted with his affairs, and that a proper respect should be paid him as Rajah; nor would I have him under such an influence, as not to be able to make his complaints to Calcutta in any case where he may think himself aggrieved, as I am informed happened in Mr. Johnstone's time, when, after having made his escape privately out of the province, he was obliged to return without being allowed a hearing; and his officers, who were bringing the papers, which were proofs of his grievances; were seized just entering Calcutta, by some of the factory Sepoys, and also carried back. At the same time I would not quit the least jot of our power in the country. Nothing on his part can be done without our mutual consent; and I find him both willing and ready to concur in every thing I propose. By supporting him on this footing we may with greater propriety make him accountable for any deficiency in the payment of the revenues than we could before. Although I have made him accountable for every rupee of the ballances of former years, yet I must say his complaints in Calcutta, of the hardship done him in obliging him to pay them, have been founded on too much reason. He cannot now plead the same; the Company will have a double security, the revenue itself, as the collections will still continue to pass through our hands, and the Rajah, in case of deficiency from the roguery of his people, employed.

I have been taking an account of the ballances of former years' rents due to the Rajah, which are very considerable. I shall collect as much of them as I can without oppressing the people, or any ways injuring the collections of this year, and recommend this as a fund for paying off his debts, which are very large. Many of his creditors have the whole of their fortunes in his hands; but amongst the first to be considered, I would recommend Juggut Seer, and one Gurdy Loll: the former, for his attachment to the English, and the sufferings of his family on our account, I think deserves our attention, and that we should take this opportunity of manifesting our regard for them; the latter, on our first taking possession, as I have been informed, voluntarily lent the Rajah one lack of rupees †, which was paid into our treasury, at a time when, owing to the troubles in the country, the Rajah found great difficulty in collecting in his revenues; and although he was promised to be very shortly refunded, he has to this day received nothing.

The

† 12,500 l.



The raw silk of this province being of a better quality than that of Cossimbazar, and the Company's demands for this article greater than before, I am giving every encouragement to encrease the produce of it. By letting the mulberry plantations at a less rent than in other countries, it will induce a number to employ their lands for this purpose, and largely encrease our revenues; for a spot of land with mulberry trees, and another with paddy, and the ground of both equal in goodness, the former will yield a rent from eight to twenty rupees, when the latter will not yield two rupees. The encrease of quantity will I hope decrease the price, when this article may be purchased for the Company at a reasonable rate.

From the vicinity of the Burdwan province to the Presidency, I cannot think the appointment of a factory any ways necessary. One person to reside on the spot, who will, in conjunction with the Rajah and his officers, sign all papers, and issue all orders, which regard the collections, is fully sufficient, and which is at present the duty of the council in rotation. A supra-visor may, as he sees occasion, go there to settle and regulate any matters that may occur, or send his directions from hence. If it is urged that these gentlemen preside over the several courts of justice, and thereby relieve the poor, I must remark, that in so very large a district as this province, it is impossible to have the greatest part of the complaints brought to Burdwan. It is therefore customary to issue directions to the Sheikdars, &c. in the Purgunnahs at the head of the petition, ordering them to enquire into it. Besides which, as the gentlemen are obliged to inform themselves through the servants and Banyans appointed to each office, I do not think it so necessary to have that number, as one might equally well attend to causes of any consequence. I am the more inclined to recommend this change, as it would be a means of lessening very considerably the expences of the factory. Whatever shall be recovered this way, instead of reverting to the Rajah, may be added to the Company's Malguzarry. Should your lordship, &c. think it necessary to pursue this measure, I beg leave to offer to your consideration the fixing the necessary appointments on this occasion, both to the supra-visor and the assistant.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. VERELST.

No. 132.

### Courts established in the province of Burdwan for the administration of justice, and collection of the revenue.

*The like administration prevails nearly in all the provinces of Bengal.*

#### *Sudder Cutcherry.*

In this court are received all the land-rents and revenues of the province, all accounts relative to them adjusted, all purchases and sales of lands and property confirmed, all differences between landlord and tenant heard and determined, and from hence all orders respecting the rents and revenues are issued.

#### *Buxey Duffore.*

This court superintends the conduct of all the forces, guards, and other persons employed for the protection of the province in general, the prevention of thefts and disturbances of the peace of the inhabitants; and all orders respecting such persons are issued from this office: at the same time it provides for their pay and subsistence.



*Fouzdarry.*

The jurisdiction of this court is wholly confined to criminal matters, and the judgment of capital offences.

*Burrab Adalat*

Is a court of meum and tuum for all demands above 50 rupees, and does not interfere in any claims under the amount of that sum.

*Ameen Dufstore*

Is in a great measure a court subordinate to the Sudder Cutcherry, as all complaints are first made to the former, and referred from thence for trial to the latter. They relate entirely to the business of the revenue, and the conduct of those employed in the collections.

*Chootab Adalat*

Takes cognizance of all suits for debts not exceeding the sum of 50 rupees.

*Bazee Zemeen Dufstore.*

Is a court for settling all differences relative to charity lands, and other public supports. Each person's property in claims of this kind are ascertained, and from hence all orders respecting them are issued.

*Bazee Jumma Dufstore.*

This court takes cognizance of adulteries, abortions, and other crimes, that more immediately concern the peace and happiness of private families, grants for lands, and public works for the accommodation of travellers, such as Tanks, or ponds of water, Serais, or resting places, &c. are issued from this court.

*Karidge Dufstore.*

The landholders accounts, when settled, are sent to this court for payment; and in such cases where the debtor is incapable of paying the amount, a power is lodged in this court to compromise the debt.

\* \* \* \* \*

ALL the proceedings of these COURTS, and evidence given (except in matters of a trifling nature) are recorded; and no orders of these courts in Burdwan can be executed, until approved and signed by the Rajah, or supreme governor of the province, and by the English resident on the part of the Company as Dewan. This last regulation was found necessary to repress the extreme corruption which before prevailed. It must be confessed that this power is very great, although an improper use of it is in some measure prevented by the checks interposed. That the present system of government is an improvement, may be seen from the flourishing state of the province, and from the condition of the Company's revenues.

An appeal against the conduct of the resident may at all times be made to the governor and council.

No. 133.

*The President's Minute, respecting the Calcutta lands.*

I now beg leave to lay before you the result of my long and laborious researches into the Calcutta lands.

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By the several accounts taken at different times of the measurement of the twenty-four Purgunnahs, it appears, that the whole of the lands amount to 1,082,543 Begas, and fifteen Cottas of ground\*, which has been cultivated; but on account of charities, lands pretended to be deserted, and others again secreted, not above two thirds of this measurement have actually paid rents to the Company.

A research into the cause of this deficiency, (being well convinced that, instead of a decrease, there has been a considerable increase of the inhabitants on the Company's lands,) is what has particularly engaged my time and attention.

On an examination of the charity lands it appears, that when the Company received charge of these Purgunnahs, the total of lands assigned for this purpose (an account of which was delivered in by the Zemeendars themselves) Begas. C. G. amounted to  $217,452 : 19 : 8$  since when there has been resumed  $14,971 : 1 : 0$

so that the total of the charity lands should stand at  $202,481 : 18 : 8$  Instead of which it has, by some means, probably by the villainy of the black servants in office, increased since that time to no less than 263,702 Begas, 2 Cottas, 8 Gundas, by which the Company has been deprived of the annual rent of 61,220 Begas, 4 Cottas, 8 Gundas, most, if not all, of which has most probably been disposed of amongst the black servants in office, or their dependents.

In the account of these lands, it is said that 25,679 Begas, 13 Cottas, have been lying uncultivated for a considerable time. As they were originally designed for, and appropriated to the immediate maintenance and support of poor people, or to religious purposes, they could be of use only whilst they were cultivated; and ought immediately, as they became neglected by the people who had the charge of them, to have been resumed, according to the custom of the country, by the Company. I judge a considerable addition might be made to the revenues by obliging every person to produce the Sunnud by which he is entitled to hold these lands. The amount of the lands allotted to the above charitable purposes, after resuming the 61,220 Begas, 4 Cottas, 8 Gundas, I think is very considerable; for estimating the 202,481 Begas, 18 Cottas, 8 Gundas, at the medium rent of the other lands, the annual revenue will be no less than 314,638 rupees.

The amount of the Ryotty lands, or those which are farmed out, appears on the Cutcherry books to be 591,172 Begas, 9 Cottas, producing an annual revenue of 1,012,305 rupees, 12 Annas. There have, moreover, stood under this head 29,363 Begas, 3 Cottas, 12 Gundas, said to be uncultivated; but from the several examinations made therein, I am of opinion that it is mostly cultivated, and ought to be brought to the immediate credit of the revenue. It also appears, that the lands held by the servants in office, and their dependents, have been estimated at a less rent than they should have been by 15,877 rupees, 5 Annas, 13 Pice, which will likewise be brought to account; as I see no necessity for douceurs, where every man employed by the Company receives his monthly allowance. Nor can I trace by what authority they hold them at the low rate they have hitherto done.

Under the head of Commâr, or lands cultivated by contract, there appears to be 198,305 Begas, 19 Cottas, 12 Gundas. The amount of these lands must ever be uncertain, as the rents being paid in the products of the land, their value depends wholly on the sale of such products. However, estimating them on a medium by what they have hitherto yielded, their rents will amount to 291,842 rupees, 10 Annas, 11 Pice.

\* The measurement of land in Bengal is thus estimated:  
16 Gundas make 1 Cotta,  
20 Cottas = 1 Bega, or about 16,000 square feet.

From

From hence the present estimate of the land will stand as follows:

	Begas, Cottas, Gundas.			Refused what was introduced under this head of which there is at present	Rupees, Annas, Pice.
Charity,	61,220	4	0		
cultivated	35,540	11	0	to yield at a very low rent	43,720 6 19
Ryotty -	591,172	9	0	Rupees	1,012,305 12 0
Ditto, said to be uncultivated, brought to account.	29,363	3	12	-- -- --	26,645 3 1
Commâr,	198,305	19	12		291,842 10 11
Charity lands untenanted	25,679	13	0		15,009 6 8
Lands held by the servants at an under rent					15,877 5 13
Talook Darans, Rent fixt					258 11 0
Gaut Ektear-pore, Ditto					201 0 0
Charity lands paying no rent.	202,481	18	8	valued at	1,405,860 7 12
Begas -	1,082,543	15	0		3,14,638 0 0

This amount is what I think may be reasonably expected for the 24 Purgunnahs, as you will be pleased to observe, that by the extreme low estimation I have put on all such lands as are now refused, I allow a possibility of some not being immediately cultivated; but the anxious endeavours of the persons who were the best acquainted with these lands, to conceal from me all they possibly could, convinces me that they are actually cultivated, and that the Company is unjustly deprived of its rights; for these people could, otherwise, have no interest in keeping from our knowledge their real state. Indeed, from the best information I can obtain, there are scarcely any uncultivated, and if so, their rents ought to be immediately raised to the full rate of the other lands, which in general is much more reasonable than in any other part of the country; as a proof of which I now lay before you the rents of two Purgunnahs in the Burdwan country.

In order to point out clearly where the lands lie, and to realize what I have above estimated, I have given a particular statement of each Purgunnah; also the different rates at which the rents of the lands are collected, estimated from their several products. Likewise a list of the rates at which the rents of the Burdwan lands are collected, estimated from their products; by comparing which it will appear how low the Calcutta rents are to those of Burdwan.

In the estimate I have before formed, by which the value of the lands appears to be 1,405,860 rupees, 7 Annas, 12 Pice. I made no addition on account of the three Purgunnahs not yet measured, Medunmull, Hatteâgur, and Borritch-Hautty. These, at the most reasonable estimation, will yield an increase of 50,000 rupees, when their measurement is ascertained, which I would recommend to be done as soon as possible.

The

The measurement of the Purgunnahs, Calcutta, Ballea, Maugora, and Caupore, requires an examination; as I am informed, that it has not been properly taken, and that they will admit of a considerable increase in the rents.

These, together with the Batta of rupees, Bazee Jumma, or collections made in the Purgunnah Cutcherries, Salammies on weddings, and visitations of the Dees, called Didarry, farms of Tuffauls, salt and wax, duties collected in the markets and Gaults, interest on money advanced for cultivation, repairs of dykes and bridges, rents of the Collarries, the fifteen Dees, and of Calcutta town, are none of them included in the estimation I have laid before you. They also require a particular scrutiny, as well as the expences attending the collections; and I am perfectly sensible that many lands are still held at a low unequitable rent, though the intricacies and delays attending these matters have prevented my finding them out.

