

6. You were advised by the late Administration of the donation of seven Lacks of Rupees which the Vizier intended for the Army, and of his having actually transmitted to Col. Champion an obligation under his hand for that sum payable in six months; you were further informed of the refusal of the President and Council to give any countenance to the acceptance of this donation, it falling in their apprehension within the prohibitions of the late Act of Parliament. Since Col. Champion's arrival here he has delivered over to us the obligation * above mentioned, and has added to it a separate note of hand * Appendix, from the Vizier for 50,000 Rupees, intended by him as a present to the Field Officers of No. 22. the Brigade, and a Tunkah for three Lacks, intended for himself.

7. At this time the Governor-General laid before us an Address † to him, signed by all † Appendix, the Field Officers of the Brigade serving under Col. Champion, accompanied with a Case, No. 22. representing the hardships which they conceived they sustained, in being deprived of the common right of soldiers to the plunder of places taken without capitulation, or to an equivalent for it when they are spared; that in the late campaign they had, by a victory in the field, obtained the immediate possession of several considerable places which surrendered at discretion on their approach; particularly Peelabete, Barelli, Ouhla, and Bissouli, where treasuries were accumulated to a great amount; all which were seized upon by the Vizier without allowing any share to the victorious troops. That afterwards when the enemy were driven to their last retreat, and obliged finally to submit to him on the terms which he was pleased to prescribe, he acquired great riches by the capitulation, without any consideration had of the troops or their services. That when he offered them the donation of seven Lacks of Rupees, they regarded it merely as a composition for the plunder to which they were entitled by the usage of war, and of which they had been deprived in the course of the campaign; and therefore did not conceive that it could come within the intention of the Act, but submitted their case to the favour and consideration of the Board.

8. Inclined as we were to listen to their representation, we still did not think it was in our power to give any countenance to what appeared to us a direct breach of the letter of the Act. The most in this case which we could do ‖ was to agree, to receive the whole of ‖ Appendix, the money as a deposit into the Company's Treasury, as well the seven Lacks to the Brigade No. 23. as the three and an half given in by Col. Champion, and to recommend to your Honorable Court to use such means as to you shall seem most proper, for obtaining by Act of Parliament or otherwise, a permission for the Army to receive and divide it among them.

9. In this recommendation we are actuated as well by motives of sound policy as justice; for although it may be expedient to restrain your Army from extorting grants, under colour of presents or free gifts, yet we submit to you, whether to preclude them in all cases from the hopes of a recompence for their services, would not be to put them on a worse footing than any other soldiers, and might not serve to depress that ardor in enterprize which the hopes of advantage never fail to excite. We therefore trust you will be able to devise some means of relief for them under these circumstances, and till your orders arrive (if we receive the money offered them by the Vizier) we shall retain it in our hands; and to convince them, particularly the Subaltern Officers and Soldiers, that something real is intended for them, we propose to make a distribution of the shares which every man will be entitled to receive when permission shall be obtained, and to publish it immediately in General Orders for their satisfaction.

10. Colonel Champion, Lieut. Col. Leslie, and Major Hannay, being all arrived at the Presidency from the Army in the Rohilla Country, the Governor-General expressed his wish to have them called before the Board, to answer some questions which he deemed necessary for elucidating the grounds and conduct of that War. The questions were unanimously approved of by the Board, and these Gentlemen were ordered to attend for the purposes abovementioned; their examinations appear at length on the consultations. § Appendix, No. 24.

11. We also on Colonel Champion's arrival thought it necessary to call upon him for the communication of all the original Letters, or authenticated copies of the whole correspondence, which had passed between him and the Governor, from his departure in the last Spring to take the command of the army in the Rohilla War, until his return to the Presidency. He at first declined without the Governor-General's assent to lay them before

General Clavering declines employing Major Hannay as Adjutant-General.

us; but on the latter signifying his consent, * he has promised to send them in, according to our requisition. Soon after this, on his own request, we permitted him to resign the Company's service.

+ Appendix,
No. 26.

12. The Governor-General understanding from Major Hannay, that the General had declined employing him in his office of Adjutant-General, thought proper, in a minute † to request of the General his reasons for it; the General in answer gave in minute, with his reasons at large; to this the Governor-General made a reply; the whole will be found on the Consultations refer'd to in the margin, the point remains still to be determined.

|| Appendix,
No. 26.

16. In the country correspondence now sent there is also entered 28th November, No. 44. a Letter || from the Vizier, which contains sundry charges against Col. Champion, concerning which we beg you will suspend your judgement, as the Colonel has signified to us, in a note sent a number in the packet, that he is preparing an answer to them; we have agreed to postpone the consideration of the Vizier's Letter till this answer shall be sent in, and will then deliberate on both, and advise you of our resolution upon them.

§ Appendix,
No. 27.

18. General Clavering, Mr. Monson and Mr. Francis having learnt that Major Polier, who has been for some time past with the Vizier, had assisted last year at the siege of Agra, they thought it necessary to enquire of the Governor General by a minute § whether or no Major Polier had any authority for this conduct; and requesting that he would lay before the Board the instructions for that purpose (if he gave any) which had been delivered to him.

19. The Governor-General in reply declared, that he could not find any copy of instructions from him to Major Polier, and therefore believed he had given him none. That Major Polier was sent to the Vizier at his request, to superintend some works which he was carrying on at Fyzabad, and was also employed under the Surveyor-General in taking surveys of that country. That he, the Governor-General, could give him no authority for going to the siege of Agra, because he could not foresee that it should happen; but he did receive advice from Major Polier of his being there, and to the best of his recollection approved of that step.

20. We have thought proper to order the Surveyor-General to send in to us copies of all the instructions which he has delivered to the Surveyors, now out in actual service in the different parts of the country.

Extract of Letter from the Governor-General and Council, at Fort-William, in their Revenue Department, dated 31st December, 1774, and Postscript of the 6th of January, 1775; received in London the 18th of July, 1775.

† Appendix,
No. 28.

3. YOU will have perused, in our proceedings transmitted you by the British King, a petition ‡ which had been presented to us by some Molungees, or Salt Workers, complaining against the Salt Contractors for severe oppressions, and for obliging them to give a greater measure than was customary; and as they represented their having formerly complained of these hardships, we applied to Mr. Vansittart, who was at that time the Superintendent of the Khalla, and to the Roy Royan for information on these subjects.

¶ Appendix,
No. 29.

¶ Their answers you will find recorded on our proceedings noted in the margin. ¶

* See Col. Champion's Letter, and the Governor-General's Observation thereon, contained in Appendix, No. 24, at the beginning.

Extract of Letter from Gov. Gen. and Council to Court of Directors, dated 31 Dec. 1774. 53

4. A motion † was made by the Governor-General relative to Mr. Fowke, which was † Appendix, over-ruled by the Board for reasons assigned in the Proceedings. No. 30.

5. Having in the beginning of our examination into the merits of this petition received information of a much larger quantity of Salt being deposited in the Golahs than the Contractors had declared to be there, we deemed it incumbent on us immediately to put a stop to any Salt being issued from the Golahs, until such time as we could ascertain by a local investigation the amount that was actually in each Golah.

6. For this purpose we resolved to depute Mess. Young and Anderson, accompanied with the persons who had lodged the information, to weigh off what quantities they should find in the Golahs.

7. These Gentlemen accordingly set off as soon as the nature of the journey would admit, and we beg leave to refer you to the Proceedings for the Instructions †, which we † Appendix, thought it necessary to give them. No. 31.

8. For the particulars of the examination regarding the Salt Contractors, we must refer you to our several proceedings noted in the margin. || We have only to remark to || Contained you the unavoidable difficulties pointed out in Mess. Young and Anderson's Correspondence, in Appendix, of ascertaining the exact quantities of Salt, and the delays which must arise from the No. 28. distance of the Golahs from each other.

9. We have directed a prosecution to be commenced against the Salt Contractors, Bulram and Govindram Metre in the Supreme Court of Judicature, on the behalf of the Molungees for oppression and fraud. For our several opinions on this determination we refer you to our Consultations. † † Appendix, No. 32.

10. The shortness of time since our last address has not enabled us to come to any final resolutions regarding the establishment of the Bank. As we have thought it expedient to procure the most ample and extensive information on a subject which you have so particularly recommended to our notice, on the receipt of the answers from the several Provincial Councils, you may rely on this subject receiving our mature deliberation.

11. For the vacancies which we have filled up, occasioned by the recall of the Members to the Board of Trade who held the Chiefships, we must refer you to our Proceedings. * † Appendix, No. 33.

12. A Petition having been presented to us on behalf of the Ranny of Burdwan † we † Appendix, beg to submit to your consideration our Debates thereon, the Majority of us having thought No. 34. proper to comply with the prayer thereof.

P O S T S C R I P T.

HAVING received two Letters from Mr. Graham, accompanying Replies to the Allegations of the Ranny's Petition, we beg leave to refer you to the Copies † of them, which † Appendix, we transmit for your perusal numbers in the packet. No. 35.

We are with great respect,

Honorable Sirs,

Your most faithful humble Servants,

Fort-William, the
6th January, 1775.

WARREN HASTINGS,
GEO. MONSON,
RICHARD BARWELL,
P. FRANCIS.

P

Minute

Minute of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, dated 11th January, 1775; and received in London the 18th of July, 1775; containing observations and remarks on the Governor General's Appeal to the Court of Directors, of the 3d of December, 1774.

1. **W**E had no opportunity of making any remarks on the Governor-General's Appeal to the Honourable Court of Directors by the last ship, dated the 3d of December, nor have we now sufficient leisure from public business to enter into and maintain a voluminous argument with the Governor-General, concerning measures on which we have already delivered our opinion, and on which it appears to us that no new lights have been produced.—Something however seems necessary to be said in reply to the charges brought against us by the Governor-General, lest by our silence we should appear to abandon any of our declared opinions, or to admit the exactness of the Governor's representation by not disputing it.

2. What we have now to submit to the consideration of the Court of Directors shall be collected closely, and brought if possible into that clear point of view in which it may be seen distinctly, and judged of with precision. It is not *our* interest or inclination to perplex the cause depending before the Court of Directors, either with the nicety of logical refinements, or with the introduction of matter totally foreign from the subject. Their attention may be distracted by a multiplicity of *words*, when it is *our* highest interest that it should be steadily fixed and confined to *things*.

3. The argument against the Rohilla War was fully stated in our last address. We meant to make use of all the materials then in our possession. One important observation however on the conduct of the late Administration was omitted. The Governor-General, in his Minute of the 26th November, 1773, in order to relieve his Council from the embarrassment they were in upon the receipt of Sujah Dowla's demand of the Brigade, and in order to elude that demand without violating the Governor's private engagement with Sujah Dowla, fortunately falls upon an expedient, which he conceives will remove all difficulties. It is in substance to yield to the Vizier's demand, but upon such rigid terms as he will probably revolt at, and as may induce him to drop all thoughts of prosecuting the design.

4. From these premises it would naturally follow, that the hard terms which the Governor proposes to insist on in favour of the Company, should at least be new and unexpected by Sujah Dowla; yet by the Governor-General's Report of the negotiation at Benares, it appears beyond contradiction, that the above terms were no other than what the Vizier himself had previously offered, upon the condition of our yielding him our assistance in the intended war against the Rohillas. The sum of two Lacks ten thousand Rupees is settled by the treaty of Benares for the monthly pay of the Brigade whenever they might be employed in his service, and he offers to make the Company a consideration for their service in the Rohilla War of forty Lacks of Rupees.

5. This being indisputably the fact, we are at a loss to comprehend in what new articles the supposed harshness of the conditions, which were to induce Sujah Dowla to relinquish his design, could be understood to have consisted. We have no other difficulty in attributing this management to a preconcerted collusion, but that it seems too gross to answer the purpose of deceiving.

6. The real secret of the measure betrays itself to us from day to day. It is not of a nature to be long concealed. The Vizier's correspondence with Mr. Hastings is well worth the attention of the Court of Directors.—They will see at once that many of his expressions convey more than could have been meant for their information. “*When we concerted this expedition together,*”—“*As I was determined to extirpate the Rohillas, I could not listen to any proposals of peace.*”—“*Consider, my Friend, that it was my absolute determination to extirpate the Rohillas, and that I requested an English Force for that purpose.*” In our opinion it is needless to look for farther evidences of the nature of his design, or of the approbation it received from Mr. Hastings. It cannot now be a question, whether from the first he meant to extirpate the Rohillas or not; or whether Mr. Hastings was originally apprized of that design in it's full extent.

7. It is not our intention to enter into a refutation of the laborious train of arguments by which the Governor endeavours to support the general expediency and justice of the Rohilla War.—We willingly submit the whole to better judgments than our own. The only new document introduced by the Governor-General on this subject, is an Extract of a private Letter which he wrote to Mr. Sullivan by the first dispatch after his return from Benares. Our cause is too powerful to make it necessary for us to dispute with him, upon the weakness and impropriety of referring to such a record in the discussion of a great public measure.—Let us see what the Extract, such as it is, and so produced, contains.

8. In substance it amounts to this.—“That although there were arguments which dissuaded him from the Rohilla Expedition, yet there were others which would have made him very glad of any occasion to employ the Company's Forces, that saved so much of their pay and of their expenses.—On one side he fears the judgment which might be passed upon the measure at home, where he sees too much stress laid upon general maxims, and that his word will not be taken against the prevailing opinion of the Vizier's great power and treacherous designs against us.”—On the other side he states, “The favorableness of the opportunity offered by the absence of the Marattas;—the weak state of the Rohillas, which promised an easy conquest of them; and his idea of the Company's Distress at home, added to his knowledge of their wants abroad.”

9. On this state of the communication of the Governor's private sentiments to his Friend, we observe, that if it contains more intelligence than he transmitted to the Court of Directors, he must defend himself to them, for communicating to Mr. Sullivan what he withheld from his Superiors. If the communication was the same to both parties, we know not to what purpose the above Extract is now produced.—The public declarations of his constant approbation of the Rohilla Expedition from September, 1773, to this time, are as well authenticated as those, which before that period he had uniformly made against every measure of that nature. We date the change of system from April or May, 1773.

10. We shall avail ourselves however of this part of the Governor's private correspondence to prove, under his own authority, that, from his knowledge of the Company's distresses both at home and abroad, he would have been glad of any occasion to have employed their forces. *The Company are in distress; their troops must be employed.* No man we think can mistake the meaning of such declarations; yet when other immediate purposes are to be served, Mr. Hastings is not reserved in his description of the flourishing state of the Company's Affairs here, and of the salutary effects which his Administration has produced.

11. In November 1773, they certainly had not yet produced those effects. Since that time there have been supplies of money received from Sujah Dowla's treasury, which undoubtedly must have given a temporary relief to this distressed Government. Admitting that these supplies have been substituted from motives of irresistible necessity, in the place of those solid and permanent resources, by which the government of a rich commercial country ought naturally to be supported; we desire, that in an argument such as the present, care may be taken to apply effects to their true causes, and not to confound objects which have not even an artificial relation to each other. An instance will illustrate our meaning. We have lately resolved to send ten Lacks of Rupees in specie to Bombay; the immediate power of supplying such a sum is a symptom of a flowing treasury; the necessity of sending it in specie is too clear a proof that our trade to the westward is ruined. A man who understands the subject, and has no interest in making it obscure, will find nothing contradictory in these facts, or in the reasoning deduced from them. To say that a commercial country flourishes when making war is the only resource it has left, appears to us an absurdity in terms y

terms; but inconsistent principles of action must of necessity be defended by inconsistent arguments, and by a different language held at different times, which no sophistry can reconcile.

12. In the present instance we are candid enough to give the Governor notice of the dilemma to which his own declarations reduce him. From all that we have hitherto observed of his way of acting and reasoning, we are thoroughly convinced, that every thing he says and does, in support of what he has already said and done, will only involve him in a labyrinth of contradictions from which he never can extricate himself.

13. On this footing we are content to leave for the present the arraignment of the Governor-General's conduct respecting the Rohilla War, and the defence of our own. Much undoubtedly has been done, *quod fieri non debuit*. Whether that be a reason for confirming what has been done, or whether this, or many other acts of Mr. Hastings's Administration can be confirmed on any other principle, are points which we willingly submit to the decision of our Superiors.

14. If the charge appears to be now personally levelled against the Governor, distinguished from his Council, let it be observed, that he has voluntarily taken the whole burthen upon himself. He says, "That after a debate of three successive days, both morning and evening, the late Council at last came to a final agreement to leave the proposition of the Rohilla War to him. No two Members agreed exactly in opinion, and it was difficult to reconcile them;—whereas the sentiments of the President were the same invariably from the beginning."

15. In strict right this candour of the Governor-General will be no justification, though in equity it may be considered as some excuse for the late Council, in assenting to measures which their consciences condemned. But with respect to the Governor-General, the exemption he allows to his Council is fatal to himself.—If a doubt can possibly remain in the mind of any unprejudiced person concerning the real motives on which he has acted;—if such premises as those, which we think we have established by a constant reference to undisputed facts, can be presented to the mind of the Court of Directors, without an unavoidable conclusion that more has been done than yet appears;—In short, if the proofs already extant do not amount to demonstration, we, for ourselves, have no doubt that a little time will necessarily produce other explanations, by which all those measures which at present cannot be supported by ostensible motives, will be completely accounted for, and all opinions on the subject reconciled.

16. The few remaining points of the Governor-General's Minute and Address to the Court of Directors, which we think proper to take notice of, shall be briefly considered and dismissed. He is pleased to posit out to the Court of Directors, in what manner it was our duty to have acted, upon our own principle, of adhering to a defensive system for the future. To this we say, that the measures we resolved on were the result of deliberation, and that our idea of the rectitude and necessity of those measures is confirmed by reflection. We might indeed have concerted with the Governor, in what manner the same measures might be carried into execution with the least diminution of his personal credit with the Country Powers, and we should probably have done so, if it had been possible for us to attribute his conduct to error of judgment.

17. The Governor thankfully acknowledges the support which he receives from Mr. Barwell, "And with the more pleasure, as he esteems it to proceed rather from a just conviction of the propriety of his conduct than from personal attachment." The happy reconciliation alluded to, took place some months before our arrival.

18. Nothing, we confess, can be more meritorious than a sacrifice of private animosities to the public service; apparently no man possesses this merit in a higher degree than Mr. Barwell.—There have been times in which he did not judge so favourably of the propriety of the Governor's conduct as he does at present; we do not wish to revive the memory of those times, much less to interrupt a union, which we are bound to think can have no foundation but the public good. As for ourselves, we are ready to confess, that we have no merit of this sort to plead to the Court of Directors. We had no enmities to sacrifice. We had no mutual compliances or concessions to make to each other.—We set out upon one principle. We have but one object in view; and cannot in any important instance differ about the means. On this subject we shall only add, that we are far from desiring to deprive the Governor of the assistance he receives from Mr. Barwell.

19. We are charged with a resolution, supposed to have been formed long before our arrival, of forcing Mr. Hastings to resign the Government. With some men, we trust, that an acquaintance with our personal characters will be sufficient to acquit us of so base and absurd a design; with others, we are sure of being sufficiently vindicated by their certain knowledge of our first sentiments in regard to Mr. Hastings, repeatedly and uniformly declared in England, and supported by the steps we took on many occasions, to remove or soften every objection which we apprehended might arise in his mind, from the new situation in which he was placed by the Act of Parliament, or by the Company's Instructions, and which might have inclined him not to continue in the Government.

20. To Mr. Hastings himself our defence is of a different nature, but equally complete. No man we believe is better acquainted with the great leading motive which is supposed to influence and direct the conduct of mankind. Whenever he shall inform the Court of Directors in what sense it was our real interest to drive him from the Government, we pledge ourselves to prove to the world, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that no event whatever could be personally more distressing to us, nor less for our interest, understanding interest as he does, than that which we are accused of endeavouring to promote.

21. Some inattention to ceremonies on the part of the Governor in the mode of our reception, is supposed to have had a share in creating or confirming in us those hostile resolutions which we are accused of having formed against him. The first objection we make to all that the Governor has said on this article is, that it is a defence without a charge. We leave it to our Superiors to judge, what sort of consciousness is implied, in so hasty an anticipation of charges not advanced against him.

22. Our second objection would be to his state of the facts, if we thought it worthy of ourselves, or consistent with the prosecution of business of a far heavier nature, to descend to such a detail. As for the rest, we hope it will be thought too much to be believed, on no better evidence than Mr. Hastings's bare affirmation, that we are capable of engaging in measures, which, if they are such as he describes them, may subvert an Empire, merely to revenge an omission of ceremony, for which the slightest concession from Mr. Hastings ought to have been so sufficient an excuse, that we could not have declined accepting it, without betraying an injudicious appearance of hostility to him and disgracing ourselves.

23. If the charges of a personal failure in the respect due to Mr. Hastings had had any foundation whatsoever, we think it ought not to have been described by so gross a term as that of a *Warfare of Scurility*. The expressions to which he himself applies and confines that description are on record, and referred to by himself. Our Superiors will judge, whether they have a reference to the public measures of the late Administration, or personally to Mr. Hastings; and whether, supposing them to be directed against measures only, they were or could be too strong for the occasion.

24. We shall reserve our observations on Mr. Hastings's State of the Revenues for a separate Minute. In this branch of information the Governor has many signal advantages over us. The subject itself requires the strictest care and attention; and as every official light is either directly withheld from us, or extorted by us with pain to ourselves, and communicated with a studied perplexity and reluctance, all our enquiries on this head are attended with uncommon labour. Truth however will, we doubt not, ere long find its way to the public view; and if we have any apprehension for the consequence of our enquiries, it is not of being unable to prove even more than we have advanced or suggested, but lest the general state of this country should appear to be such, as may alarm the Company and the Nation for the approaching and instant ruin of Bengal.