I likewise lay before you a statement of the collections from May 1763, to the present time, by which you will see that there is due to the Company the sum of 1,141,602 rupees, 10 Annas, 9 Pice, a great part of which I judge may be recovered.

The farmers who formerly rented the lands appear, on the adjustment of the several accounts, to be indebted to the Company, as per list inclosed, 35,148 Sicca rupees, 11 Annas, 5 Pice. This sum should be demanded, and brought to the Company's account; or if any particular considerations have been allowed them, the same should appear in the Cutcherry books, and their accounts be finally closed.

As it will be impossible to fix the just value of the lands until their measurement and products can be ascertained, I would recommend that as many capable surveyors as could be procured, should be employed on this business. They should be directed to form a register of all the Ryots, the quantity of land each holds, and the usual product; when each Ryot might have inserted in his Pottah the measurement of his lands, and the annual or monthly rent he is to pay. This will prevent the impositions of the black servants, or, if you farm the lands, any oppression of the farmers.

The more I have examined into the state of these Purgunnahs, the more I am convinced of the considerable improvements that may be made therein. I have communicated the discoveries I have made to several of the persons who were appointed by the Select Committee to farm the lands, should the Company let them out this year; and I believe they would willingly take them at a great increase above what was paid last year, but nothing adequate to the real value. I therefore think that unless they come nearly to the estimate I have made, the rents should be collected on the Company's account for another season; and I doubt not but by that time the farmers will be sensible that the estimation I have put on them is far below their real value.

Fort William, April 29th, 1767.

H. VERELST.

No.

The

No. 134.

*Extract of Fort William Select Committee proceedings, dated August 16th, 1769.*

The Committee having maturely considered the several important contents of the President's and Mr. Becher's joint letter, together with their separate opinions of the general state of these provinces—are of opinion, that the present state of the revenues, public and private commerce, manufactures and agriculture, are such as give room for the most serious apprehension; and that the decline in each of those grand concerns has spread itself so as to have produced a crisis in our affairs, which, (unless speedily and properly attended to, whilst there are measures left in the country, of which there can be no doubt but there are yet many,) must, in a great measure, disappoint our future expectations from these possessions.

The Committee, having endeavoured to trace and assign the true cause of our declining situation, unanimously agree, that the following imperfections in the formation and conduct of the system hitherto pursued, are the grand and original sources thereof.

1. The want of sufficient checks in the instruments of government, who are generally adventurers from Persia, educated in the manners and principles of a government where tyranny, corruption, and anarchy are predominant; who are strangers to the customs, and indifferent to the welfare of this country; and who cannot by any vigilance be restrained, or by any severity be deterred from practising their native oppressions, over a timid, servile, and defenceless people.
2. The delegation of a trust and authority to one, or to a few, which require the abilities and activity of many to execute; an error which is notoriously the cause of those departments being worse administered, but give rise to a complex corruption, which is difficult, if not impossible to be detected. The avenues of justice are by those means obstructed, and the injured are frequently at a loss where to prefer their complaints, and in whom the right of decision is invested.
3. The ignorance of the real produce and capacity of the country, in which we are necessarily kept by a set of men, who first deceive us from interest, and afterwards continue the deception from fear of punishment, and a necessary regard to their own safety.
4. The numerous train of dependents and underlings, whom the collectors entertain; whose demands, as well as the avarice of their principals, are to be satisfied from the spoils of the industrious Ryot; who thus loses all confidence in the government, and seeks protection in other places, where he has better hopes to see his industry rewarded.
5. The venality which forms part of the genius of the people, and which is known to be openly exercised, or tacitly allowed by government, without drawing any shame or discredit on the guilty; or being thought any peculiar hardship on the injured.
6. The collusion of the collectors with the Zemeendars; whom the collector employs as a tool to serve his mal-practices, or admits an associate in his fraudulent gains.

7. The



7. The oppressions to which the Ryot is subject from the multitude of Gomastahs and their dependents; on which subject the President has been sufficiently explicit in his minute on the state of commerce.

8. The Committee are convinced that this degree of power without controul, of knowledge without participation, and of influence without any effectual counteraction, is too important and replete in the consequences to be vested in any three ministers, or rather one single man; who, allowing him the clearest preference for integrity, ability, and attachment among his countrymen, cannot be supposed superior to temptation; and, at least, ought not, in good policy, to be trusted so extensively and independently as has been necessarily the consequence of the present system: while the Company are, in reality, the principals in the revenues of this country, and the most interested in the good conduct of its government, every bar should be removed that tends to preclude them from a knowledge of its real state. In the above causes, and others deducible from them, the Committee discern, with great regret, the original source and present inveteracy of many of those evils, under which these provinces are at present oppressed.

The frequent and peremptory restrictions which the Court of Directors had thought proper to impose on us, and that line of conduct from which no deviation was allowed, and the smallest surveyed with jealousy, have hitherto left us without any choice of measures, freedom of action, or power of reformation.

Their last letter has now offered us the sanction that was so essentially necessary for the welfare and improvement of these provinces, as well as for our own vindication in the pursuit of such plans as we may judge adviseable to adopt. By that letter, the Directors seem to approve of the distribution and allotment of the country into farms, and of the appointment of European gentlemen to supervise the different provinces, and to controul the conduct of the agents of the country government. From this permission, we have a well-grounded expectation of success to our design of introducing new regulations; and the event will, we are flattered, be the strongest confirmation of the propriety of those regulations.

We have always acted as far as the nature of the occasion would allow, with the most scrupulous regard to the rules prescribed to us by our employers; and, on our first accession to the Dewanny, chose rather to assume the slow, but certain conviction of experience for our guide, than attempt innovations on the precarious foundation of opinion. But now that whole pages of our records are filled with so many incontestible evidences, that great alterations are wanting to form a mode of collection, which may be restrictive to the collector, and indulgent to the Ryot, we are happy in finding the sentiments of our employers so aptly correspondent to our opinion, and the necessity of the juncture. Every person of any substance or character in this country, has been successively tried in the department of the collections. Fear, reward, severity, and indulgence, have all failed, and ended in a short political forbearance, or additional acts of dishonesty and rapine.

On an alarm of inspection, or at the annual Poonah, they frame accounts to serve the occasion; or by involving them in confusion and ambiguity, waste time till it becomes too late to continue the process against them, without hazarding new losses in the revenue: and thus the culpable not only escape punishment, but often obtain a prolongation of their appointments. Many flagrant grievances reach our ears, but, in a country of such extent, there are, doubtless, many more concealed from us; and, what is equally true under our present disadvantages, they are, and must remain inexorable; we can neither redress grievances, nor effect improvements. With regard to the former, our distance and our too indirect information through ministerial

channels, set the offender beyond our reach, and the impossibility of having time and competent knowledge puts the latter out of our power.

Enough has been said, and more might be produced, to prove that the system, established and now pursuing in this country, is deficient in every particular that is requisite to defend and support the poor, from the injustice and oppression of the strong, and to increase its value to its possessors, by promoting the industry of the Ryot and manufacturer.

That although we have seen these evils growing and preying upon the vitals of the country, we have been unable to stop their progress, or afford effectual protection to the people.

Lastly, that we can never hope to emerge from that uncertainty and ignorance into which this system has thrown us, whilst we sit tamely and will admit of no variation in it.

Let us now turn our eyes and attention to a more pleasing scene; to Burdwan, and the rest of the Company's proprietary lands, where we ourselves have been the managers. Plenty, content, population, increase of revenue, without increase of burthen, are now the effects; and form so forcible an argument in the comparative view, that nothing can strengthen, nothing can render it plainer or more convincing.

And here the Committee cannot hesitate in drawing a decisive conclusion;—that the same or similar regulations be established throughout the provinces in every distinct district. The same beneficial consequences to the country and Company may be expected from them, and by an increased security of the property of individuals, as also by an encouragement to cultivation and commerce, they may give a new flow to the circulation of specie, which is become so limited as to affect every rank and profession.

The Committee are sensible that much application, integrity, good conduct and time, will be necessary to retrieve the desolations of the collectors; to raise the sinking heart of the Ryot from despair to confidence and hope; to re-people and settle the deserted and uncultivated tracts, and to take every advantage of the abundant fertility of the lands.

The progress towards this desirable change must be gradual. We have yet but an imperfect knowledge of the soil, the productions, the value, the capacity of the various provinces, and subdivisions of the country. This, however, is the foundation on which, and which only, we can build with success, and direct our grand design with judgment; and to acquire this knowledge should therefore be our first care, by means of the minutest local investigation, for none other can give us an authentic record to refer to on every occasion as an established authority: nor can we judge of the lenity, rigour, or propriety of any of our resolutions respecting the country, without such a work completely and accurately executed.

The Committee, concurring in the necessity of pursuing the above work in the most effectual manner, that when perfected they may proceed in the important business before them; and being farther induced by the opinion of the Court of Directors, expressed in their last letter of the 11th November, 1768,—agree unanimously to the following resolutions;—

That, in every province or district, a gentleman in the service be appointed, with or without assistance, in proportion to the extent of the district; whose office or department is to be subordinate to the resident of the Durbar, and managed as is expressly set forth and defined in the following letter of instructions,—which the President has prepared and submitted to our consideration; with such additions as may occasionally be deemed necessary by the resident at the Durbar.

FORM

FORM of INSTRUCTIONS to be issued by the Resident at the Durbar to the several Supra-  
visors.

To Mr. \_\_\_\_\_

SIR,

As the Board have judged it expedient to appoint supra-visors on behalf of the Company in each particular province, with a view to ascertain in a minute, clear, and comprehensive manner, a variety of circumstances which intimately concern the welfare of the country; the province of \_\_\_\_\_ is hereby placed under your inspection, and the following objects are pointed out and distinguished under respective heads, as a direction for your conduct, and an explanation of the service expected from you in your department.

1. *A Summary History of the Province.*

You are to collect, under this head, the form of the ancient constitution of the province, compared with the present; an account of its possessors or rulers, the order of their succession, the revolutions in their families, and their connections; the peculiar customs and privileges which they, or their people — have established and enjoyed; and, in short, every transaction which can serve to trace their origin and progress, or has produced any material changes in the affairs of the province.

2. *The State, Produce, and Capacity of the Lands.*

The first measure which should occur to your attention in an enquiry of this nature, is to procure a complete Hufstabood, or rent-roll, with the number of Begahs, or measures of land, contained in each district, according to the original surveys and measurements, and the method in which they were laid out and appropriated. The next is to fix the ancient boundaries and divisions. This being completed, you may proceed to trace the alterations which chance, favour, art, or oppression, have gradually produced in the face of the country until the present time. Many portions of land have been added to, or separated from the ancient divisions; these should be rigidly scrutinized and carefully noted. The Zemindars have enjoyed considerable tracts rent free, on various pretences, and for various purposes. The abuses in the bestowal and sale of Talooks are notorious, being generally the reward of the creatures of government, obtained by unwarrantable means, and held with extraordinary immunities. The titles of the present possessors should therefore be examined, together with the valuation of such lands before they became Talooks, and before their owners acquired that independent footing; so that some judgment may be formed of their real revenue, and in what degree the limitation of the grant is exceeded by the quantity now held. Charitable and religious donations, which successive princes have made, many through zeal, but most through vanity, — form no inconsiderable part of some districts: and as it may reasonably be supposed, that in a course of years the produce of such benefactions has been misapplied and perverted, or that the particular persons or societies, in whose support they were granted, have fallen or decayed, — it is expected that you diligently search into and report their true state. You are also to particularize the extent, production and value of Jagheers; the titles of the present possessors, &c. as in the Talooks. Of the lands called Cofs, which are under the immediate superintendance of government, for want of farmers. Of the Comar, which are lands cultivated by contract. Of the Ryotty, which are tenanted and cultivated by the natives on the spot. And of the waste lands, distinguishing such as are

cleared, and have been neglected through a decrease of population, from such as are covered with Jungle\*.

These informations, provided they be derived from genuine authorities, and confirmed by an accurate inspection of your own, will enable you to compute what the productions of the country, deducting the consumption of the inhabitants, will yield for the purposes of commerce; and how far the wealth and prosperity of it may be augmented by an encouragement being given to the culture of any particular article, either as a necessary of life, or as a material in manufactures.

3. *The amount of the Revenues, the Cesses, or arbitrary Taxes, and of all demands whatsoever which are made on the Ryot, either by Government, Zemêendar, or Collector, with the manner of collecting them; and the gradual rise of every new impost.*

One capital grievance being the inequality of assessments arising from the multitude of Talooks and sequestered lands above-mentioned, you are to penetrate through the chicanery of those employed, and acquire an exact detail of every particular tax or cess; noting in what particular part of the country the burthen falls, where partial exemptions are allowed, and what is the equitable proportion to the whole. Another grievance, which is equal to the former, is the variety of demands which the collector, from the Aumil and Zemêendar to the lowest Pyke, impose without any colour or licence from the government; some of which have been so long exacted and paid, that the Ryots begin to imagine the oppression is sanctified by government, and is not the mere fraud of the collectors. The multiplying of superfluous agents and inferior collectors may be also deemed a source of extortion; and it is a very essential part of your duty to inform yourself in what respect their numbers have been causelessly increased; to enumerate their perquisites, and how much they may be supposed to exceed them. As likewise the expence and arrangement of Gauts and public markets, with the duties collected at each upon the inhabitants or traders, and the application of sums to be levied.

Drogahs, Cutwalls, and Pykes, maintained for the protection of the tenants, are, it is to be feared, too often the instruments of their oppression; at least fall very short of answering the end proposed by them. Accounts should be taken of their number and expence, how they are arranged, and how paid.

A third and equally important object of your attention, under this head, is to fix the amount of what the Zemêendar receives from the Ryot, as his income or emolument; wherein they generally exceed the bounds of moderation, taking advantage of the personal attachment of their people, and of the inefficacy of the present restrictions upon them; since the presence of the Aumil more frequently produces a scene of collusion than a wariness of conduct. When the sum of the produce of the lands, and of each demand on the tenant, is thus ascertained with certainty, the proportion of what remains to him for the support of his family, and encouragement of his industry, will clearly appear, and lead us to the reality of his condition.

Amongst the chief effects which are hoped for from your residence in that province, and which ought to employ and never wander from your attention, are to convince the Ryot that you will stand between him and the hand of oppression; that you will be his refuge and the redresser of his wrongs; that the calamities he has already suffered have sprung from an intermediate cause, and were neither known nor permitted by us: that honest and direct applications to you will never fail producing speedy and equitable decisions: that, after supplying the legal due of government,

\* Wood, high grass, or reeds.



he may be secure in the enjoyment of the remainder; and, finally, to teach him a veneration and affection for the humane maxims of our government.

#### 4. *The Regulation of Commerce.*

Equal intricacy and simular combinations will be found to oppose your progress in this work. The power, the artifice, the complicated connections of public and private agents, Pycars, and Dellols, will all unite in preserving their usurpations on the manufacturer and Ryot; which they have hitherto done by precluding their access to our tribunals, and destroying every kind of intercourse between them and us. That one enquiry may precede another without confusion, or blending different causes with different effects, you should open your discoveries with an estimate of the productions of every district, both in quantity and kind; the amount of manufactures and the number of manufacturers employed in each branch, with the annual duties collected on them; not confining yourself to the present time, but recurring to past years; that, at one view, you may discern their state of increase and decrease; and by remarking the prices and qualities at distinct periods, you will in like manner become acquainted with the improvement or decline in the quality.

Your next consideration is to find the channels through which the several articles, produced by the joint labour of the manufacturer and cultivator, have been diffused. The proportion which fell to the shares of the English, French, Dutch, and other foreigners, as well as to the native merchant; likewise what was retained for the consumption of the districts themselves; concluding this research with a comparative view of the rise and fall in the demand, and stating the ballance of the trade as it occasionally varied in favour of one or the other merchant. After you have advanced thus far, the most difficult and consequential task still remains for you to surmount; which is, to lay open and abolish the several species of imposition which are practised by Gomastahs, Pycars, Dellols, and the whole chain of agents through whose hands the articles of merchandize pass from the loom of the manufacturer, or the store-house of the cultivator, to the public merchant or exporter; so that clandestine agreements and extraordinary demands may no longer exist, to the utter despondency of the poor; but a way being opened for them to deal with the fair trader, their industry may be quickened by the certainty of their profits.

#### 5. *The Administration of Justice.*

It is difficult to determine whether the original customs or the degenerate manners of the Mussulmen have most contributed to confound the principles of right and wrong in these provinces. Certain it is, that almost every decision of theirs is a corrupt bargain with the highest bidder. The numerous offences which are compromised by fines have left a great latitude for unjust determinations. Trifling offenders, and even many condemned on fictitious accusations, are frequently loaded with heavy demands, and capital criminals are as often absolved by the venal judge. Your conduct in all capital offences should be to enforce justice where the law demands it, checking every composition by fine or mulct; and where any disputes arise in matters of property, you should recommend the method of arbitration to any other; and inculcate strongly in the minds of the people that we are not desirous to augment our revenue by such impositions, but to acquire their confidence by the equity and impartiality of our proceedings, and by our tenderness for their happiness. The arbitrators should be men chosen by the parties themselves, and of known integrity, and whose circumstances may suppose them exempt from venality, and promise best to insure their rectitude. In capital crimes, the sentence should, before execution, be referred to me, and by

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me to the ministers, that they may ultimately approve or mitigate it, according to the peculiarity of the case. You are farther to observe, that the want of regular registers of all causes and determinations has encouraged the natural propensity of the judge to bribery and fraud, by making him easy with respect to any future prosecution on a rehearing of the cases which have been thus partially determined. Whereas, whilst a reference to records is always open, he must live in perpetual fear of detection. One of these registers should be lodged in the principal Cutcherry of the province, and an authenticated copy transmitted to Murshedabad. As to suits on account of revenues, these will, we are flattered, be much obviated in future by the happy consequences of our possessing a real, local, and undisguised knowledge of the country; which we promise ourselves from the investigations above mentioned, and from your diligence and exactness in the performance of the several duties.

For the Ryot being eased and secured from all burthens and demands but what are imposed by the legal authority of government itself, and future Pottahs \* being granted him, specifying that demand; he should be taught that he is to regard the same as a sacred and inviolable pledge to him, that he is liable to no demands beyond their amount. There can, therefore, be no pretence for suits on that account; no room for inventive rapacity to practise its usual arts: all will be fair, open, regular. Every man will know what he can call and defend as his own; and the spirit of lawless encroachment subsiding, for want of a field for exercise, will be changed into a spirit of industry; and content and security will take place of continual alarms and vexations.

I shall now proceed to give you such instructions for effecting the above points, as experience has proved to be most eligible; and shall begin with observing, on the first head,—or

*The History of the Provinces.*

I would not have you embarrass yourself with records more remote than those of the reign of Sujah Cawn; as, at that æra of good order and good government, no alterations had taken place in the ancient divisions of the country, and the confusion which is now apparent has been posterior to those times. From that date, you will probably find records in the public Cutcherry, abounding with every material; but as some may be destroyed or mutilated, your resource, in such cases, must be to consult with men of the best understanding and longest experience in the districts, from whom you will most likely meet with satisfactory information; and who, from many and prevailing motives, which are deducible from their natural character, will gladly contribute their store of knowledge to the account. In the course of this reference to living authorities, you will doubtless meet with various characters and classes of men, whose informations will be tinged with the prejudices of education, habit, superstition, and other failings; but your own judgment must direct you in extracting the truth, and distinguishing between the private bias of individuals and the real state of facts.

*Secondly, The State, Produce, and Capacity of the Lands.*

It will require your greatest attention and application to enable you to form a general and particular Hufstabood, or rent-roll, of the districts. You may, perhaps, find what is called a Hufstabood in the Sudder or principal Cutcherry: but this, instead of satisfying, must stimulate your curiosity; for the contents of it are merely adapted to the private interests of the Zeméendars, filled with representations designedly disguised, to square with their offers and accounts with government, loosely, unfaithfully, and partially formed in every instance. In fact, they can supply you with little more than a progressive history of the present dismemberments, and only suggest

\* Leafes.

suggest to you the degree of oppression which the multiplication of collectors and charges has, on that account, from time to time, brought upon the Ryots.

After this, you are to proceed to a local investigation of the quantity of lands and their rents, which is to be performed by visiting each division yourself, and calling upon the Zeméendar or head-collector for the Huftabood of the division under his management. But you are not to content yourself with this: from hence you are to descend to the subdivisions of the grand district, and to the small Cutcherries of each collector, however inconsiderable; and this will procure you a list of the Pottahs as distributed to every Ryot, and supposed to contain the quantity of land possessed by each, and the amount of rent with which it is charged. Thus you will be enabled to ascertain how far the Huftaboods given in by the collectors of the grand divisions differ from the Huftaboods of the lesser, from the principal down to the smallest subdivision. And by taking the sum of any number of Pottahs in any particular place, and comparing the amount of those Pottahs with the amount specified in the Huftaboods, you will arrive at a medium certainty of the excess or deficiency of the lands and rents as rated therein. And accordingly as the error or fallaciousness of the accounts shall appear to require it, you are to cause an exact measurement to be taken of portions of land in different places, in order to arrive at a judgment of the whole from the proportional parts. And that no collusion between the Zeméendars and collectors may retard, elude, and counteract these important enquiries, the fear of losing their Zeméendarry or employment should be held up to them; and if you find the association against you strong and obstinate, upon a representation and ample proofs of his misconduct produced to me, you may be assured that examples shall be immediately ordered, and every delinquent be made sensible that there is no room for lenity where collusive oppression is continued in defiance of all restriction. The Ryot too should be impressed in the most forcible and convincing manner, that the tendency of your measures is to his ease and relief; that every opposition to them is rivetting his own chains, and confirming his servitude and dependence on his oppressors; that our object is not increase of rents, or the accumulation of demands, but solely by fixing such as are legal, explaining and abolishing such as are fraudulent and unauthorised, not only to redress his present grievances, but to secure him from all farther invasions of his property.

I must here introduce a remark, which I recommend to your particular attention: if it should happen, that some very authentic and positive evidence is required to establish a particular suspicion, or that you are inclined to distrust an information; there is one, and indeed only one, safe, and easy method of proceeding. Select an intermediate person, unsuspected either by the officers of the government or your own dependents, give him his orders yourself, and let him chuse another of the same occupation with the person from whom you would seek the information, who may be so entirely removed from you, and so peculiarly connected as to create no surmise of his commission; and let him, with the confidence and familiarity of an equal and fellow-sufferer, pretend to consult the other on his grievances and the means of redress. This will naturally produce the same openness on the other side, and he will readily obtain a sight or copies of any papers, agreements, &c. which may be wanting; and you will be in possession of them before the alarm of an enquiry can spread among the guilty, and give them an opportunity of combining against you.

On the contrary, were those precautions omitted, and a publicly announced scrutiny attempted, you must have a thousand obstructions to contend with, which are all obviated by the above mode of secrecy, and the use of intermediate agents, whom you may employ to any number, and contrive to check in such a manner as will deprive them of the power of deceiving you. Small rewards may likewise have weight, and ought

ought not to be neglected; and it is not to be doubted, but that by a proper and prudent application of them, joined to the above-mentioned hints, you will become master of a perfect and extensive intelligence of every circumstance, however minute and enveloped. The evasions and artifices which are familiar to the natives of this country have often been successful in screening them from that open and manifest detection which can justify punishment. The good consequence of that positive evidence above mentioned, in any cases where the Zeméendar or collector are concerned, and rely on their customary defences, will put it in your power to call them to a public examination, and render their crime and their punishment equally notorious, without subjecting the authors of your information to the resentment of the Zeméendars, or the obloquy of their neighbours.

Having thus obtained sufficient and authentic accounts of the rent-rolls of the districts, by searching into the papers and records of the smallest as well as the largest, comparing their respective Hustaboods, surveying and measuring the lands which appear rated above or below their real value and extent, you are to bring your investigation home to the Zeméendar. For this purpose, the records are to be consulted, and the periods most applicable to the design seem to be these three; the government of Sujah Cawn, of Aliverdy Cawn, and the present. By collating the Hustaboods given in by the Zeméendars with those you obtain from the smaller districts, you will distinguish the quantity of land which they have usurped from the government, and enjoy for their own use and advantage, free of rent. And again, by opposing the sum of the Pot-tahs of any particular space in any subdivision to the sum stated in its Hustabood, you will also lay open the shares which the petty collectors and their dependents have acquired for themselves, after the example of their principals; for this species of fraud is carried on by general connivance, from the heads to the lowest denominations. All lands which are found to have been thus illegally dismembered, are to be immediately re-annexed, and a resumption set on foot by government.