25. We now proceed to the observations which we think necessary for the information of the Court of Directors, upon some events and proceedings which have taken place here since the dispatch of the British King; and we are the less solicitous about taking up so much of their time, as whatever we say in these Minutes tends to shorten the General Letter,

26. With regard to the conduct of public business, let us take notice once for all, that on the principles which we attribute to Mr. Hastings, it is highly his interest to make use of all those superior means which his situation affords him, to retard and perplex the dispatch and progress of that business; he then has a pretence for complaining that

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urgent affairs are delayed or neglected, and for attributing that neglect or delay to the affected embarrassments and distreis with which his new colleagues endeavour to perplex and afflict him.

27. On the principles which the Governor attributes to us, it is manifestly *our* interest to promote the dispatch of public business, lest we should be charged with endeavouring to retard it. The presumption in this respect, so far as it may be founded on the novelty of the business, and our own want of knowledge, is apparently against us. We cannot therefore have a greater personal interest than to obviate all objections on this head, by a constant application to acquire knowledge and to dispatch business. Let us now look to the facts.

28. As we have never yet declined an attendance when summoned upon any of the Councils, it will be incumbent on the Governor-General to point out what part of our time, since our arrival in this country, has been allotted by us to personal ease or relaxation, or what particular business has been delayed by our minutes or debates. It will appear by the Consultations, that we have called upon him repeatedly to inform us what urgent business remains unfinished, and offered to sit night and day 'till it is dispatched. We now most urgently repeat that offer.

Salt Molungees.

Their complaints against the Contractors.

29. The only extraordinary matters of deliberation which have come before this or the Revenue Board, and which have taken up any considerable portion of our time, were either such as could not possibly be avoided or hastily dismissed, or such as the Governor-General himself has thought proper to introduce. The complaint of the Molungees was not searched after or encouraged by us; we found it existing, and the complainants at our doors crying for justice. We consider their complaint as not only of great importance in itself, on the score of the injustice done, and justice due to the complaint of the petitioners, but as a matter, the investigation of which will furnish the Court of Directors with some important lights upon the general management of this branch of their revenue.

Capt. Weller.

Cantoo Baboo.

Mr. Fowke.

30. The Consultations † of the Revenue Board will help to shew the Court of Directors, what immediate interest the Governor had to protect the Contractors, the principal of them being the Banyan of Captain Weller, who lived in the Governor's Family, and who is admitted to have had a share in the Contract. We ourselves have reason to believe that the profits of the Contract were chiefly engrossed by Captain Weller, and that a considerable share of them has been appropriated since his death to the use of his Widow, who is in England. To this affair, and to another, wherein the Governor's own Banyan, Cantoo Baboo, appears to be concerned, but which has not been yet regularly enquired into, we impute the resentment shewn by the Governor towards Mr. Fowke; by whose assistance, not voluntarily offered, but requested by General Clavering, some of these discoveries were made. Much time has been lost by the Governor in pursuing his unjust attack on Mr. Fowke, whose unblemished character and knowledge of the language had recommended him to General Clavering, for the investigation of the complaints and petitions preferred to him by the Molungees.

Suit to be instituted in the Supreme Court.

31. A great body of these people, to the number of 250, have been near three months in Calcutta soliciting and waiting for justice. In consequence of an examination at the Board of the parties, and our opinion thereupon, a Suit is ordered to be instituted in the Supreme Court of Judicature against the Contractors for the fraudulent and oppressive conduct with which they are charged.

Facts specified.

32. The facts as they appeared to us on the examination † are these. The Molungees who had been used to work for the Merchants, previous to the Contract, for 50 and 55 Rupees per 100 Maunds, were compelled by the Contractors to work for 40, (Sepoys being quartered on them) and afterwards to deliver after the rate of 112 Maunds, and upwards, as far as 125 Maunds for every hundred, by means of a fraudulent contrivance to increase the measure. Combining the diminution of price with the advance on the measure, it appears plainly to us, that these wretched people are defrauded of not less than 29 Rupees in the value of 125 Maunds of salt. Such a fraud, considering the small proportionate value of the commodity, is of itself enormous. The means by which it is perpetrated imply and produce every effect of avarice and extortion, supported by arbitrary power, and neither checked by shame, nor restrained by the common dictates of humanity.

† These Consultations are properly noticed and referred to in the Revenue Letter, dated the 6th January, 1775, and transmitted with this Minute; and the Proceedings are contained in Appendix, No. 28.

† These examinations are also referred to in the said Revenue Letter.

33. When the year was up, Sepoys were again sent evidently with a view to force them to yield to an adjustment of accounts, in which the Contractors falsely took credit for the highest price of their labour. When they came up to Calcutta to complain, they were sent by the Roy Royan to the Contractor's house, under pretence of redressing their wrongs, where they were seized and carried back to the Salt-Works by a Guard of Sepoys. On the Consultations of the Calcutta Revenue, it appears that these poor people had fled from their habitations, and had abandoned the Colaries to take refuge in the Woods, where many of them had been devoured by Tygers. Every day we are convinced will throw such new lights on this subject, that what we have now stated will appear but an inconsiderable part of the whole abuse.

34. We had much opposition from the Governor and Mr. Barwell on the resolution to prosecute in the King's Court; both the offence, which is oppression of the highest order, and the offender who is a Banyan, appear to be most particularly the object of that reformation, which the Legislature had in view in the institution of the King's Court. If such offences and such men were only to be tried, as the Governor proposed, by the Revenue Council, which possesses no legal power of awarding damages or inflicting punishments, we may venture to say that the Legislature would have taken much trouble to no purpose, and that the Company has been put to an unnecessary expense by the establishment of a Supreme Court of Justice. Our opinions on this part of the subject appear more fully in our respective minutes in the Revenue Consultations to which we refer.

Governor-General and Mr. Barwell oppose prosecution in the King's Court.

35. If the Court of Directors should find leisure to read all the minutes entered on our Consultations on this and other occasions, they will find such doctrines asserted and maintained by our opponents as are not only repugnant to every English Principle, but to those common dictates of reason and justice, which cannot be totally disregarded, in any form of Government whatsoever, without ruin to the State.

36. It is said, for example, that the Molungees are in a state of Vassalage, and may be compelled to work at whatever price the master imposes on them. This doctrine is not confined to the poor Salt Boilers, but seems to be extended to the Ryot, to the manufacturer, and in general to all the first sources of internal industry. If such opinions were merely speculative, we should take little notice of them; we fear it will be found that they have been carried into practice, and had a considerable operation. We have reason to believe that the great want of Inhabitants in Bengal, and more particularly in the Province of Bahar, is more owing to the exercise of the powers which these opinions establish, and to other causes which a little time will produce, than to the Famine, so frequently alleged or appealed to by Mr. Hastings in accounting for the failure in the revenue.

37. On this everlasting theme of Mr. Hastings, we shall only for the present observe in general, that under any tolerable form of Government the effects of the Famine must long since have ceased to be felt in a country, where nature asks nothing of the governing power but not to study to resist and defeat her operations. The world will soon see, that it is oppression of the most violent and pernicious nature which has reduced this fertile country to a state of depopulation.

38. While the examination of the Molungees was depending, we received information that the Contractors, Bolram and Govendram Metre, had defrauded the Company of more than two Lacks and a half of Salt. The information was so particular, specifying in each Golah where the Salt is, the overplus quantity which the Contractor had not declared, that we could not avoid giving credit to it. Two of the Company's Servants have been sent down to weigh the Salt, and every precaution taken to prevent it's being previously removed that we could suggest; but the difficulties attending this investigation are such, and so numerous, that we begin to renounce our hopes of establishing any discovery of importance upon legal proof sufficient to convict the Contractors.

39. The Court of Directors will consider and make allowance for these difficulties; they arise in part from the nature of the business, the obscurity of interpretation, the perplexity of accounts kept in a barbarous language, between very artful men on one side and very ignorant men on the other, and the great distance of the Golahs from each other. The principal impediment of all arises from the immediate interest which many persons have in concealing frauds of this nature, and defeating all enquiry into abuses; enough however will assuredly be done to satisfy the Company, that extraordinary frauds and

abuses

abuses have been practised and countenanced to the prejudice of this branch of their revenue.

Mr. Fowke. 40. The charges against Mr. Fowke were introduced and urged by the Governor himself, without sufficient attention, as we conceive, either to the forms or substance of justice. The Court of Directors will judge of the propriety of those charges, and whether, being once before us, they could have been dismissed in the summary way recommended by the Governor. The last point foreign from the ordinary course of business, and which has taken up any considerable part of our time, was also introduced, and in a great measure forced upon the Board by the Governor-General.

41. We mean, the summoning and examination of the Field-Officers on Monday the 19th of December at the Council. To prevent the loss of time which that examination must necessarily create, and to avoid any interruption of the daily course of business, Mr. Francis was the Member who moved that the Board should proceed upon the examination that evening. We sat upon it from six till an hour after midnight, and returned to the Revenue Board at ten the next morning.

Mr. Elliot. 42. On Friday the 23d, Mr. Francis also moved at the Revenue Board, that it might meet again in the evening; we met accordingly; but instead of dispatching any urgent business, were employed near four hours in settling the establishment of Mr. Elliot's new office, proposed, urged and carried by the Governor-General, in a manner which we conceive will do him little credit with his Superiors. The Revenue Consultations of that day will shew plainly in what manner our time was employed; these two are the only instances of our meeting in the evening; the Governor-General has never once requested our attendance for that purpose.

Rannee of Burdwan. 43. In the proceedings of the Revenue Board of the 30th of last month, the Company will see a very extraordinary petition to the Council from the Rannee of Burdwan. The high rank of this Lady, whose late Husband's Ancestors have from time immemorial enjoyed the Zemindary of that District, entitled her, as we think, to some decent consideration and respect from this Government. The Company will see in Mr. Barwell's minutes, with what terms of gross insinuation a Counsellor of this State permitted himself to treat a Woman who is one of the first Subjects of it.

44. This is not the way in which we support our opinions in Council when we have the misfortune of differing from our Colleagues on great questions. Such cruel irregular hostilities do not belong to that honorable, though distressing War, in which the public conduct of the late Administration has unavoidably involved us. We leave it to the mercenary auxiliaries of Sujah Dowla to ruin individuals, to burn villages, and violate the sacred retirements of the Zenana.

Mr. Graham. 45. We do not enter into the truth or falshood of the charge against Mr. Graham and the Duan of Burdwan, of an embezzlement of above eleven Lacks of Rupees, alleged to be the property of her Infant Son; it will be her business to make good the truth of her allegations. We are not so unjust as to give credit to charges against the honor or innocence of any man before the proofs are produced, neither does the Rannee's Petition require it of us. Let the prayer of the petition be considered, and we submit it to the judgment of the world, whether it could possibly have been refused without a bare-faced denial of justice, or without throwing suspicions even upon the characters of the persons accused, more injurious to them, than, as we hope, can arise from any future investigation of the truth.