Besides these advantages which the Zeméendar possesses by the secret appropriation of land, and has secured to himself by partial Hustaboods, he has an originally allowed title to the freehold of some lands, and to the enjoyment of some perquisites; but abuses have crept alike into them all. The meaning and intent of his being indulged with such exclusive possessions was to supply his family with the necessaries and conveniencies of life. Under the name of Nejaut and Nankor, one spot was to yield him rice, another was allotted to him as pasture; a particular tank was to afford him fish and water; and, in like manner, distinct spots were given up to him for every distinct article of consumption. Though this indulgence was confined to this purpose only, there is just cause for supposing that he has extended his claims, and availed himself of opportunities to lay his hands on the revenues of the government, and on the property of the Ryots, where he has no foundation of right, nor colour of pretence.

The Nuzzer-anna, which is called Sedee, and consists both in provisions and money, is an instance of it; and neither he nor his attendants move from one place to another, without demanding and exacting it from the inhabitants of his district; a custom which ought to be permitted only under restrictions, and in a manner that the Ryots may not wantonly be despoiled, but the demand limited to a reasonable contribution.

Another considerable source of profit to him is the levying of fines at will, which is a power that ought to be totally extinguished. He likewise raises large sums from duties collected in the markets, and assumes an authority over the Ryots to require their labour gratuitously, which sometimes might be allowed, were not the poor labourer too often taken under this pretence from his own immediately necessary duty, to attend the mere arbitrary pleasure of his Zeméendar, who receives large presents out of the various productions of the district, which, though intended originally for his

own private consumption, is often sold by his dependents. Add to these, he frequently claims a Batta on rupees at an arbitrary valuation, which is an illegal perquisite, and ought to be discontinued in future. These, and all such excesses in the Zemendar, which need not be here mentioned, as they will open to you as you proceed, should be retrenched; and all his emoluments of every kind be reduced to the fulfilling the purposes for which they were granted, and there bounded.

The Talooks, Jagheers, and charitable or religious donations come next under consideration. You are to call for a particular account of all lands which are held on these tenures; and that every motive to concealment may be destroyed, it should be particularly notified, that whatever proprietor delays reporting his name, and the state of his grants or purchases, after a time prefixed, is to forfeit them to the government. By taking care to fix the period for registering their Sunnuds far beyond what is necessary, you will anticipate all pleas which may be presented in behalf of neglects, and have no room to dispute the equity of the forfeiture.

I have before taken notice of the undue means of obtaining Talooks, which are either bestowed on some favourite or underling of the government, or purchased by one individual of another; but as the title cannot stand clear or valid, without a confirmation of it from the Nabob, in both cases where such cannot be made appear, the title becomes void, and the Talook reverts to the government.

For these reasons you should enter deeply and strictly into the merits of the Talookdars, with respect to their families, their connections and pretensions; and particularly remark the flaws and exceptions which occur to you.

The increase in the number of Talooks has been highly impolitic, and detrimental to the general prosperity, and to the diffusion of population in the country. The tenants of a Talook are possessed of so many indulgencies, and taxed with such evident partiality and tenderness in proportion to the rest, that the Talooks generally swarm with inhabitants whilst other parts are deserted; and in addition to the natural desire of changing from a worse to a better situation, inticements are frequently employed by the Talookdars to augment the concurrence to their lands. They have also, at favourable seasons, when the government was busied in other affairs, or weakened by faction, made considerable encroachments, and most probably possess extensive tracts beyond the original grants. Now it ought to be remembered that the welfare and good of the whole was never intended to be sacrificed to the enriching of a few, perhaps worthless, individuals; who can shew no pretence to these peculiar advantages, but a prostitution of their integrity to their avarice. Your aim must, therefore, be to remove all distinctions, to bring every man upon a footing with his neighbour, to lighten the burthen on the whole by making it equal and impartial, and to enforce the the surrender of lands unlawfully possessed.

Jagheers are always, as Talooks are sometimes, rewards to particular persons; but differ from them in being gifts of the crown, confirmed only by the Nizam. The grants are either hereditary or expirable with life; the same accounts are to be taken of them. Defective titles in the Jagheerdars, and a transgression of the order for appearing and registering their Sunnuds, are to be attended with the same consequences.

As to charitable or religious donations, the lands so sequestered are to be estimated with regard to their extent, productions, and value; if the amount appears to exceed the endowment of the institution, the overplus should be brought to credit; if the institutions are decayed or perverted, they should be entirely abolished, and the revenues re-assumed by government.

The Cofs lands, which are superintended by government for want of farmers, are specified in the accounts of the Sudder Cutcherry. As it imports us to know whether



accidental causes, or the malversations of the managers of such lands have been the primary cause of their decay, you will make a full and circumstantial report thereof. And as it may be apprehended that even since their falling under the hands of government, the time and attention of the public officers have been employed rather in gleanings the small remains of substance from them, than in nourishing and recovering them from distress, their conduct should be examined. The truest test of it will be your ascertaining the produce of the lands under the last farmer before they became Cofs, and what has been received from them since; which will point out the improvement or decrease by their superintendance. And if it should be found that the lands have been falling instead of rising in value, there can be no doubt of the unfitness of such men, nor any hopes of seeing the Cofs lands peopled, cultivated, and prospering under their hands. After a due consideration of their present state, public notice should be given that we are ready to receive offers for farming them at a term of two, three, four, or five years, at an annual increasing rent; at the end of which period they are to pay the same as other lands, and to be subjected to all orders which may be occasionally issued by government for the regulation of the revenues, and country in general.

The Comar lands, having no native tenants, are cultivated by contract. The custom and terms of contract are various in various districts, but, in general, there is one settled rule. An advance in money is made by the Zemendar to the cultivator, by the help of which he tills and improves the land. When the crops are cut and gathered in, they are generally divided between the cultivator and the Zemendar; from one third to one half to the cultivator, and the remainder to the Zemendar; when the former accounts with the latter for the amount of the advances, which are often taxed by the Zemendar with an heavy interest, or fraudulently exceeded by an arbitrary valuation, far below the market price of the goods or products of the lands, in which he is paid. Your object is to inform yourself what the cultivator really receives for his labour, and in what he is injured; and secondly, what the Zemendar embezzles and secretes from government by an undervaluation of the productions of the soil which he thus receives, sinking the amount of the returns; and by other means which serve to deceive us, and obstruct the progress of cultivation in these lands. In all which, I apprehend, you will find no difficulty if you only ascertain the amount and market price of these products, and compare them with what the Zemendar brings publicly to the credit of government; and comparing the accounts of the Zemendar with those of the cultivator, it will expose the total of his undue acquisitions, enable you to penetrate through the arts of concealment, and give you a thread by which to unravel the whole gradation of collusive fraud in this particular. As the unequal diffusion of inhabitants has been the cause of this scarcity of cultivation in different parts, every expedient should be used to encourage people to settle on the Comar and waste lands, that they may be converted into Ryotty. The great towns, whose populousness only serves to propagate poverty and idleness, might undoubtedly afford numbers of useful hands, who in their present situations are either a burthen or a pest to the community. These should be sought out, and taught to apply to culture, settling such prospects and expectations in their view as will engage their consent. The Talooks and Jagheers will likewise be found to contain many idle, and these unserviceable, hands; who may, in like manner, be induced to transplant themselves to these lands, and become farmers.

Lastly, I shall speak of the Ryotty lands. The quantity in measurement as well as revenue, will appear from the several Pottahs granted, after the enquiry before recommended; and the amount product in kind you will acquire by ascertaining what is really produced on some portions of land of each different soil, which you may select



select for this purpose, and so draw a general medium of the product of the whole Ryotty.

This you may farther check by a comparison of the amount total with that of the Comar, which being received in kind by the cultivator and landlord, the aggregate may be more truly and readily known. In the same manner, the produce of Jagheer lands, Talookdarries, and lands for religious purposes, may be also obtained.

You will doubtless readily meet with an account of waste or uncultivated lands, as they stand recorded in the Cutcherries; but here you will probably find a large field of collusion; for whatever lands have been once wrote from the revenue under this head, tho' possibly deserted but for a short time, little has seldom been brought on again to the public credit. This will appear by your taking accounts of the waste lands, as they stand recorded at different periods of time, and from them noting their gradual increase or decrease. Nothing can ascertain the present state of those lands so well as a local investigation. You will probably find them to be a fund to the Zemendar, or collector, for their creatures or dependents, who enjoy many flourishing and fertile tracts thus denominated; all which should be immediately resumed.

Having thus clearly distinguished the amount measurement of the several lands, and their products of kind, as also the land revenue; the cesses, or arbitrary taxes, must engage your attention. On these subjects I have already spoken in part, and shall now consider what is yet to be done by you.

The truth cannot be doubted that the poor and industrious tenant is taxed by his Zemendar, or collector, for every extravagance that avarice, ambition, pride, vanity, or intemperance may lead him into, over and above what is generally deemed the established rent of his lands. If he is to be married, a child born, honours conferred, luxury indulged, and Nuzzer-annas, or fines, exacted, even for his own misconduct, all must be paid by the Ryot. And, what heightens the distressful scene, the more opulent, who can better obtain redress for imposition, escape; while the weaker are obliged to submit.

To obtain an account of these cesses, or imposts, there cannot be a more certain method than what I have before recommended, of getting from the Ryot himself a statement of what he actually pays over and above his established rents, and from this you are to draw a medium amount of the cesses levied upon the whole. This should be set against the amount of the established rents of lands so cessed. You are then to obtain the amount revenue of all Jagheers, Talooks, charitable and religious donations; and inform yourself whether they bear any part, and what proportion, of this burthen; in order that a comparative view may be drawn of the partiality of these cesses, and what proportion they bear to the lands and revenues of the whole province.

The number, distribution, and pay of Drogahs, Cutwalls, and Pykes are next. Their maintainance arises from lands set apart for their use, but they are known frequently to exact articles of provision and other things from the Ryots, and possess too great a latitude over the property and persons of the poor.

You must call upon the Zemendar for a list of these Pykes and their stations, and enquire how far they answer the purposes of their institution, or have been multiplied without cause. You should endeavour to point out another and better method of providing for and restricting them in their duty; an established allowance, or something which may be determinate, and not tend to the exercise of any power beyond that of their duty, would be most suitable; and, on this plan, I recommend it to you to reform them.

A list of all Gauts and public markets is also to be procured from the Zemendar, together with a list of the established duties ordered to be collected at each. This being

being obtained, you are to enquire how far the Drogahs and Cutwallis have been guilty of levying undue and illegal duties on the trader or inhabitants. A minute enquiry into their conduct, and accounts on the spot, is necessary to effect this. Persons should be applied to, who can produce the exact amount of goods they have themselves passed at the Gaut or market, and the duties they have paid, as a check to the accounts given in by the Drogahs and others. At the markets and Gauts situated on the borders of the province, should be kept an accurate account of all exports and imports, specifying the amount, sortment, and quality of each article, with the duties upon each; that the proportion which the exports bear to the imports may be estimated, and a just opinion formed what assistance the province may need from, and in what degree it can contribute to, the supply of its neighbours, and the purposes of commerce.

Having, by these means, obtained an account of all public and private collections and impositions on the Ryot and trader, you will have a set of materials in your hands from which you may venture to form a real *Hustabood*; to contain the quantity, productions, and rent of all cultivated lands under government; and likewise the quantity, productions, and value of all Jagheers, Talooks, charitable and religious donations; which you will draw up according to the form accompanying, and transmit to me, with such annexed remarks, observations, and proposals of your own, as you may judge important and conducive to the improvement of the lands, the content of the Ryot, the extension and relief of trade, the increase and encouragement of any useful manufacture or production of the soil, and to the general benefit and happiness of the province in every consideration and point of view.

One thing more remains for me to add, which is, that, at the expiration of every year, the accounts of the province are to be closed, and that a separate and early state of balances be made up, noting the causes of their being incurred, and transmit the same to *Murshedabad*; and you are not to suffer the accounts of one year in any point to interfere or be blended with those of another.

#### *The Regulation of Commerce.*

I shall now deliver my opinion on the means of perfecting such of those points under this head as are likely to give you most trouble. The enquiry which I have recommended to be set on foot into the amount of the manufactures, and the number of manufacturers employed in each branch, should be opened by requiring from the collector, or head man of each district, a list of those who reside therein, with their respective employments. That the estimate of the stock of labour may be as clear and perfect as possible, you may employ the following checks and collateral arguments: it is only the finer sort of cloth, used in the general run of commerce, that costs twelve days in the loom; the assortments which come to about five rupees per piece, require only eight days; yet as I allow an extra time for the manufacturer to go to market and purchase new thread and implements, before he can renew his work, I therefore, for the greater precision, set down the whole expence of time at twelve days.