46. We have adopted the several motions made by Colonel Monson for granting the prayer of the petition, as not only regular beyond dispute in point of proceeding, but as conformable to every principle of reason and justice; nor are we unwilling to admit the truth of Mr. Barwell's Assertion, *that the proposition made by Colonel Monson, for granting the prayer of the petition, is diametrically opposite to the proceedings of past Governments.* A Widow desires to be heard in behalf of herself and her Infant Son. She produces a charge of singular magnitude, and offers to make it good. The favour she desires of the Board is, that she may be freed from terror and confinement, and allowed to attend in person at the Presidency to prosecute her complaint. Former Governments might have refused to grant such requests; we, for our parts, shall never seek or encourage enquiries into past transactions; but when petitions of this nature and consequence,

quence, and so fairly introduced, are brought before us, we must renounce every idea of decency, as well as of justice, before we can refuse them.

47. We are not alarmed at the formidable consequences held out on this and many other occasions to deter us from doing what we think indispensably our duty, as if the permitting a Widow and her Son to remove from Burdwan to Calcutta, which, we presume, could not have been refused with any shadow of reason or justice, implied, and must be understood by the natives as a determination to repeal all former decisions, and must be attended with ruin to the Collections. We, for ourselves, have no apprehension of consequences so totally disproportionate to the cause assigned for them; but admitting them to be unavoidable, we desire it may be considered, what sort of Government this Country must have been subject to, when an Act, apparently so regular and so much of course, as that in question, is thought likely to endanger the safety of the State.

48. Mr. Barwell's Objection to the temporary removal of the Dewan, militates directly, in our opinion, against the principles on which the Court of Directors acted, in ordering the sudden removal and confinement of Mahomed Reza Cawn. Mr. Barwell thinks it very improper, "First to punish a man by depriving him of his honors and employments, and by such decisive acts using influence on his fears." We leave it to him to reconcile this doctrine, if he can, to the above resolution of the Court of Directors. With respect to us, it does not stand in opposition to that Act of the Revenue Board which is now in question. A temporary suspension is no punishment; and to prove a charge of embezzlement against the Dewan of a Province, while he continues in the actual possession and exercise of his power, let it be ever so well founded, we know to be difficult in any country, but in this country impossible. As to the Painskar, or Steward, we consider it as a family office, which ought not to have been taken out of the disposal of the Zemindar or his representative.

49. With respect to the persons recommended by General Clavering to supply the vacant Offices, it is observable, that Mr. Barwell remembers *their having formerly been in competition for these very Offices*; whereas, the Governor says, they are *persons unknown*. Besides many other advantages, our Colleagues have that of a superior local memory over us. At the Revenue Board, held on the 30th December, they seemed to be perfectly informed of all the past decisions and Acts of Government respecting the Zemindary of Burdwan, and the Resolutions formerly taken for the Benefit of the Rannee and her son. In the Council of the 4th instant, they could give no answer to a very obvious and necessary question concerning the above proceedings, as neither of them were present.

50. Colonel Macleané's Resignation of your service, for the reasons he alleges, will Colonel we imagine be considered in England as a remarkable event. He owed us no explanation of the motives of his private conduct, nor shall we hazard any conjectures concerning the real objects of his mission. On this head, every man will naturally compare the professed motives † of relinquishing a post of such rank and advantage, as that of Commissary General, with Colonel Macleané's Understanding, and draw a conclusion for himself.

51. In our conduct to him, as Members of the Supreme Council, we desired nothing; but that some decent appearance of regularity might be observed in the proceedings of the Board. The business of his resignation was introduced at the Board on Wednesday the 21st of December. General Clavering thereupon moved, that before he was permitted to resign the service, he might lay before the Board of Inspection, which was to meet the next day, his accounts and demands on the Company. If he had been confined to the office which the Court of Directors originally gave him, he could have had no demands to produce nor accounts to settle. Soon after his arrival here, he was employed by the late Administration, to supply the Army with a variety of contingencies, the accounts of which he was himself to control. The above obvious and regular motion of General Clavering is called by the Governor, *An unprecedented injury done to Colonel Macleané, to detain him by violence in the service for a debt due by the Company to him*; and by Colonel Macleané himself, it is supposed to amount to a *ne exeat*. False argument may be refuted; but a total want of reason is unanswerable.

† Narrative of the reasons which induced Mr. Macleané to resign the Company's Service, in order to submit his Case and Conduct to the Court of Directors, is annexed to his Letter to the Court. — See page 92 and following.

52. When the Directors see a fact asserted under Colonel Macleane's own hand, and the same fact adopted and made use of in argument by the Governor, viz. *That he has never had a shilling of the Company's Money in his possession*, they may observe perhaps with surprize, that in consequence of an unlimited Letter of Credit given to Colonel Macleane by the late Board of Inspection, on the 16th of June last, on the factories of Patna and Cozimbuzar, his Agents have received 9,000 Sicca Rupees, which are yet unaccounted for. The sum indeed is not considerable, and might easily have escaped Colonel Macleane's notice or recollection; but the circumstance of the unlimited Letter of Credit on two factories being totally forgot, or not taken notice of by the Governor or Mr. Barwell, will serve to shew in what an irregular manner the Company's Money Affairs have been conducted. To Colonel Macleane personally we have shewn every proper mark of respect.

Colonel
Macleane.

53. The idea which we have conceived of his abilities must naturally be confirmed in the minds of the Court of Directors, by the number and variety of different characters which he undertook to represent at the Army. In point of rank he appears as Colonel. In Sujah Dowla's Country he appears as a Merchant, having carried a considerable quantity of merchandize with him, which could not find entrance into that country without a particular dastuck or permission. This merchandize he conveys in boats, which he thinks it reasonable that the Company should pay for. Arrived at the Army, he becomes an Agent to make a bargain with himself on behalf of the Company. He then charges the Company 15 per Cent. for his trouble; and last of all, in quality of Comptroller, controls the same accounts which he delivers in in his quality of Agent. We are bound by our duty to take notice of these transactions, and do not mean to intimate a censure on Mr. Macleane. When such irregularities are permitted, it is more the fault of the Government which permits than of the individual who profits by them.

Revenue
appointments

54. If we may depend on the declarations thrown out at the Revenue Board by the Governor-General on the 20th of last month, the Appointments of the New Councils will not be unattended with censure on his part. The true and natural vindication of the resolutions taken by the Board on this subject, will arise from a comparison of the appointments recommended by the Governor, and of those agreed to by the Board. A list of each is annexed to this Minute;† for the rest, we beg leave to refer the Honorable Court of Directors to the Consultations of the Revenue Department.‡

† Appendix,
No. 33.

Mr. Frederick
Stuart.

55. They will be informed by the General Letter, that Mr. Frederick Stuart, finding his hopes frustrated of being appointed Public Resident at the Vizier's Court, and in order to recover his health, has resigned the service.

Mr. Bristow

56. The preference given to Mr. Bristow does not imply the least reflection on any other recommendation. With respect to appointments in general, where names and personal characters are in question, we rather wish that our choice should be determined by preference than by objection. On this subject our idea and principle is, that if it be a matter of total indifference with respect to the service, (as in the case of the Sheriff) every Member of the Board may fairly and honorably follow his inclination. Where offices of trust and importance are to be filled up, we think it incident to the conscientious discharge of our duty to consult and be guided by our own discretion, as far as may be consistent with a due regard to rank and seniority. The Court of Directors will undoubtedly take notice in which of the two lists of councils, viz. that proposed by the Governor, and that resolved on by the Board, the greatest attention was paid to the claims of standing and service.

57. With respect to Mr. Bristow we shall only observe, that in point of rank he stands next but one to Mr. Frederick Stuart; that he is considerably above Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, and that his family and connexions are such as, we believe, will be no disgrace to his office. His own zeal and abilities will, we doubt not, in a little time remove the personal objections made to him by the Governor-General, and confirm the propriety of the appointment. To us he appears to possess a qualification for this office, which the Governor himself must have thought material, since he recommended Sir John D'Oyley to assist Mr. Frederick Stuart, who himself is not acquainted either with the Persian or Indostan language. Mr. Bristow has been some years Persian Translator to the Kalah.

† This List is also contained in Appendix, No. 33.

58. On this subject we shall only observe farther, that we yielded at once to the Governor-General's Recommendation of Coonjeebharry to be Dewan of Dinajepoor, and that his nomination of Mr. Elliot to a newly created office was accepted. The difference of opinion, which appears on the Revenue Consultations on that occasion, does not affect Mr. Elliot, of whose personal merit and qualifications we all had the same sentiments. If he prefers honor to emolument, as we are thoroughly persuaded he does, a difference of opinion, which went only to the amount of the salary, and which was determined before his name was mentioned, will not weigh in his mind against the pleasure of knowing that his character united every opinion in his favour.

59. By the Governor-General's Answer to our Minute concerning Major Polier, it appears that that Officer had no instructions or authority to assist as he did at the reduction of Agra.

60. The examination of Colonel Champion furnishes for the present but one subject of remark. The Company's Right to the forty Lacks, in consideration of their assistance in the Rohilla War, was acknowledged by the Vizier before Colonel Champion left the Army, and long before the instructions of the Board could reach the Commanding Officer. It appears also that Colonel Champion has not received any part of the above sum.

61. We know not on what intelligence the Governor could found the following assertion, contained in his Minute of the 3d of December, viz. That soon after our instructions to Colonel Champion were dispatched, "The Vizier had consigned over the fifteen Lacks, which Fyzulla Cawn had engaged to pay him in ready-money, to Colonel Champion, in part payment of the forty Lacks due from him." We know with certainty, that there could be no foundation for such intelligence; and we hope that the Court of Directors will observe, that on the 6th of December, Mr. Hastings signed his name to a Postscript to the General Letter, in which it is affirmed, with unquestionable truth, that no part of the forty Lacks had then been received.

62. We must further observe, that Colonel Champion, in his Letter of the 13th of December last, expressly affirms, that before he left the Army, the three Lacks, for which the Vizier had given him a Tuncaw, had been repeatedly offered to him, and in particular his Excellency's Minister informed him, that he had instructions to pay them out of the fifteen Lacks, which he (the Vizier) received from Fyzulla Cawn. The whole business of the Vizier's pecuniary engagements and payments to the Company seems to us to be involved in an affected confusion, which we are taking pains to clear up, and do not doubt of succeeding, provided the necessary documents are not withheld from us. In this place we shall only take notice, that the fifteen Lacks of Rupees which Mr. Grady was to have received from the Vizier, was on account of the Treaty of Benares, and has no connexion with the other fifteen Lacks which the Vizier received from Fyzulla Cawn, and which he promised to pay over to the Company immediately in part of the forty Lacks due for the Rohilla War. This observation will be found more material perhaps than the Court of Directors at first sight may be aware of.