Supposing, then, a manufacturer can furnish one piece of cloth, of the size of twenty-four cubits by two, and of the value of five rupees, in the space of twelve days; you may proceed to calculate what any number of hands, in any given space of time, ought to perform by the same rule.

A second check on this estimate will be the account of exports, after making a reasonable allowance for home consumption; and as to the collector or *Zemendar's* report of the number and employments of the manufacturers in his district, it will be sufficient

sufficient to apply to the Dellols, Pycars, or brokers, without whom scarce any manufacturers deal, for their number, which will serve as a farther and collateral check to the former. In your progress towards an abolition of secret emoluments and abuses in trade, you are to consider that an open and public enquiry would in many cases, as in the revenues, multiply difficulties, if not totally defeat the end of your labours. To proceed with any hopes of arriving at the truth, you must employ a person who may be quite a stranger to the agents and their trade, to engage a second, and he a third, to purchase at the established markets, as for his own use, samples of different articles of trade.

Others should be employed in the same manner, and with the same caution, to obtain a sight or copies of such adjustments of accounts as have passed between the first manufacturer and the purchaser, whether Pycar, Dellol, or merchant. These accounts, if authentic, will disclose the first cost, and the private purchases above recommended will shew the market price; which, set against the agents' accounts, will clearly denominate whether the fair and just value has been paid for the goods, and and what are the express advantages accruing to the agent and his accomplices. Nuzzer-annas, brokerage, discount on rupees, interest on advances, fines for non-compliance with terms of contract, are the chief; and all are deducted after an apparent and nominal rate of market price has been previously fixed to the goods. When these gains, acquired by the Pycars, Dellols, and agents, from the multiplicity of taxes on the manufacturer, which have been laid on by collusion, and removed from our eyes by distance and estrangement, industriously brought about between us and him, are, in the above manner, severally detected and abolished; you are to adopt these measures for the introduction of fair dealing, and the dissolution of clandestine compacts of particular sets of men, formed to rob the manufacturer of his due, and to accumulate to themselves and their dependents, what ought to be free and beneficial to all. Use every means, and hold up every inducement to the manufacturer, to bring his goods to public market, and to make his bargain openly and directly himself. Order daily registers of the amount, quality, and price of goods sold, and of the prices of goods for which advances have been made; and allow no goods to be taken away from the market until they have been registered, under a penalty of a double duty, or something of that kind. Let it be your constant employment to make these principles and maxims universally understood and adopted by all collectors, Zeméendars, and every public agent; that commerce and agriculture mutually assist each other, and thrive from the same causes. That as the freedom of the one becomes better established and the diffusions more general, the advantages of the other will be proportionable.

The Ryot will, consequently, find the demand for his labour more extensive, and his situation made easier and happier by the additional flow of money into the province.

#### *The Administration of Justice.*

The instance where venal, ignorant, and rapacious judges avail themselves of a crude and mercenary system of laws, of the prevalence of licentiousness, and the force of reigning habits and customs, have been already mentioned. I can only repeat, that it is your part to endeavour to reform all these corruptions which have encroached on the primitive rights of both the Mahomedans and Hindoos; particularly, by abolishing the arbitrary imposition of fines, and recommending all in your power the more equitable method of arbitration.

The officers of justice and Kazzies, who are established by the Mahomedan law, as also the Bramins, who administer justice among the Hindoos, in every village, town,

town, and quarter, should all be summoned to appear, produce their Sunnuds, or authority for acting, and register them. Records, of whatever cases are heard and determined, are to be sent to and deposited in the Sudder Cutcherry of the province, and a monthly return thereof forwarded to Murshedabad.

The register of Sunnuds is intended to deter any from exercising a judicial, because lucrative function, who may not be legally appointed by government, if a Mahomedan, or fairly elected by his cast, if a Hindoo. And the depositing of all cases and determinations, added to the other regulation, will figure to the several officers a vigorous and observant power, watching all their actions, and, in case of abuses, direct you at once to the culpable.

The peculiar punishment of forfeiting casts, to which the Hindoos are liable, is often inflicted from private pique and personal resentment amongst themselves; and requires to be restrained to those occasions only where there may be a regular process, and clear proofs of the offence before the Bramins, who are their natural judges. But when any man has naturally forfeited his cast, you are to observe that he cannot be restored to it, without the sanction of government; which was a political supremacy reserved to themselves by the Mahomedans, and which, as it publicly asserts the subordination of Hindoos, who are so considerable a majority of subjects, ought not to be laid down; though every indulgence and privilege of cast should be otherwise allowed them.

Having now spoken to all points which at present occur, and are looked for from your appointment, I shall here subjoin some remarks on the importance of the object, and your own conduct in the pursuit of it.

Your commission entrusts you with the superintendance and charge of a province, whose rise and fall must considerably affect the public welfare of the whole. The exploring and eradicating numberless oppressions which are as grievous to the poor as they are injurious to the government; the displaying of those national principles of honour, faith, rectitude, and humanity, which should ever characterise the name of an Englishman; the impressing the lowest individual with these ideas, and raising the heart of the Ryot from oppression and despondency to security and joy, are the valuable benefits which must result to our nation from a prudent and wise behaviour on your part. Versed as you are in the language, depend on none, where you yourself can possibly hear and determine. Let access to you be easy, and be careful of the conduct of your dependents. Aim at no undue influence yourself, and check it in all others. Great share of integrity, disinterestedness, assiduity, and watchfulness is necessary, not only for your own guidance, but as an example to all others; for your activity and advice will be in vain, unless confirmed by example. Carefully avoid all interested views by commerce, or otherwise, in the province, whilst on this service; for, though ever so fair and honest, it will awaken the attention of the designing, double the labour of developing stratagems, and of removing burthens and discouragements with which the commerce of the country in general has been loaded. You have before you a large field to establish both a national and private character; lose not the opportunity, which is to be temporary only, for your whole proceedings will be quickly revised; a test which the board consider due to themselves, as a confirmation of the propriety of their choice; to you, as an act of justice to your conduct; and to the public, for the security of its interests. As the extent and importance of your trust are great, so in proportion will be the approbation or censure, arising from your good or ill conduct in it, be attended with unusual distinction or particular severity. Sentiments which I convey to you, to shew the degree of confidence the Board repose in your integrity and abilities; but by which I mean not the remotest suspicion, either in them or myself, of your disappointing their expectations.

You



You are to be careful to acquaint me, or the resident at the Durbar for the time being, with every material circumstance worthy of remark; your correspondence must, consequently, be regularly and closely kept up; and you are to follow all such farther orders as I may judge necessary to send you.

I wish you success in this undertaking, and am,

Sir, Your most obedient humble servant.

*Select Committee's resolutions thereon.*

Fort William, August 16, 1769.

It is unanimously agreed to lay the foregoing observations, and sentiments of the Committee, before the President and Council, in order for their being carried into execution with all convenient expedition.

The letter of instructions, which the President has framed and laid before us, for the guidance of the future supra-visors, being drawn up with so much clearness and precision, and with an equal knowledge of the subject, that the Committee cannot suffer it to be recorded, without recording, also, their unanimous approbation of it.

## On the GOLD COINAGE.

No. 135.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated June 2d, 1766.*

Mr. Campbell, the assay-master, being called before the Board, reads the regulations proposed by the Committee for establishing a gold coinage. Whereupon they observe it is proposed, that the par of exchange between the new gold mohur and the silver sicca rupee shall for the present be estimated at the rate of fifteen to one, which they think too considerable a profit for the merchants and proprietors for bringing their gold to the mint, and are of opinion, that the proportion of fourteen to one, which will yield a premium above the par of silver about eight per cent. will be a sufficient encouragement to them for that purpose. The assay-master being thereupon directed to make the said alteration, digests the whole into the form of a letter, which is ordered to be entered hereafter. The other part of the regulations pointed out by the Committee being entirely approved,—

Ordered, that the said regulations be communicated to the resident at the Durbar, with directions to put them into execution as soon as possible, and that public notice be also given at this Presidency for that purpose.

*To William Brightwell Sumner, Esq. Sec. Council of Fort William.*

GENTLEMEN,

In obedience to your commands, I have now the honour to lay before you the plan adopted by the Select Committee, and approved by the ministers, for establishing a gold currency to obviate the scarcity of money which so large an annual exportation of bullion to China must necessarily produce. The scheme hath already been intimated to the honourable Court of Directors, not as an effectual remedy, but as a palliative, which will obstruct the progress of the evil, until a more radical cure be discovered.

To give such encouragement to the importation of foreign gold, and advantages to the natives who hoard up and secrete this metal, as might induce them to apply their useless treasures to the public benefit, were the great objects of the Committee. The difficulty lay in fixing upon such a rate of exchange as should answer the intention of bring-

ing



ing gold to the treasury, without reducing silver below that natural value which it bears in most kingdoms in Europe, since this circumstance might be productive of inconveniences at home. Gold being merely a merchandize in Bengal, and the quantity of it already contained in the country very uncertain, it was thought proper to make the mean rate of exchange in Europe the principle upon which the following regulations for a gold currency are calculated.

1. That the gold mohurs shall be struck bearing the same impression with the present Murshed-abad sicca, and that this mohur shall also be issued in the subdivisions of halves, quarters, and eighths.

2. That the new coin shall be of the fineness of twenty carats, or it shall contain one-sixth part of an alloy, which reduces it to Rs. 16 : 9 : 4 per Cent. below the value of pure gold, to 14 : 7 : 7 below the mean fineness of the Sicca and Dehly mohurs, and to 8 : 2 : 2 one-third beneath the standard of the present Arcot gold mohurs. The reasons for fixing upon this standard are, that it is deemed the most convenient for allowing the proposed encouragement to the merchants and the proprietors of gold, and likewise for avoiding the great delay and expence of refining in a country where the process is not understood, and the materials for conducting it are obtained with difficulty.

3. That the gold mohur shall be increased from fifteen annas, the present actual weight, to sixteen annas, the better to avoid the inconvenience of fractional numbers in the subdivisional parts and the exchange.

4. That the par of exchange between the gold mohurs and the silver Sicca rupee shall for the present be estimated at the rate of fourteen to one, reckoning upon the *intrinsic*\* value of either. Thus, a gold mohur weighing sixteen annas shall be deemed equivalent to fourteen sicca rupees.

You will perceive, gentlemen, that a discount of one in fifteen, or 6 : 10 : 8 per Cent. is now made on the exchange proposed by the Committee, in order to obviate the very reasonable objection which the Board made to the exorbitant profits assigned to the merchants and proprietors.

5. That the silver Sicca rupee shall not be less than the standard of 11 oz. 15 dwt. or 13 dwt. better than English standard, whence will arise

A profit to the merchant of gold	-	3 per Cent.
A batta on the gold mohur	- - -	3 ditto.
A charge of coinage and duties	- - -	2 ditto.
		8 per Cent.

which increased value is calculated from the generally-received exchange of gold and silver, and not upon the market-price of gold, which fluctuates daily.

6. That all payments, whether of a public or a private nature, shall be made at the established batta, and every attempt to create an artificial batta, or exchange, shall be rigorously punished.

7. That a tender of payment, either public or private, shall in future be equally valid in gold and silver, and that a refusal of the established gold currency shall incur such punishment as this Board may think proper to inflict.

8. That public notice shall be given to all Zeméendars, collectors of the revenue, and others, that the collections may be made indiscriminately in gold and in silver, the

\* This word *intrinsic* has been substituted in the place of *numery*; but as *intrinsic* appears in the copy at the India house, I have not ventured to correct the error. That the sense requires *numery* is evident from the preceding regulations stated in the letter, by which it appears that the gold Mohur contains more *pure gold*, than the Sicca rupee contains *pure silver*; yet are they *numerically* exchanged at one to fourteen. The second paragraph of the letter, moreover, has these words: "It was thought proper to make the *mean rate of exchange in Europe* the principle, upon which the *following regulations* for a gold currency are calculated."

former to be received at the mint and treasury, at the rate proposed in the 2d article; that is the Sicca and Dehly mohurs to be reckoned with an alloy of 14 : 7 : 7 per Cent. and the Arcot mohur, with an alloy of 8 : 2 : 2  $\frac{1}{4}$ , which will produce, agreeably to the principle of exchange laid down, the advantage proposed in article the 5th.

These, gentlemen, are the regulations proposed by the right honourable the President, and the members of the Select Committee; upon which I shall beg your permission to offer the following remarks.