63. Since writing the above, we have seen a private Letter from Mr. Nathaniel Middleton of the 21st of December, 1774, in which he says, that he has the fifteen Lacks in his possession, but finds a difficulty in procuring boats to convey the money to the Presidency. He also mentions the declining and precarious state of the Vizier's Health. We have not yet seen any Letters from Colonel Galliez, to inform us of what steps he has taken in consequence of the instructions of the Board to negotiate with the Vizier.

64. On the arrival of Colonel Champion at the Presidency, the Board required a sight of his whole correspondence, of which we have obtained a promise, after some complimentary apologies had passed between the Governor and him, on the reciprocal delicacy of either of them discovering what might affect the honor of the other. This correspondence ought regularly to have been communicated to us by the Governor-General in the first instance, while the recal of the Brigade was under debate. At present we are not very anxious to see it, especially as it is said by Colonel Champion to contain matters not fit for the public eye.

Vizier's Donation to the Brigade. 65. The above Letter of Colonel Champion informs the Board of his having received an obligation from the Vizier of seven Lacks of Rupees for the troops, who were employed for the conquest of the Rohilla Dominions, of half a Lack for the use of the field officers, and of three Lacks for himself. At his examination it appeared that he had informed the late Administration of the first present, but had not mentioned the two latter 'till he arrived at the Presidency, when he acquainted the Governor with it. As all these presents were received after the period limited by that clause of the Act of Parliament which restrains all officers from taking presents, we have agreed to acquiesce in the Governor's Proposal of referring the seven Lacks to the Court of Directors, for the reasons mentioned in our Minute of the 31st of last month, to which we refer.

66. The fatal consequences of indulging troops with the hopes of plunder, have been too often exemplified in this Country. The Rohilla War, with respect to the share we took in it, had no other object, and to judge from the correspondence which has been laid before us, it should seem that plunder had engrossed the attention, not only of this Government, but of the Army, from the commencement of the campaign to the end of it. We do not mean to intimate the most distant reflection on the conduct of the Brigade; far otherwise; we admire and commend the exact discipline they observed under the disappointment of hopes, which it was natural enough they should form from the nature of the service. We mean to fix our censure upon the Government, which unnecessarily employs their military force in services, which of course suggest hopes and expectations utterly unfit to be proposed or entertained by a regular Army.

His Complaint against Colonel Champion. 67. We could wish to avoid mentioning the Vizier's Letter of complaint against Colonel Champion, as well as that delivered by the field officers in the name of the Army; but it is fair to say, that the accusations which they both contain ought not to make any impression, as Colonel Champion has not yet had time to deliver in his answer to either. He has given a direct contradiction to the Vizier's Assertions, which the Colonel calls infamous untruths.

Nudjif Cawn's Pension. 68. We find by the Vizier's Letter, that 2000 stand of arms and two eighteen pounders were sent to the Vizier, with stores, by Mr. Hastings; and that Major Hannay was appointed agent to receive Nudjif Cawn's Pension of two Lacks.

69. We have each of us received Letters from the King and his Ministers complaining of the detention of his tribute, and demanding the whole arrears due to him. As individuals, we might confine our answers to the usual assurances of respect and attachment, referring the subject of His Majesty's Letters to the Council. As members of the Government, we find ourselves laid under an extraordinary embarrassment, by the resolution of the late Government to restore to Nudjif Cawn his pension, which by the Treaty of 1765 was to be paid out of the twenty six Lacks granted to the King, in consideration of the grant of the Dewannee to the Company.

Military Expeditions. 70. The Letters received by General Clavering from several of the Company's Military Officers entrusted with separate commands, will be found very deserving of notice. They contain accounts of military expeditions and hostilities carried on against a number of different Rajahs and Zemindars, without any authority from the present Government, or any direct communication to us of the plan or execution of them. Most of these measures appear to have been directed by the provincial Chiefs of Patna and Burdwan some time after our arrival here. — In some places the Rajahs are reduced to obedience, and give hostages. — In many others, the villages are burnt and the corn cut down and destroyed.

Ensign Scott. Ensign Scott, having received orders from the Chief at Patna to seize or expel Rajah Tutta Shaw, pursues him into Sujah Dowla's Dominions, and makes three of the Vizier's subjects prisoners of war. — **Captain Crawford.** Captain Crawford, by order of the Chief of Burdwan, entered Patna on the 5th of last month, with six companies of Sepoys, took the capital, levelled the town, and cleared the Country in order to make the Post tenable. On the 9th he attacks and drives the natives before him, after which *the whole Country fled into the mountains*: He says he is endeavouring to sow dissention among their Chiefs, so as to induce them to submit, or enable him with ease to rout them out.

71. We do not pretend to determine at present, whether measures of this nature be necessary or not; but we think it very extraordinary that military expeditions of such importance and leading to such consequences should be undertaken, not only without the orders, but without the knowledge of this Board. We are sorry to be obliged to conclude

clude this article with declaring, that, as far as we are able to judge, the general Principle which seems to have animated this Government, as well with respect to the natives of the Provinces as to the neighbouring States, has had too near a relation to the expressive words so often made use of, *exterminate, exterminate, vent out, and annihilate.*

72. The remainder of the observations which we are at present enabled to make on Mr. Hastings's Representations of the state of this Country is reserved for a separate Minute. Our enquiries hitherto have been directed, and as much as possible confined to great and interesting objects. Our application to them has been equally laborious and incessant. To obtain that complete information which we wish to give to the Court of Directors on all these difficult and complicated questions, requires not only uncommon activity on our part, but some allowance of time, in which it may be exerted with effect.

73. If we had leisure or inclination to enter into details of an inferior importance, we are very sure, that there is hardly a line of the Governor-General's Addresses to the Court of Directors, in which we might not easily detect and prove some inaccuracy in matter of fact, or contradiction in argument. We decline the weary task, not only because we think it unworthy of us, but as it is really in itself unnecessary.—Facts of a transcendent magnitude ought to engross our attention. When once they are established beyond contradiction, they include the probability of inferior abuses, and at the same time make it superfluous to push that probability into proof.

74. Neither shall we endeavour to lessen the effects of those Appeals which Mr. Hastings indirectly makes to the generous passions of the Court of Directors.—“His long services,—The important trusts in which his life has been employed,—His gratitude for the obligations already laid on him,—and his profound submission to their future sentence.”—If our judgment of every single branch of his Administration, since the power of doing signal mischief or signal service to the Company was entrusted to him, should appear to be well founded, we should be sorry to preclude him from the use of the only resources which his cause will have left him. If pleas of this nature can be properly introduced and admitted in the refutation of positive charges, we are content to allow him all the benefit he can derive from them.—It is not for us to say, that a mode of defence, which seems rather addressed to the mercy than to the justice of the Judge, is irregular in Mr. Hastings's situation. We indeed have yet no services to plead. On the other hand, we do not appeal to the candour of our Superiors; nor can we attempt to engage their future favour by a pathetic acknowledgment of former obligations.

75. The true condition of this Country cannot long be concealed. Effects will be felt before they are accounted for. When that happens, we foresee no difficulty in determining by what means, and by whose misconduct, a rich and flourishing State is reduced to the hazard, at least, of beggary and ruin. The great and alarming question will be, by whose future services, and by what future exertion of virtue and ability, such a State can be recovered? Common men are not equal to the occasion.

J. CLAYTON,

GEO. MONTON,

P. FRANCIS.

Minute (No. 2) from General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, dated at Fort-William, the 11th January, 1775; received in London the 18th July, 1775.

1. **I**N considering the present political state of this Country, we beg leave to draw the attention of the Court of Directors to some particulars which we think of moment, yet which, we fear, may pass unobserved amidst the voluminous records sent home by this ship.

Sumro,
Maddock,
Redman,
Nudjiff Khan

2. By the King's Letters to Mr. Hastings, entered on the Country Correspondence, it appears, that Sumro, Maddock, and Redman, are taken into the service of Nudjiff Cawn, and are high in his favour; — that he has encouraged them to seize the Pergunnahs belonging to the Royal Khalsa; and in short, that Nudjiff Cawn has thrown off his allegiance, and is establishing a Kingdom for himself. To this man, let it be observed, the late Administration has restored a pension of two Lacks per Annum, granted to him formerly in very different circumstances.

His pension
restored

King's Tri-
bute.
Tuncaw.

3. There is an apparent inconsistency in the conduct of the late Administration in regard to the King's Tribute, which we believe will be very difficult to account for. — The whole Tribute allotted to the King by Treaty is withheld from him since he quitted Iliabad, on pretence of his having changed the place of his residence; yet an Order, or Tuncaw, from His Majesty, in favour of the Vizier, to the amount of six Lacks of Rupees, was paid in April last, and charged to the account of that Tribute, to which, as the late Administration must say, he has forfeited his right. The pension restored to Nudjiff Cawn comes out of the same fund. We submit it to the consideration of our Superiors, whether these operations do not amount to an indirect acknowledgment of the King's right to the arrears of his Tribute, and on this head we hope to receive their precise instructions.

4. Let it be farther observed, that the Vizier acquits part of his engagements to the Company, on the head of pay due to the Troops sent to his assistance in 1772 and 1773, with the very money paid him out of our Treasury; such was the care taken by Mr. Hastings of the Company's Interest. The natural conclusion at first sight of these facts must be, that Sujah Dowla has been very improperly favoured by the late Administration at the expense of their Constituents; yet even that conclusion perhaps would not go entirely home to the truth. We doubt whether Sujah Dowla's profit from this transaction was intended to have been so considerable as it appears.

Sale of his
Country.

5. Another inconsistency in the conduct of the late Government towards the King seems to deserve some notice. They first resume the possession of his Country, under pretence of keeping it in deposit for him; next they affirm, that by changing his residence, (from which however he was not restrained by treaty) and by granting Sunnuds to the Marattas for Corah and Kurrah, (which it is well known were extorted from him by force) he has forfeited his right to the district in question; they then sell the King's Country to the Vizier at a little more than two years purchase, and give the King no credit for any part of the purchase money.

6. A defence of such measures, founded on urgent necessity, will not justify the inconsistency of the measures, though it may account for the unavoidable cruelty and injustice of them. Admitting however the plea of necessity in it's utmost extent, we desire it may be considered, to what ruin this State must have been reduced, when so strong a necessity is pleaded and asserted as can be sufficient to justify such measures. This being confessedly the unhappy state of things in the latter part of the year 1773, it will be incumbent on Mr. Hastings to prove, that some extraordinary change in the Company's Affairs has taken place since that time, which has restored them to their present *flourishing and prosperous condition*.

dilion. He must then shew in what articles this sudden alteration consists, or by what means it has been effected.