The establishing a gold currency in the country appears to me the only practicable method of abolishing that pernicious system of reducing the Batta on Sicca rupees annually. There being now a fixed standard of value for silver, that metal must in time necessarily settle at the precise point which determines the proportion it bears to gold. Neither will the scarcity of any species of rupees affect the Batta, since the gold currency will always afford the means of payment without loss by the exchange. The Batta of the Mohur being invariable, will soon render that of the silver invariable also; or else the principle of exchange will be destroyed, and of consequence the profit to the merchant will become precarious. This effect I think must necessarily flow from the full establishment of a gold currency; and were there no other advantage attending it than reducing to a fixed determinate value the great variety of coins with which business is distracted in this country, that alone would be well worth the experiment.

It will be absolutely necessary that the utmost care be taken to prevent any debasement of the fixed standard of the gold Mohur, which is already rated so high in the exchange. I should myself apprehend that a fraud of such dangerous tendency to the public credit should be punished with death; and as the English laws will not authorize so rigorous a punishment, except for the adulteration of the current coin of Great Britain, that the laws of the country should take place. Your resolution on this head should be published in the mint at Murshedabad; and as a farther check on the coiners, the resident might be required occasionally to send down specimens of the money to be assayed in Calcutta.

I should likewise imagine that severe penalties should be annexed to the secreting, defacing, clipping, or melting down the new coinage; and that the same, together with the punishment to be inflicted on every attempt to vary the Batta, or obstruct the currency, should be promulgated in every district of the Nabob's dominions.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ALEX. CAMPBELL.

No. 136.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated the 20th March, 1769.*

Read the following letter from the European merchants and principal inhabitants of Calcutta; also, a petition from the Armenian merchants, and a letter from the Mayor's Court; setting forth the great difficulties and distresses to which themselves, and the inhabitants in general, are reduced, from the increasing scarcity of specie, and earnestly requesting the assistance of the Board for a relief from the ruinous evil.

H H

No.

## A.

*To the Honourable Harry Verelst, &c. &c.*

GENTLEMEN,

The universal distress of the settlement at present for specie, will, we hope, excuse our troubling you with this address, requesting in our names, and those of the inhabitants of Calcutta in general, the assistance of your government and authority to remedy this evil, which grows every day more severely felt by every merchant in Bengal.

We are highly sensible of your care and attention to the welfare of the inhabitants, from your late orders regarding the gold Mohurs; and flatter ourselves that this application, as it equally merits, will equally meet with your regard.

Before the gold Mohurs were called in, the Shroffs had so far taken the advantage of the necessity of individuals, that they had made the changing of money, from a bare livelihood, to a most advantageous trade to themselves, and a distressful tax upon every man who wanted money beyond the bounds of Calcutta; yet, at that very time, any sum might have been had in silver, by paying a high premium to those people who had it in their possession. From this we are led to believe, that there is still specie sufficient for the trade of Bengal, though perhaps not enough to answer the currency of this extensive town; and that if any method could be fallen upon to keep the Shroffs to their proper sphere, and prevent their taking advantage of the necessities of those who carry on trade to the Aurungs, a gold coin might still be made a convenient and useful currency for this settlement, though not for the trade of Bengal in general; whereas at present the distress is so great, that every merchant in Calcutta is in danger of becoming bankrupt, or running a risk of ruin by attachments on his goods, which would not sell for half their value, it being impossible to raise a large sum at any premium on bond.

As many of us have severely felt the late inconveniences, we have often reflected on the various methods by which it appeared to us possible to remedy them, and we hope you will excuse our subjoining one for your superior judgment, which appears to us most reasonable; that is, to coin Mohurs, half Mohurs, and quarter Mohurs, equal in value and standard to those commonly called Dehly; forbidding, by your authority, any Shroff, under pain of severe fine and imprisonment, to exact more than one per Cent. for exchanging them into silver, for the purposes of merchants trading out of Calcutta; with which allowance we are persuaded they will become satisfied in the course of a few months; since, before there was any gold coin sufficient in Calcutta, they subsisted by exchanging Sicca rupees into Arcotts, Sunnauts, &c. for the Aurung trade; and we do not remember the exchange ever exceeded two per Cent. and was in general only from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  per Cent. Praying your pardon for this long trespass on your patience, we beg leave to subscribe ourselves with the utmost respect,

Gentlemen, Your most obedient and most humble servants,

CORN. GOODWIN,	E. STEPHENSON,	SAM. MIDDLETON,
JOHN BATHOE,	KIER, REED, CATOR,	JAMES ELLIS,
HUGH INGLIS,	and Co.	HENRY GRANT,
R. HUNTER,	R. SAUNDERSON,	JOHN PETRIE,
J. ATCHINSON,	WILLIAM MAGEE,	JAMES LISTER,
JAMES FRAZER,	RUSSEL SKINNER,	NATH. MIDDLETON,
JOSEPH JEKYLL,	JOHN ROBINSON,	JOSEPH PRICE,
HUGH BAILLIE,	FRANCIS DOUGLAS,	DANIEL HOISSARD,
W. BARTON,	H. COTTRELL,	PAGE KEBLE.
ROBT. DOBINSON,	W. HARWOOD,	
ALEX. MURRAY,	DAN. CAMPBELL,	

## B.

*To the Honourable Harry Verelst, Esq. &c. &c.*

*The humble Petition of the Armenian Merchants settled in Calcutta,*

SHEWETH,

That the scarcity of coin now felt in this capital, amongst the many intolerable evils arising from it, affects every individual to that degree, that the best houses, with magazines full of goods, are distressed for daily provisions, and that not only a general bankruptcy is to be feared, likely to involve every soul in the settlement, but a real famine in the midst of wealth and plenty. That to prevent those evils from coming to a destructive crisis, your petitioners, prompted by that zeal incumbent upon them as ancient British subjects, and by their own heart-felt distresses, humbly beg leave to submit to your wisdom how far an immediate coinage of Mohurs, with all their divisions and subdivisions to one Anna, sixteen Siccas value of pure gold, to be lawfully tendered in payment universally all over these British dominions, and admitted at the treasury of both capitals, might be an adequate means to ward off the impending ruin; since any coin whatever is better than no coin at all; a measure brought on by the artificial scarcity of silver coin, strongly pointed out by the combinations evidently entered upon by the bankers, and warranted by the large quantity of gold lately imported into this place: a measure for the rectitude of which your petitioners can account to their own consciences, and in the support whereof they hereby beg leave to pledge their good faith and honour. Your petitioners humbly hope, honourable Sir and Sirs, that your goodness will take the premises into consideration, or give them whatever relief your wisdom shall think fit.

And your petitioners, bound in gratitude and duty, shall ever pray, &c.

## C.

*To the Honourable Harry Verelst, Esq. President, &c. Council at Fort William.*

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

The honourable the Mayor's court of the town of Calcutta, beg leave to represent, that in the practice of their court they have for some time past observed the growth of an evil, which has daily increased, insomuch that the sufferings of many will thereby become intolerable, unless a speedy relief be afforded them. The evil of which they speak, is the very great decrease of specie, so that there remains not sufficient for the occasions and intercourse of commerce, and scarcely for the private economy of the inhabitants of Calcutta. It is felt by all ranks of people in the loss of credit and confidence; the fair and honest dealer is every day prosecuted to judgment in their court without remedy, from the impossibility of obtaining payment from his debtors, to satisfy the claim of his creditors, but by a course of law. He is thus urged by his necessity to involve himself in expensive suits; he is forced to defend, in order to gain time, though sensible of the justness, and desirous to pay the demand; and he is drove to a hasty prosecution, in hopes to recover, before judgment passeth against himself, though fully convinced of his debtor's willingness to pay as soon as he is able; his substance is in this manner wasted, and the distress which follows too obvious and moving to need description.

They are unable to express what they feel in the discharge of their duty; but the daily instances of the melancholly consequences of this calamity, call upon them to lay this faithful representation before you, in full confidence, from the experienced tenderness and zeal for the public prosperity and welfare, which has so particularly

distinguished your administration, of such effectual remedy as in your wisdom you shall judge most meet.

By order of the honourable, the Mayor's Court,

Town Hall, Calcutta, March 14, 1769.

JOHN HOLME, Register.

The Board being fully sensible, from daily observation and experience, of the truth of the facts alledged in these letters and petition, and convinced of the fatal consequences, which must speedily and unavoidably accrue from them to the Company's affairs both at home and in India,—

Resolved, We immediately take this affair into consideration, and endeavour, as far as possible, to find out some safe, or at least temporary remedy, for this growing evil, till the orders of the honourable the Court of Directors shall enable us to remove it entirely. Upon a strict and impartial enquiry, we find that this scarcity of specie, so severely felt by the merchants here, is not an accidental or fictitious one, nor confined to Calcutta alone, but that the same indigence is spread over the whole country, so that the ministers have made no secret of their apprehensions, that either the revenues must fall short, or be collected in kind, from a want of a sufficient currency for sales and purchases. We can expect no relief in this, from any sums brought into the country, for the purpose of trade inland, because all the commerce formerly to the north-west and westward by Guzzerat, Cashmere, Mogul merchants, &c. is now precluded by the vast increase of our own and foreign investments, whose advance we see with concern, but where the strictness of the Company's orders will not permit us to interfere, though ever so indirectly. We can expect no silver from home, and a mere trifle from the foreign companies. The French treasury has been amply supplied this year by bills for above twenty lacks on this settlement from England, besides vast sums paid into their cash by individuals. The Dutch imports of bullion have, for several years past, not exceeded eight or ten lacks per annum, and the Danes bring not in above two lacks more. The country's distress must also yearly encrease. Its whole revenues are diverted into our treasury, and only the sums necessary for the investment, and our current expences, return again into the channel of circulation. The difference, therefore, between the amount of the revenues, and the sum of the investment and disbursements, is an annual loss to the currency, and must, in the end, swallow up the whole, unless a proportional import of specie is made, or till the aggregate of the investment and disbursements shall become equal to the whole revenues. This will explain the unavoidable increase of poverty in the country; and as the treasury is a continual drain upon that, so the immense exports to China, Madras, Bombay, with the King's tribute, and the expence of a brigade out of our provinces, will but too well account for the low ebb to which it has, in its turn, been reduced. If we consider the state of the provinces in this point of view, and reflect, at the same time, that they produce no silver or gold, so that imports of both have been, for a series of years, very inconsiderable; that a large proportion of their treasures were carried off by a fugitive tyrant, and that, for several years, few returns have been made to exports in general, and trade rendered a kind of monopoly in the hands of a few, we shall rather be surprized how the country has supported itself so long under such exhausting circumstances, than at the rapid progress of general penury.

The



The Board having duly and maturely weighed this matter, and having consulted the principal merchants, Banyans, bankers, and the ministers of the Nizamut, do resolve to recommend to the Nizamut, the establishing a new gold currency, on and according to the following rules and restrictions.

The Mohur to be of the ancient Dehly standard, to weigh seventeen annas Sicca weight, and to be issued and received in all public and private disbursements and receipts whatever, at 16 Sicca rupees each Mohur. The Mohur to be subdivided into halves, quarters, eighths, and sixteenths; so that each sixteenth shall be the value of one Sicca rupee. That all gold delivered into the mint for coinage, be coined in the following proportions: supposing 100 Mohurs,

A number not exceeding	25	to be coined into	25	pieces.
Halves	- - -	18	ditto.	36
Quarters	- - -	18	ditto.	72
Eighths	- - -	18	ditto.	144
Sixteenths	- - -	21	ditto.	336
				613
Mohurs	100	ditto.	- - -	613

That for the prevention of frauds and abuses, persons should be appointed to superintend on the part of the Company, (as Dewans of the Subah, and therefore principally concerned in the currency of the coin in these provinces, having the collections of their revennes) the assays of all gold in the mints of Murshed-abad, Patna, and Dacca, with the governments assay-master, and no coinage be issued from either mint, but what has been thus jointly assayed. That no duties, either on behalf of the government, Company, Governor, or mint-master, be received, nor any charge, farther than a per Centage, equivalent to the actual expence of coinage.

That no mint or assay-master shall refuse to receive any gold whatever for coinage or assay, and that every assay-master shall, when applied to by any merchant or other, assay any gold brought to him for assay, and every quantity brought shall have the seal of the assay-master fixed on such parcel, and a certificate given him under the assay-master's hand, specifying the assay, that the proprietor of such gold may know at all times its real value.