7. The Vizier's Letter to Colonel Champion contains an absolute denial of all dependence on or connexion with the King, and a declaration equally plain of his strict Union with Nudjiff Cawn. From all that we have heard or observed on this subject, we are much inclined to think, that they must have entered into some secret engagements for their mutual aggrandisement, perhaps to depose the King, and to divide the Empire between them.

8. It farther appears to us, that Cheyt Sing, the Rajah of Benares, has not received any real protection or favour from this Government. The Court of Directors are already informed, that soon after the death of his Father, Rajah Bulwant Sing, he was confirmed in the succession to the Zemindarry by a solemn act of the Vizier, for which he was obliged to pay a very sufficient consideration; yet when Mr. Hastings went up to Benares, it was thought necessary that Cheyt Sing should submit to new terms, in order to obtain a confirmation of that first solemn act, and to secure him in his Government. The remainder of our negotiations in his favour, as well as many other parts of the politics of India, is involved in a cloud of obscurity, which yet we doubt not a little time will dispel.

9. By a letter from Nudjiff Cawn, received the 17th of November last, we learn, that an Army of Sicks has made it's appearance in the neighbourhood of Shaw-Jehanabad, and that a Maratta Army is preparing likewise to march to that quarter. Nudjiff Cawn adds, "I perceive by this that great troubles are likely to arise, as was formerly the case."

10. The defenceless state of the important Fortress of Chunagur is so particularly described by Lieutenant Colonel Muir, in his letter to General Clavering, that we beg leave to request the attention of the Court of Directors to that letter.

11. The last observation we have here to submit to the Court of Directors is, that though we have received letters from the King and several of the Indian Princes, the Vizier has never, as far as we are informed, taken any notice of the change in this Government. We are at a loss to account for this conduct of the only considerable Ally of the Company, unless by supposing that his Letters may have miscarried.

J. CLAVERING,
GEO. MONSON,
P. FRANCIS.

Minute (No. 3) from General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, dated at Fort-William, 11th January, 1775; received in London the 18th July, 1775.

1. **T**HE Governor-General has not confined his Address to the Honorable Court of Directors to the single subject of the Rohilla War, but has entered generally into the measures he has taken for the Service of the Company, the success of his endeavours, and the prosperity of their affairs. Far from entertaining a wish to place these objects in a less flattering point of view to the Company, we feel it as an heavy misfortune to ourselves, and, setting aside all professions of zeal for the Public, to be obliged to declare and maintain an opinion very different from that advanced by the Governor, of the actual state of the Company's Affairs. We are well acquainted with the invidious nature of the office we undertake in maintaining our opinion, and the disadvantage we lie under when

we dispute the truth of propositions, which we ourselves, and every man in England, as well from interest as inclination, must wish to be true.

2. But in what manner is it really our duty to act? Are we to suffer the Company to continue unacquainted with their situation, and let the storm gather 'till it bursts? or, are we to take upon us the immediate odium of discovering to them the real difficulties in which their affairs are involved, and the imminent danger with which they are threatened? In this apparent alternative, we think that the consideration of our own personal honor, personal safety, and, above all things, of our real duty to the Company, leave us no choice.

3. When we refer to the consideration of our personal safety, we mean to establish our immediate claim to one general vindication of ourselves against all consequences. That when the present Administration took the Government upon them, almost every natural resource of the Country was already exhausted. As to the effect which any present discovery of truth may produce at home, we can only say, that the distresses we allude to are so instant, that no artifice whatever on one side, nor tacit acquiescence on the other, could possibly conceal them much longer from the public view.

Bond Debt. 4. With regard to the state of the Bonded Debt, we beg leave to observe, without entering at present so deeply into the question as we mean to do hereafter, that if the Company's Finances were in that prosperous state which they are described to have been in by the General Letter from this Presidency of the 22d of August, 1774, and if their credit was so good, that their Bonds bore a considerable premium; and if the treasury was so full, or the probable receipts were so much superior to the probable issues, as to admit of the entire discharge of near twenty-six Lacks of principal debt before the end of the year, we then think ourselves entitled to affirm, that the operation, from which Mr. Hastings claims so much merit, was a poor and inadequate measure of Finance, compared with what might have been done with the same resources.

5. Taking the above suppositions as data, we are confident, that the late Administration were in possession of means to reduce the interest upon the whole debt to five per cent, or even lower, without the least violence or breach of faith to the public creditor. The savings on the head of interest, together with any surplus monies which might have been spared from current services, should then have constituted a Sinking Fund, the strict appropriation of which to the discharge of the principal, would immediately have supported the credit of the Company's Bonds, and might eventually have reduced them to nothing. Instead of this prudent and obvious measure, the late Administration have contented themselves with reducing the interest of fifteen Lacks from eight to five per cent, and have resolved upon a discharge of Principal Debt, which we doubt very much whether our present funds are equal to, without such distress to Government as may create the necessity of a new loan.

6. We propose to take up this subject afresh, and to do every thing that our actual credit and resources will admit of to repair the mischief which has been done, and to lighten the general burthen of the debt. For the present, we are willing to declare, that if our means were more copious than they are likely to prove, we should be very cautious of proceeding rapidly to the annihilation of such a mass of fictitious property in a Country, whose great and urgent distress is the want of circulation. We wish very much to be instructed by the superior knowledge of the Court of Directors on this important question, viz. whether, within proper limits, and at a reasonable interest, a public debt may not, in many senses, be beneficial to this Country, and not burthenome to Government.

7. With regard to the past or future provision of the Investment, we shall only say in this place, that the care and advancement of the Company's commercial interest is a point which we have at least as much at heart as Mr. Hastings. The Court of Directors will see, in some of the late Consultations, what extraordinary pains have been taken by us, and by us only, to prevent the least coldness or want of cordiality between our Board and the Board of Commerce. We have touched, in our other Minute, upon the management of the Salt Trade. For the present, we neither assent to, nor deny the truth of what Mr. Hastings has asserted, concerning the profits of that trade to the Company in the course of the year 1773.

Salt Trade.

8. Without entering into the general argument against a monopoly of any of the great articles of consumption, even in the hands of Government, we believe the footing on which this particular monopoly is exercised may indeed strain and extort a short-lived revenue from a source of wealth not quite exhausted, but we fear that that very strain and extort tend naturally to the destruction of future Revenue. The present monopoly however, with all its supposed advantages, was not acquired without drawing a considerable charge on Government. The late Administration, by ordering the Molungees to be delivered over to the Government Contractors, disabled the former Zemindars and Renters of the Salt Districts from making good their Contracts, and thereby became answerable for the balances of those Contracts. We are informed, that in the year 1773 the Salt of the Injellee Districts was set aside in order to pay off part of these balances.

9. We have already made some general observations on the nature of the services on which the Company's Military Forces have been employed. Our information on this subject is not complete, as we have not yet seen the correspondence between this Government and the Officers employed in military operations in Rangur, the Jungletory Country, and Coch Bahar. All that we know is, that military operations have been, and are actually carrying on in many parts of the frontier country without the authority of this Board.

10. The true and just object of all expeditions of this sort, should have been merely to check and keep in awe, by the occasional presence of a military force, such of the mountaineers and other inhabitants of those frontier districts as had been accustomed, or were likely to make inroads into, and disturb the peace of our Provinces. The people we speak of were not however in so wild and barbarous a state as they have been represented. The accounts we have heard of them imply in general a condition of industry and simplicity of manners, united with a natural desire of independence. To subvert their State, and much more to extirpate them on account of the licentiousness of a few disorderly people, is neither necessary nor expedient.

11. As for the trifling revenue which may have been brought to the Company's account in consequence of the subjection of these countries, we only desire that the Company's Accountant may compare it with the ordinary and extraordinary expense of the troops employed in these expeditions, and make his report of the ultimate profit to the Company. At the same time, we do not mean to affirm, that these countries have not yielded much more considerable sums than what has been brought to public account; or that the various expeditions into them have not been profitable in any sense whatever; or that, under a regular form of Civil Government, the acquisition of these districts, if it could be gained without violence or injustice, might not become highly beneficial to the Company. The first thing however is to consult the population and improvement of those immense tracts of rich land, which at present, we understand, lie uncultivated and deserted in the midst of these Provinces.

12. From what has already been written on the subject of the Vizier's Debts to the Company, the Court of Directors will be able to form a judgment of the probability of their being acquitted. Our most strenuous endeavours shall not be wanting to realize the amount of our just demands on the Vizier; but we must desire that the Company will not reckon such debts among their actual wealth until they are actually paid.

13. We also desire that the following facts may be attended to.

1st. Colonel Champion declares that he has received no part of the forty Lacks for the Rohilla War.

2d. Mr. Grady was to have received fifteen Lacks of the Vizier on account of the Treaty of Benares; he has brought down with him but ten Lacks of Vizieri Rupees; the remaining five Lacks were to have been paid by the Rajah of Benares. Why they have not been paid might perhaps appear from Mr. Nathaniel Middleton's Correspondence with the Governor, but no explanation whatever has been given to the Board. To shew the Court of Directors that we have done every thing in our power to obtain a satisfactory information on this subject, we beg leave to refer them to our letter to Mr. Secretary Stewart, entered on the last Consultation, and to Mr. Grady's Report thereupon.

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3d. Mr.

3d. Mr. Nathaniel Middleton says, in his letter to the Governor of the 21st December, 1774, that he has got *the* fifteen Lacks into his possession, but does not specify upon what account. We presume it must be on account of the Rohilla War.

4th. Considerable Draughts have been made on this Presidency on account of the pay of the second Brigade, which was to have been completely provided for by the Vizier's monthly Subsidy. We have seen draughts on this account to the amount of above a Lack and a half. We have already apprised the Court of Directors of the nature of the extraordinary charges (beyond the amount of the Subsidy) which we apprehend must be borne by the Company, and consequently set against the promised profits of the Rohilla War.

The liquidation of these perplexed accounts appears to us a most important object, and shall be taken up and forwarded as far as depends on us with the utmost dispatch.

14. We now proceed to an Article in the flattering representation of the Company's Affairs, on which we presume the Governor-General must have relied his principal hopes of finding favour in their sight.

Balance in Treasuries. 15. In his Address to the Court of Directors of the 3d of December, 1774, he asserts, "That there was at that time a balance of Current Rupees eighty Lacks, forty-nine thousand, eight hundred and six (80,49,806) *actually lying* in the Company's Treasuries.

Observations thereon. 16. The first general observation we have to make on this supposed balance is, that, considering the various savings which are said to have been made by Mr. Hastings, the detention of the King's Tribute, which, instead of being set apart to answer any future demand of the King, has been thrown into the General Treasury, and constitutes part of Mr. Hastings's balance, together with the external supplies of money received from Sujah Dowla, of all which Mr. Hastings has availed himself to swell his balance in hand; and when, in addition to these articles, we take into the account the arrears of pensions due to the young Nabob and others, which, not being paid, of course tend to swell the balance in hand, it seems impossible to us to account for the comparative smallness of this balance, but by some extraordinary expense, and an extraordinary failure in the revenue.

+ Appendix, No. 36. 17. The several sums we speak of amount to no less than 173,39,492 Current Rupees, according to the annexed account† of particulars taken from the last Statements. Though regularly they do not enter into a cash account, yet they ought, in our opinion, to be set against Mr. Hastings's balance, if that cash account be meant to give the Company a true idea of the state of their affairs. This just and regular way of stating the account would produce a real but most alarming balance against the Company, not to be reduced, we fear, but by irrecoverable balances in the collections and desperate debts.

Balance formed on erroneous principle. 18. Setting aside for the present any farther consideration of this part of the subject, and without insisting that a cash account, taken at the most favourable period, proves nothing but the bare existence of so much cash in the public purse at that period, we should at all events have been happy to find an unappropriated fund in hand of eighty Lacks and a half to answer the various immediate exigencies of Government; but the account, dated the 30th of November, and signed by Mr. Croftes, which the Governor-General has enclosed to prove the reality of so large a balance *actually existing* in the Company's Treasuries, appears to us to have been formed on a principle so erroneous, as must inevitably lead to a false conclusion. The account, upon the face of it, is liable to an objection, which we think ought at once to destroy the credit of any evidence which it professes to contain.

19. The first great inaccuracy, which must immediately strike every man the least conversant with such accounts, is the confusion of dates. The balances of cash in the Treasuries of the Provincial Councils are drawn out to different periods; some to the 14th of October, others to the 13th and 30th of September, whilst the balance of the Khalsa Treasury is taken at the distance of two months later, viz. the 28th of November.

20. This

20. This circumstance alone destroys, in our opinion, the credibility of the account, as the first principle on which it ought to be formed is an exact correspondence of dates. Nothing can be more palpably absurd, than to join together in one amount sums remaining in different Treasuries, which, from the continual demands made upon them, are ever fluctuating, and then to blend the total with the cash remaining in the Khalsa Treasury at an after period, which Treasury is itself constituted by the remittances from the other inferior Treasuries.

21. For these reasons, the account transmitted home by the Governor-General is irregular in its formation, and must be fallacious. In effect, it is much worse, in our opinion, than no account at all. Between the 30th of September and the last of November considerable sums were remitted to the Khalsa Treasury by the Provincial Councils, yet these sums are not deducted from the balance of cash remaining in the districts, as they ought to have been, whilst their amount respectively forms a part of the money in the Khalsa Treasury, so that it is doubly introduced, and constitutes a false balance. And must be fallacious.

22. We have received from the Khalsa Office an account of remittances from the subordinate Treasuries, between the respective periods to which their balances are drawn out and the 28th November. With the assistance of this account, and taking the several balances in the different Treasuries as they are stated by Mr. Croftes, we have drawn out a corrected account,† by which the general balance on the 28th of November, 1774, is reduced to Current Rupees sixty-seven lacks, fifty-six thousand, three hundred and ten. (C. Rs. 67,56,310.) Credit is given for all those bills which passed under the transfer account, as so much ready money received into the Khalsa. We do not mean however to answer for the real existence even of this reduced balance; but we affirm, that the principle on which our account is drawn out, is, under the present circumstances, more likely to shew a true state of the Company's Balance in hand, than that which has been transmitted to them. † Appendix, No. 37.

23. We are nevertheless sensible that this account, after all, may be liable to objection. Nothing but an exact correspondence of dates can give an exact balance. But in order to arrive, as nearly as possible, to the truth, we have drawn out† another cash account on Mr. Croftes's Principle, that is, taking the balances in the Provincial Treasuries at the latest periods to which even now they can be obtained. This account reduces the total balance, on the 28th of November, 1774, to Current Rupees sixty-two lacks, twenty-five thousand and sixty-six, fourteen annas, six gundahs. (C. Rs. 62,25,066. 14. 6.) † Appendix, No. 38.

24. We have farther objections to the propriety of the account produced by Mr. Hastings, and some of them of another nature. It seems probable to us, that part of the balances in some of the subordinate Treasuries may have been remitted in the interval to other subordinate Treasuries; as for example, from Dinagapore to Moorhedabad. If any such remittances have been made, they also ought to be taken in diminution of the general balance. Besides this, we object to the Accountant's swelling the general balance of the Khalsa by the article of *Bills receivable*, which amounts to above six Lacks. We think that the public Treasury of a State ought to receive no payments but in specie. At all events, remittances by Bills of Exchange should not be reckoned part of the existing cash until those Bills are paid.

25. After having, as we think, completely invalidated the credit of the account produced by the Governor-General, we are ready, if he should still adhere to the truth of it, to waive all our objections, provided he will agree to make himself answerable to the Company for the actual existence of a balance of Current Rupees eighty lacks, forty-nine thousand, eight hundred and six, six annas (C. Rs. 80,49,806. 6) in the Company's Treasuries, on the day on which he asserts that that sum was actually lying in those Treasuries.

26. No part of the Salaries due to the Governor and Council, the Judges, or the Board of Trade, has yet been paid here. If they are not paid before the signing of the General Letter by this Ship, the amount of them ought to be deducted from the balance of cash in the General Treasury on the day of signing the General Letter. They will amount to about four Lacks and a half; and as the account is ordered to be drawn out, they must be in course of payment in a day or two.

+ Appendix,
No. 39.

27. On the inspection of your Territorial Revenue, we cannot but lament the fatal regulations established in 1772, which, from two years operation to the 30th of April, 1774, have accumulated a balance in arrear, amounting to sixty-seven Lacks, sixty-six thousand, eighty-one Sicca Rupees, (S.Rs. 67,66,081) according to the annexed statement. What part of this great sum may be recovered this year cannot be ascertained; we are apprehensive it will not exceed fourteen or fifteen Lacks. The bad effect of this System will not be felt, in it's full extent, till the expiration of the five years for which the lands were let. Admitting the Governor-General's Assertion, that the Receipts of 1780 exceed those of 1779 by the inconsiderable sum of three Lacks of Rupees, it does not follow, that the Provinces of Bengal and Bahar are in a flourishing state, or that they have paid the assessments made by the Committee. The increase of Revenue must be attributed to the increase of Territory since the year 1772 by the conquest of Coch Bahar, Jungleterry, and other districts. We mention these circumstances at present, to shew that we have not been inattentive to this important object, and hope soon to give the Court of Directors such a Statement of their Dewanny and Ceded Lands, as may make them clearly comprehend that intricate business, and enable them to send us precise orders on this essential branch of their affairs.

J. CLAVERING,
GEO. MONSON,
P. FRANCIS.

Fort-William, 11th January, 1775.

MINUTE from Mr. FRANCIS.

General
Bank.

THE delivery of the Minute which Mr. Francis has prepared on the subject of the Bank, has waited only for the answers to his queries to the Bankers and Provincial Councils, entered on the Proceedings of the Revenue Board of the 14th of last month, without which it could not be completed. They are but just come in, and he is prevented from considering them by a multiplicity of other business still more important. From what he has already had an opportunity of observing, he thinks it will appear to the conviction of every man, who understands the true principles of such an institution, that this Bank neither has, nor could possibly produce those great public benefits, which would be sufficient to justify an innovation of such magnitude in the mode of remitting the Revenues of Bengal to the Presidency.

P. FRANCIS.

Letter from the Governor-General to the Honorable Court of Directors for the Affairs of the Honorable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, dated 10th January, 1775; received in London 18th July, 1775.

HONORABLE SIRS,

ACCOMPANYING I have the honor to transmit a duplicate of my last Address, and of my Minute of Appeal from the acts of the majority of the Members composing your present Council.

After having laid a claim to the occupation of so much of your time as was necessary for the attentive perusal and examination of those papers, it is with extreme reluctance and

and pain that I venture to trouble you with a continuation of the same ungrateful subject. But the Appeal which has been made to you by these Gentlemen has rendered it an indispensable duty, both in consideration of the respect which I owe to you, not to suffer accusations against me for the conduct of your affairs to pass unnoticed, and in defence of my own reputation, which every act of invective, of direct accusation, and secret insinuation, has been employed to blacken. This indeed is the professed design and object of the Appeal which has been made to you by my Adversaries. "It touches them (they say) with the highest concern, to see that things are reduced to so unfortunate a situation, that a justification of their conduct must of necessity carry with it, and can only be supported by a strong and deliberate censure of the preceding Administration." I quote this passage at full length, because I shall have frequent occasion to apply it; and cannot but lament on my part, that the reputation of the Members composing the Majority should stand on such insecure grounds, that it can only be supported on the ruins of mine. In points wherein their measures are contradictory of mine, and formed on opposite maxims, I will freely allow them the full exercise of this doctrine; but when they apply it to cases which have no relation to their measures, I know not on what principles, either of justice or reason, my condemnation is necessary to their justification. Instances of this kind occur almost in every page of their Appeal.

The mode which I have chosen to reply to their allegations, is by distinct observations on each paragraph which required them. These form the matter of the enclosed sheets. I hope you will be spared the labour of reading them, as I am willing to flatter myself that the Minute of Appeal, enclosed in my late Address, contains so connected and ample a vindication of every point of my conduct which has been formally arraigned, as to render any further defence of it unnecessary. I therefore offer this comment only for reference on such passages of their Appeal as may appear to you to merit elucidation.

I have little to say concerning the business which has been transacted at our Councils since the last dispatch. Business I have improperly called it, very little having been done in the General Department, and in the Revenue none. The Proceedings of the latter I most earnestly intreat you to peruse; it is impossible to abstract or analyze them. It is a justice due to the character and approved services of Mr. John Graham, to obviate the impression which may possibly be made by the laboured accusations preferred against him by the Ranny of Burdwan, which I beg leave to do, by assuring you, that the whole is a calumny void of the smallest foundation; and this I pledge myself to make appear, if the circumstances relative to this extraordinary transaction, which stand recorded on our Proceedings to this time, require any further refutation of them. Mr. Graham's

You will observe in the 69th, 70th, 71st, 72d, and 73d paragraphs of the Letter of the Majority, the very unfavourable representation they make of the present state of Bengal. I have spoken on this subject in my separate papers of remarks. I beg leave further to illustrate it by the enclosed comparative account of the state of the Company's Debt, and of the balances of their Treasuries on the 31st of October, 1773, and the 30th of November, No. 40. † Appendix 1774; by which it will appear, that the receipts within that period (besides providing for the Investment) have exceeded the disbursements by Current Rupees 5628,348, of which the sum of Rupees 2,306,495 has arisen from the resources of Bengal, independently of our engagements with the Vizier.

I have the honor to be,

With the greatest respect,

Honorable Sirs,

Your most obedient and most faithful

humble Servant,

Fort-William,
10th January, 1775.

WARREN HASTINGS.

‡ Remarks on the Letter written by General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, to the Honorable Court of Directors, dated the 30th November, 1774.