The advantages expected to be derived from this arrangement are,

1. An increase of currency by a species of coin upon a standard as near as possible to the established one of silver, and whose numerous sub-divisions will enable it to supply the place of silver in all smaller disbursements and receipts.

2. That as, on a moderate computation, near twenty lacks in gold are now lying uselefs in Calcutta, from the want of a fixed gold currency, and other considerable sums may be expected in return for the Bafforah Judda, and other cargoes, from whence alone we can hope supplies of specie; the whole amount of these will run into the general circulation of the currency, instead of remaining as a mere matter of merchandize.

3. That as a proportion of  $\frac{1}{16}$  of seventeen annas of Sicca gold to one Sicca rupee, is, as near as possible, to the respective value of the old standard, gold and silver, throughout the empire, its currency may fairly and justly be every where enforced, nor can any combination or artifice of the bankers and Shroffs, ever make such a difference in the exchange, as in any degree to affect the profits and welfare of trade in general; or should prudence or policy hereafter prescribe the recall of such a coinage, the Company will sustain little loss or detriment.

Lastly,

Lastly, It will effectually render abortive the schemes of the French; of distressing this settlement and country by the large sums in silver they have drawn into their treasury, in payment for their Europe bills, by introducing a currency nearly as convenient, and on as fair a standard, as the very silver they have so earnestly laboured to engross.

Agreed, That the President be requested to communicate this scheme to the ministers of the government, to desire their sentiments thereon; and if it meets their concurrence, that they will enforce the proposed establishment of a gold currency.

No. 137.

*Extract of a letter from Mahomed Reza Cawn (acting minister to the Nabob of Bengal) to the President and Council at Fort William; recorded on Consultations, March 28th, 1769.*

If orders were issued for a coinage of gold of the Dohly fineness in the several mints, and that it shall be received in the payment of the revenue, and become current in the several factories, and in all mercantile transactions whatever, and care was taken to enforce those orders throughout the provinces; both private and public business would be carried on without any of those delays and interruptions which, at present, arise from the general scarcity of silver.

No. 138.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Becher, resident at the Durbar, to the Select Committee, dated May 5th, 1769.*

Some Mohurs of the new gold coinage were received yesterday, in part of the Poonah Kists, and the ministers will immediately issue strict orders for receiving, in all the districts, gold when offered in payment of the revenues, and hope the currency will be established without difficulty.

No. 139.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated May 30th, 1769.*

Received a letter from (Mr. Rumbold) the chief of Patna, dated the 21st instant, acquainting us that particular directions have been received from the Nabob by Seetabroy for establishing a gold coinage at Patna; and as it is mentioned among the regulations that a person should be stationed there on the part of the Company, to prevent any frauds in the coinage, to request our orders concerning it.

No. 140.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated June 17th, 1769.*

Received a letter from the governor and Mr. Becher (at the city of Murshedabad) dated the 9th of June, advising, that they enclose us an account of the difference between the three known standards of gold in Hindostan, that the ministers recommend, and that they have acquiesced in the propriety of their remarks. That the standard of Mahomed Shah, approaching nearest to the proportional value of gold and silver, is therefore better adapted for the purpose of exchange, and a general currency in commerce; and that it derives an additional advantage from the respect and reputation in which that coin is held, and from the universal satisfaction with which it has always been received; and that, for these considerations, we are induced to approve

prove of Mahomed Shah's standard, in preference to the Venetian, for the present currency. And having received advice that Mohurs of this standard have been struck in the mints of Patna and Dacca, in consequence of samples transmitted from thence, and that they met with a ready circulation, which is a farther inducement to them in their present recommendation thereof.

The Board being fully satisfied, as well from the recommendation of the ministers, as from the report laid before them by the assay-master, that the standard of Mahomed Shah approaches the nearest to the proportional value between gold and silver, do agree and resolve, that the resolutions of the 20th of March, shall immediately take place, and that the subordinates be advised thereof; that the chiefs be directed to appoint some person on the part of the Company, to superintend the business of the mint, and see that the regulations be properly attended to; and that the secretary issue public advertisements of this our resolution, for the information of the inhabitants of the town.

No. 141.

The following diary of the price of silver in Calcutta, exhibits undeniable proof of the advantages derived by the Shroffs, from the prevailing scarcity of silver rupees, and obstruction to the currency of gold Mohurs. It farther explains how necessary it became for the Board to adopt some expedient for repressing the present evil, relieving the inhabitants, and issuing a gold coin which should be universally received for the purposes of trade; it was for this reason they made choice of the standard of Mahomed Shah, which had always been held in the greatest esteem amongst the natives of Bengal, and was particularly desired at this time, by the united voice of the people. To understand this diary, it must be observed, the established Battas are as follow:

- viz. 9 Sun Siccas, being the coin struck that year, are 16 per Cent.
- 8 Suns, the coin of the preceding year, are 13 per Cent.
- Sunats, being the third year in circulation, are 11 per Cent.
- Arcots, are 8 per Cent.

The deviation from these numbers expresses the rise or fall of Batta, which excess ought to be deducted from the extraordinary discount on the gold Mohurs of 1766.

	9 Sun Siccas	8 Sun Sicca Rs.	Sont. Rs.	Arcot Rupees.
1768, June 1	22 14 per Cent.	22 8		15 8
2	25	23		17
3	25	23 2		17 4
4	25	23 4		17 4
5	25	23 4		17 4
6	25	23 4		17 4
7	25	23 4		17 2
8	25 8	23 4		17 6
9	26	23 5		17 6
10	26	23 8		17 12
11	25 12	23 15		18
12	25 12	24 8		18 8
13	27 4	24 9		19

9 Sun

	9 Sun Siccas	8 Sun Sicca Rs.	Sont. Rs.	Arcot Rupees.
1768, June	14 27 4	24 9 6		19
	15 27 8	24 12	23 12	19
	16 27 8	24 4	23 12	18 8
	17 27 8	24 8	23 12	18 4
	18 27 3	24	22 8	18 4
	19 27 3	24 4	22 8	18 4
	20 27 8	24	22 8	18 8
	21 27	24		18 8
	22 26	23 12		18
	23 25 8	22		17
	24 25	21		16
	25 24	21		15
	26 23 12	20 8		14 8
	27 22	18		14 4
	28 22	17 8		14
	29 19 11	17		13 12
	30 20	16 8		13 8

	9 Sun Siccas	8 Sun Sicca Rs.	Sont. Rs.	Arcot Rupees.
July	1 19	16 8		12
	2 20	17		12
	3 19	16 12		12
	4 19 2	17 4		12 8
	5 19 4	17 8		12 8
	6 19 8	18		12 8
	7 22	20 12		15 4
	8 21	21		15
	9 24 8	21 8		16 8
	10 24 8	22 4		16 8
	11 24	22		16 8
	12 23 8	20 14		15
	13 23	19		14 12
	14 22	18 8		14 12
	15 21	18		14 12
	16 22 5	19		15
	17 22 8	20		15
	18 22 8	19 4		15
	19 22 8	19 8		15
	20 22 12	20		15 4
	21 22 4	20 4		15 4
	22 22	19 12		15 8
	23 22	19 12		15 12

9 Sun

A P P E N D I X.

	9 Sun Siccas	8 Sun Sicca Rs.	Sont. Rs.	Arcot Rupees.
1768, July	24 22 4	20 4		15 12
	25 22 8	20 12		16
	26 23	20 12		16
	27 20 12	21		16
	28 23 8	21		16
	29 23 8	21		16
	30 23 8	21 2		16 4
	31 23 12	21 6		16 6

	9 Sun Siccas	8 Sun Sicca Rs.	Sont. Rs.	Arcot Rupees.
August 1	24	24 8		16 6
2	24 8	22 12		18
3	25	22 12		18
4	25 8	23		18 4
5	26	23 4		18 8
6	26 8	23 8		18 10
7	26 8	25 8		18 8
8	27	24		18 8
9	26 8	23 7		18 8
10	26 8	23 7		18 8
11	26 8	23 12		18 8
12	26 12	23 12		18 8
13	26 12	23 10		18 8
14	26 12	23 10		18 12
15	27	23 12		19
16	27 4	24		19
17	27 4	24		19
18	27 4	24		19
19	27 10	23 8		18 8
20	28	23 12		18 12
21	28	24		19
22	28	23		19
23	28 4	24		19
24	28 8	24 4		19 8
25	28 8	24 4		19 6
26	28 12	24 4		19 6
27	29 4	24 8		19 6
28	29	24 8		19 6
29	29	24 8		19 6
30	29	24 8		19 6
31	29	24 8		19 6



No. 141.

*Account of the number of gold Mohurs coined in Bengal, in consequence of regulations established in the year 1766.*

In the mint of Calcutta	177,871
Patna	15,274
Murshed-abad	70,000
Total Mohurs.	263,145
Of the above sent to Madras	134,417
Balance remaining in Bengal in March 1769	128,728
	263,145

PAPERS relating to the SOCIETY for carrying on the  
SALT, &c. Trade.

No. 142.

*Extract of a Letter from the Court of Directors to the Select Committee at Fort William, dated Nov. 21st, 1766.*

PAR. 19. We find in the Burdwan accounts, the committee of lands, and the President and Council who passed them, never required, as it was their duty to have done, an explanation of the enormous sum passed under the head of charges residency; so that successive Governors and Councils winked at this abuse. And, in the present case, many members of the Board had passed through the office of chief of Midnapore, each treading in the corrupt steps of his predecessor. And by Mr. Watts's letter, entered on your proceedings of the 20th of January last, it appears, these things were no secret to the Governor and Council, nor even to the public.

21. At the same time that we assure Mr. Verelst of the high sense we entertain of his upright conduct in the bringing to light these fraudulent practices in the province of Midnapore, and adding so greatly to our revenue, we would also have you assure Mr. Graham, that he suffers no imputation on this account, and that we regard him as a valuable servant.

22. Our letters of these two years past, sufficiently testify how entirely we agree with you in your opinion of the corruption and licentiousness of our servants, the horrible abuses committed in the carrying on the inland trade, the vast sums extorted for restitution and for donations, the contempt and violation of our most positive orders, and lastly, the glaring frauds known and connived at in the collection of the revenues at Burdwan and Midnapore, amply justify your opinion, that all ranks are tainted with it, and we readily conceive the difficulty you were under how to fill up the Council. Peace and tranquility could not be said to be faintly established, while so factious and licentious a spirit prevailed, and you therefore did well to extend the construction of those words to an act so essentially necessary as the calling down the four gentlemen from Madras.

30. We

30. We recommend it to you to put the most extensive construction on the powers we have vested in you to correct all abuses. It is impossible for us to point out remedies for malversations that have been hitherto unheard of; the covenants guard against donations; the 19th paragraph to you of the 17th May last, forbids the holding of farms; the 18th paragraph of the general letter of that date, forbids the lending money to the natives at more than 12 per Cent. interest; and we now make it a standing order, that no servant of the Company, or Englishman residing under their protection, shall hold any post, office, or employment, under any country power whatsoever.

36. We have the pleasure to assure you we highly approve your conduct in general, and we most earnestly entreat you to persevere in the same zealous attention to our interest.

No. 143.

*Extract of Fort William Consultations, dated September 16th, 1765.*

The Committee for managing the plan of trade in the several articles of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, send in the following letter, soliciting a deed to secure the proprietors in right to the same, during the continuance of their present engagements, to be renewed every season as long as it may be agreeable to the honourable Company that this plan should subsist.

*To the Right Honourable Lord Clive, President and Governor, &c. Council of Fort William.*

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

In consequence of the plan which you have been pleased to entrust to our management, we have, for some time past, been taking measures for regulating the trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, and have already concluded considerable contracts for the purchase of the first article.

Having thus engaged in the trade, and made advances for the society's property, with a view of being able to carry it on agreeable to your said plan, it becomes a necessary consideration with us, on behalf of the body for whom we act, to have them secured against any innovations, during the continuance of their present engagements. The terms of the purchase contracts will run for the ensuing year's produce of the several articles, and the vend will be concluded as soon after as possible. We therefore request that your lordship, &c. Council, will furnish us with such a deed in writing as you shall think sufficient to secure to the society the free and sole purchase of the articles of salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, produced in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, from the first September 1765, to the 31st August 1766, allowing sufficient time to dispose of such purchase for the season; to be renewed every season as long as shall be agreeable to the honourable Company, that this plan should subsist; and, as a very great loss would arise to the proprietors, should any alteration happen after the concern of the year is begun, and before it is finished, that ample provision be made for the continuance and conclusion of such concern.

We are the more earnest to be satisfied in this point, as until we obtain your compliance, we find we shall not be able to establish the credit of the society amongst the merchants, so as to raise the necessary fund for carrying the trade on.

We are with respect, &c.

W. B. SUMNER, H. VERELST, R. LEXCESTER, G. GRAY.

Fort William, Sept. 11th, 1765.

The same having been perused and considered, we are unanimous in opinion respecting the propriety of passing the deed requested by the society, and such a one is accordingly ordered to be prepared by Mr. Whittal \*, for the security of the present proprietors.

It is agreed to apply to the Company for permission to renew the same for the future concerns, if the plan meets with their approbation; and the Committee is advised in answer accordingly, with further information, that when the present deed is prepared and executed, it shall be transmitted to them.

No. 144.

*Extract of a Letter from Lord Clive to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, September 29th, 1765.*

PAR. 17. The regulation now established for the salt trade will, I hope, be entirely to your satisfaction. I at first intended to propose, that the Company and their servants should be jointly and equally concerned in the trade itself: but, upon better consideration, I judged that plan to be rather unbecoming the dignity of the Company, and concluded it would be better, that they should give the trade entirely to their servants, and fix a duty upon it for themselves, equivalent to half the profits. This duty we have computed at the rate of 35 per Cent. for the present; but, I imagine, it will be able next year to bear an increase. The articles of beetle and tobacco being of less consequence, and yielding much less advantage, the duties upon them, of course, must be less. For farther particulars of these regulations, I beg leave to refer you to the Committee letter and proceedings, as I would not here trouble you with the repetition of a matter which is there so fully laid before you.

18. The advantages proposed for the Governor and Council would undoubtedly appear extremely large to those who are unacquainted with the riches of Bengal, and the numberless opportunities which the Company's servants have of acquiring money. But you, who are now perfectly informed of the revenues of these kingdoms, and the prodigious emoluments within the reach of gentlemen high in the service, will, I am persuaded, agree with me, that if some plan of the nature proposed be not adopted, the Governor and Council will not fail to acquire much larger fortunes, by other means, in a much shorter time; which must always be productive of that quick succession, not only so detrimental to your commercial interest, but so totally incompatible with the acquisition of political knowledge, which ought now to be considered as a very material qualification in all your civil as well as military servants. To obviate an objection which may arise, that they may possibly proceed in the old way of procuring money, notwithstanding they accept of these allowances, I would have an oath tendered to them, of as strong and solemn a nature as can be penned. I have drawn out the form of one, agreeable to my idea of the expedient, and have the honour to enclose it for your consideration. To this may be annexed, a penalty bond of 150,000*l.* to be executed by the Governor, and 50,000*l.* to be executed by each of the Council.

See chapter IV. p. 112, note (\*) at the bottom.

No.

No. 145.

*Copy of Lord Clive's Minute in Select Committee, dated Fort William, September 3d, 1765.*

GENTLEMEN,

Sometime before my departure from England, the Court of Directors debated upon the propriety of suffering their servants in Bengal to trade in the articles of salt, beetle, and tobacco; and it could not be expected they would continue to them the enjoyment of those profitable branches, unless means were devised, by which the natives could no longer be oppressed, and by which the Nabob and the Company would largely partake of the advantages. Upon a firm persuasion that such means would be devised, they were pleased to defer their final determinations of this matter, till the sentiments of the Select Committee should be transmitted to them. By all their letters of last year, and by several of this, they still seemed inclined to wait for our representations; but by their letter of the 19th of February, by the Lord Camden, they positively forbid their servants to have any concern whatever in this trade. At that time, indeed, they could not have had the least idea of the favourable changes in the affairs of these provinces, whereby the interest of the Nabob, with regard to salt, is no longer immediately concerned.

When we first took this important matter into consideration, I joined in opinion with the rest of the Committee that, if the trade could be put on such a footing, that if the Nabob should receive more than had been received by any of his predecessors, the Company be amply considered, and the natives become purchasers upon terms full as reasonable as in former times, the servants might be indulged in the privilege under such certain rules and restrictions as would make the trade carry with it as little as possible the odious form of a monopoly. These points having been settled, I consented to the plan laid down last year. My absence from the Presidency, and the multiplicity of affairs then in agitation, wherein the peace and tranquillity of the provinces, the interest of the Company, and the honour of the nation, were more immediately concerned, prevented my paying that attention I could have wished to this important object, although by the acquisition of the Dewanny the whole of the duties belong to the Company; and by the diligence and zeal of the members of the Committee of trade many useful reformati<sup>o</sup>ns had taken place; yet from my observation when I was last up the country, and from the heavy complaints against Europeans of the monopoly of trade in general, I find that the industrious native is still deprived of that share to which he had an undoubted, and a more natural right; nor is it yet upon that equitable footing, which justice and humanity would I am sure incline the Committee to establish.

A few weeks more must bring us the final resolutions of the Court of Directors in answer to our dispatches by the Admiral Stevens; and if, notwithstanding the present situation of their affairs, they should think proper to repeat their orders by the Lord Camden, it will be our duty to obey them, and I am persuaded they will be obeyed by this Committee. But if, on the contrary, upon the receipt of our representations, they should change their sentiments, and approve of the regulations already made, no time should be lost on our part in establishing the mode for carrying on the trade in future. The confidence which the Court of Directors have been pleased to express in my endeavours to settle upon an equitable plan that trade which has been the source of so many evils, cannot but promote my zeal for the cause, and make me anxiously wish to see every regulation, that you may join with me in thinking necessary, take place.

The

The Company's duties I beg leave to propose shall be encreased, the servants still receive a reasonable share of emolument, and the terms upon which the natives are finally to be concerned, advantageously fixed. I propose—

1. That all salt provided by the society of trade shall be sold at Calcutta, and at the other places where it is made, and no where else.
2. That the price of salt shall not exceed 2 rupees per maund, or 200 rupees per 100 maunds.
3. That the salt shall be sold to the natives only, who are to transport it to every part of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and to have the whole profits arising from the sale thereof, and that no Company's servant, free merchant, or European, shall be concerned in that article directly or indirectly, after the sale of it at the above places.
4. That the Calcutta black merchants shall be limited to a certain proportion of purchase, but that no Banyan, or servant whatever belonging to any European, shall be included, or have any concern therein.
5. That every endeavour be made use of to encourage the substantial merchants of the country, either to come down in person to the place where the salt is provided, or to send their agents, in order to purchase and transport the salt to the different places of sale.
6. That a certain price be fixed for the sale of every maund of salt, at every town, market, or village, where it is sold, according to the distance and former custom.
7. That if salt be sold at any of the Bazars, or markets, for one Cowrie above the stipulated price, the vender shall not only forfeit all the salt then found in his possession, but be liable to a forfeit of 1000 rupees for every hundred maunds of salt so sold, and the salt and money so forfeited shall go one half to the informer, and one half to the government.
8. That the ministers at Murshed-abad and Patna have copies sent them of these new regulations, and that they be desired to apply to the Nabob to make the same known throughout the three provinces; and that every Fouzdar, &c. see they be put in execution, upon pain of being dismissed from his employments.
9. This business being entirely commercial, I propose that in the instrument of agreement for the next year, it shall be provided, that the society of trade be answerable to the Board for their conduct, that the Board may either make new regulations, or amend those made by the society of trade, as they see fit; and that in case of necessity the Select Committee shall have power to controul the conduct of the whole.
10. That a duty of fifty per Cent. be paid to the Company upon all the salt provided in their own lands, and fifty per Cent. to the government upon all the salt provided in the lands of the government, and fifteen per Cent. upon beetle; which duties, in fact, will be brought to the Company's credit, which, according to the present state of the salt trade, will produce the Company from 12 to 13 lacks, or from 150,000*l.* to 162,500*l.* per annum.

The prohibition of a free inland trade, however disagreeable to individuals, must now take place, and be confined to imports and exports, and to their immediate returns, which returns shall be made only to the Presidency, or to one or other of the established factories. The Company are sovereigns in India, and they have declared that the trade carried on for these four years past is an usurpation not only of their prerogative, but of the privileges of the natives, and repugnant to the express and repeated orders of the Court of Directors. The indulgence, however, in the trade of salt, upon the footing, I hope, it will now be established, should, in my opinion, obviate all complaints; since it seems to be the most equitable modus between the Company and their servants, and at the same time a distribution of natural right to the



the people of the country. Considering that the late great advantages of unlimited inland trade are cut off, I cannot imagine that the Court of Directors will deny their servants this share of benefit, as a recompence for their attention and assistance in the management of the important concerns of these provinces. On the other hand, I would have the servants look on these emoluments as a gift from the hand of their employers, offered to them annually in reward of their fidelity, and which will certainly be with-held from them, if ever their authority should be resisted, and discontent and rapacity take place of gratitude and moderation.

(Signed) CLIVE.

*Extract of Select Committee proceedings thereon, of the same date.*

His Lordship's Minute having been read and maturely considered, the regulations therein specified are unanimously approved of.

Agreed, therefore, that the President's regulations for the inland trade be laid before the Council with all convenient dispatch, for their approbation, in order that the necessary instructions for prosecuting the joint concern for the ensuing season, may be immediately issued to the Committee of trade.

Resolved, that the above concern shall consist of sixty shares, and that the proprietors shall stand enrolled with the several proportions affixed to their names, in the manner ascertained in the following statement:

CLASS I.	Counsellors, and Colonels Smith and Sir Robert Barker,	32 shares.
CLASS II.	Clergymen, senior and junior merchants, and lieutenant Colonels,	} 14 $\frac{2}{3}$ ditto.
CLASS III.	Factors, majors, and surgeons,	
		<hr/>
		55 $\frac{2}{3}$
	See N. B. below.	4 $\frac{1}{3}$
		<hr/>
		60

It appearing from the above division of capital stock that 4  $\frac{1}{3}$  shares remain unappropriated; Agreed, that the same be accounted for at a proper time.

N. B. These shares were afterwards appropriated to Mr. Bolts, and others.

ERRATA in the APPENDIX.

Page Line		Page Line	
2	28 for Juggutfeat, read Juggut-Sect.	54	30 for Rige-naut Row, read Ragoo-naut Row.
	33 for ditto, read ditto.		30 for Janegree, read Janoojee.
3	38 for ditto, read ditto.		33 for Decan, read Deccan.
5	left for ditto, read ditto.	56	7 for Goercullah, read Gourcullah.
6	8 for enemies, read enemy's.		27 for of revenues, read of the revenues.
8	1 for Sombre, read Somroo.	61	18 for transmitting, read transmitted.
11	42 dele established, (first repeated)		31 for 25th ultimo, read 26th ultimo.
14	33 for Juggutfeat, read Juggut-Seet.	66	4 line from bottom, for on howitz, read one howitz.
15	insert N <sup>o</sup> II. over the top of the letter, now unnumbered.	69	27 for experienced, read experience.
	3 from the bottom, for 286,000 l. read 2,650,000 l.	70	16 for February 9th, read February 29th.
16	27 for fortune, read fortunes.	79	25 for call, read calls.
18	25 for president, read resident.	80	36 for Rutten, read Ruttun.
20	8 from the bottom, for Seats, read Seets.	85	10 line from the bottom, for pounder, read pound.
21	16 dele not.	99	33 for warehouse, read warehouses.
	27 for deputations, read deputation.	105	35 for Hidoftan, read Hindoftan.
27	36 for been graved, read be engraved.	111	37 for mislead, read mislead.
41	19 for Shetabroy, read Seetabroy.	113	15 for Chandornagore, read Chandernagore.
42	14 for Poonahs, read Poonah.	115	32 for Nazims, read Nizams.
43	10 for Shetabroy, read Seetabroy.	123	22 for his commands, read its commands.
49	4 from bottom, for your, read our.	126	14 for Rutten, read Ruttun.
50	21 for aspiriug, read aspiring.	136	32 for Nizamaut, read Nizamut.
51	8 for Meneer, read Munneer.	138	Note at bottom, for 6,250 l. read 62,500 l.
52	3 from bottom, for Janajee, read Janoojee.		Note at bottom, for 250,000 l. read 275,000 l.
53	10 for Shetabroy, read Seetabroy.	139	6 for Seats, read Seets.
	19 for Serajapore, read Serajepore.		Note at bottom, for 6,250 l. read 62,500 l.
54	2 for Achmet, read Achmed.	140	4 dele both years inclusive.
	24 for paid to, read paid by.	142	20 for Cheetmarry, read Cheelmarry.
	25 for Rige-naut Row, read Ragoo-naut Row.	175	21 for you, read your.