4 THE Court of Directors were advised by all the Dispatches of the year 1773, that our Forces had been employed in the Rohilla Country in repelling the invasion of the Marattas, which threatened the safety of the Vizier's Dominions; and they were advised by the Dispatches of the 12th October, 1773, by the Mercury Packet, that a proposal had been made by the Vizier, and actually encouraged by the late Council, to put him in possession of that Country; but that it had been laid aside by the Vizier himself, and reserved to be "Determined by future occurrences." The Court of Directors therefore had certainly sufficient grounds for the knowledge of the new System of external policy which the late Administration had adopted, if by the new System is meant, the extension of the Company's Arms beyond the line of the Vizier's Territory for it's security; and sufficient grounds to suspect the design of reducing the Rohilla Country for the Vizier, if that be the System alluded to.

5. If these were the Sentiments of the Majority, if such was their idea of "The characters of their Colleagues", and such their determination to "Unite in the support of my Administration," to "Cultivate the friendship and confidence of their Colleagues, and to promote a general harmony in our Councils," what could have happened in so short a space as five days, which had been, as they express it, totally engrossed by the first forms and multiplicity of instant business, to eradicate their too partial opinions? to determine them in a subversion of all my past measures and my future authority? to preclude every avenue of personal confidence, and to sow the seeds of irreconcilable discord and dissension in our Councils? They found this Government engaged in an enterprize which they disapproved, and, without informing themselves fully of the objects and circumstances of it, without making any allowance for errors in the judgment of others, or suspecting them in their own, they at once condemned the entire measure, and set down the Authors of it for marks of unceasing persecution.

9. No expedition was intended, and therefore it was not necessary to include it in the treaty. "The Sale of Corah and Illiabad, the Pecuniary Terms on which the Company shall yield him the assistance of their Arms." Is this the language of candor? and is it in these expressions, which nothing but the most mercenary prostitution of the Company's Arms and influence can justify, that I am to read the unbounded confidence which the Members of the majority reposed in the integrity, wisdom, and ability which had guided the Measures of the late Administration? They knew of the Sale of Corah, and of the Pecuniary Terms on which the Company were to yield the Vizier the assistance of their Arms before they left England, and they certainly approved of both, or it is not probable that they should have retained the strong impressions which they had received of the characters of their Colleagues, and of the wisdom and ability with which the Company's Affairs were conducted under the late Government.

Brave and independent are the epithets of declamation, and require no reply; but they are not very consistent with the description given of the Rohillas in the 39th paragraph.

I must beg leave to except to the word *Nation*, applied to the Rohillas. They are a tribe of Afghans, or Patans; Free-booters, who conquered the country about sixty years ago, and have ever since lived upon the fruits of it, without contributing either to it's cultivation or manufactures, or even mixing with the native inhabitants. The Rohillas are Mahometans; the natives Hindoos; and have only changed masters. The Company never included the Rohillas in the line of defence against the Marattas, but mentioned them, it is true, among

the powers capable of opposing the Marattas, and therefore expressed an inclination to support them. I have given reasons in my Minute of the 26th November, 1773, why I think the Company were misinformed in this opinion of the Rohillas; and it is no disrespect to them to suppose the late Administration capable of correcting the informations obtained from their predecessors, with the acquisitions of more recent and authentic discoveries.

The conversation between the Vizier and myself was generally private; but Mr. Lawrell was present during one conference and Mr. Vanfittart at two others; and both will recollect that the design of reducing the Rohillas formed a part of the first draught of the Treaty. I have assigned good and (I presume) uncontroversable reasons for conducting the business of my negotiations with the Vizier in person, and singly with him; but I never failed to communicate immediately what had passed between us to Messrs. Lawrell, Lambert, and Vanfittart, who were daily and almost continually with me, either verbally, or generally in writing; as I made it a rule to note down all the particulars of our conversation, as soon as I was able, after we parted, and this the Gentlemen severally read. The General also was constantly informed, in every meeting which I had with him, of what had passed between the Vizier and me.

11. The 10th paragraph concludes with a maxim equally prudent and candid. "On matters of such delicacy and moment, we will not trust ourselves with the partial power of extracting." But this precaution seems to have been forgotten in what immediately follows, where the majority, in mentioning the deficiency of my report on the subject of the Rohilla Expedition, suppress the particulars related by me, and barely mention the Vizier's laying aside the design, but take no notice of the reason assigned for it. My words to the Council on this subject are, "He offered to make the Company a consideration for this service of 40 Lacks of Rupees, besides the stipulated sum for the expenses of the Troops; but he afterwards laid aside this design, *fearing that it would disoblige him from fulfilling his Engagements for Corah and Illibabad.*" After which are enumerated the enclosures, No. 10, 11, 12, and 13, which all relate to this subject and which rendered it necessary for me to be more particular, especially as the design had now been laid aside by the Vizier.

12. "When you refer to the short paragraph from which these passages are taken, you will be led to conclude, that the President had communicated to the Council the whole of what passed between himself and the Vizier on the subject of the Rohilla Expedition." So he did. I have already observed, that I informed Messrs. Lawrell, Lambert, and Vanfittart, who were deputed with me by the Board, of every circumstance that had passed during the whole course of the negotiation; but it was unnecessary that these circumstances should be recorded when they had become entirely foreign to the terms of the Treaty. The Rohilla Expedition was laid aside, or, more properly, it had not been adopted at Benares; for the Vizier's Proposal on this subject had never been ratified when he desired it might be suspended. It is true, an option remained with the Vizier to renew this subject, but an option also remained with the Administration either to reject or to assent to it. It so happened that he did renew the subject, but at the time of concluding the Benares Treaty, it appeared probable to me that he would not renew it; and where was the occasion for loading our records with the particulars of transactions which had been voluntarily laid aside by the Vizier, who was the interested person in them? especially as they had been unreservedly communicated by myself, and the Members who had been with me, to the other Members of the Administration in private intercourse. If he did renew the proposal, it was then time enough to enter upon a public discussion of this matter, when it became a measure of Administration, and was to be decided upon by them. This is precisely the case with the measure in question; advantages were drawn from the Vizier's Eagerness to pursue it, which were happily retained by the Company, when the object of them had been struck out of the Treaty. If he had never renewed it, these advantages would have remained with the Company. When he did renew it, I thought it but common justice to point out to the Board the concessions which this consideration had induced him to grant. There were no *positive Engagements* entered into relative to this matter; it remained with the Board to determine what influence these circumstances should have in their decisions; and "The question, whether the Vizier should or should not be assisted in attacking the Rohillas, remained open and entire for the decision of the Board." If these circumstances had some weight in the judgment of the Board, it does not follow that they were *positive Engagements*. The word *secret* is next used, surely not for candid purposes, and is applied to my having withheld from the Court of Directors

information

Minute of the Governor-General, dated 10th January, 1775, containing information respecting the Rohilla Expedition, when I had no information to communicate to them but that the Expedition was laid aside.

In the strictures which the Gentlemen of the Majority make upon past transactions, having a complete view of every thing that has happened, they reason upon events with respect to my conduct before they had taken place, and seem to condemn me for not having seen into futurity. When the Vizier, after being so eager to adopt the Rohilla Expedition, all at once gave it up, although he had conceded part of the terms upon which it was to have been undertaken, it did not appear to me probable that he would have renewed the proposal, or that future circumstances, not lying within the reach of human foresight, would happen to recommend it. But the Gentlemen of the Majority, knowing that the Rohilla Expedition was afterwards adopted, accuse me for not having entered into a full discussion and explanation of that subject, at a time when I had little reason to expect that it would ever take place. I certainly thought it possible, and this is the plain meaning of the words used in my report upon the subject, viz. "That the measures to be pursued for his security in that quarter must be determined by future occurrences." That is, if the Rohillas would pay the forty Lacks due from them, and join in a scheme of defensive alliance with the Vizier, the measure to be pursued for his security in that quarter would be to afford the Rohillas protection. If, on the contrary, they gave encouragement to the enemy, or refused to pay the forty Lacks, the measures to be pursued for his security in that quarter would be to drive out the Rohillas, and reduce the country occupied by them within the line of his dominion.

13. In my Minute of the 26th of November, 1773, I had explained my embarrassment with respect to the expectations which I had given the Vizier, that the project of the Rohilla Expedition should meet with the same favourable disposition in the late Government to encourage it, whenever it could again be with prudence resumed, and he desired it. I had expressed also my doubts of the expediency of engaging in such an undertaking, while the current of the times rendered the slightest deviation from the beaten track of affairs personally hazardous to our reputations. The Board adopted these sentiments in the following Resolution.

"The Board, after due consideration of the matters in reference from the Select Committee, and of the President's Representation, concur heartily in wishing to avoid the Expedition proposed. Without entering into a discussion of the propriety of such an enterprise on general principles, the Board see in their full force all the circumstances of doubt, as to its present expediency, which the President has so clearly set forth, and they are also sensible of the embarrassment which he lies under, from what passed on the subject between him and the Vizier at Benares. They are equally solicitous to save the honor of the Company, and watch over its interests, and for that reason they approve of the Letter now before them, which seems equally calculated to save both. The conditions, if accepted, would undoubtedly secure the greatest possible advantages from such an enterprise; but they appear to them more calculated to drive the Vizier into a refusal, which is what they trust in, as it's most probable and almost infallible consequence, and which they wish for, as the proper result of this proposition in the present circumstances of affairs."

Let this Minute be compared with the short and mutilated Extract of it as it stands in the Letter of the Majority, and they will be found to convey the most opposite senses.

An uninformed reader, who should take his knowledge of this transaction from the latter, would conclude, that I had urged the measure solely on the ground of the promise which I had made to the Vizier, and on the hope that the conditions which I had proposed were so hard as to induce him to reject them; and that the Board had assented to it on no other considerations, even while they declared their disapprobation of the measure.

The fact is, that the Board rested their wish to avoid the Expedition solely upon their doubts of the consequences which might personally affect us, at the same time that they were sensible of the advantages it would secure to the Company.

That I had cause for my belief that the Vizier would reject the conditions is plain, since the Vizier did actually reject them, although the encouragement offered him by the

the success of his operations in the Doaub, and the total inability of the Marattas to interrupt him in his further pursuits, induced him afterwards to declare his acceptance of them.

14. No. The Board wished to decline the undertaking for the reason which has been before repeated; but it surely was not necessary that they should frustrate the success of it, if it did take place. This precaution was taken to ensure its success, and to prevent any interruption which it might receive from the rains, if it was delayed till their approach, which would have happened had the Board required a repetition of the application to be made to them for the march of the Brigade, when they had already expressed their assent to it.

16. "We had rather attribute the apparent changes in the Vizier's Resolutions to the duplicity of his character, than suppose it possible that the President was from the first acquainted with his real intentions, and that he made use of artifice to draw or extort from your Council an involuntary concurrence in his measures. Your assistance is proposed to be yielded to the Vizier on terms so disadvantageous to him that he cannot be expected to accept of it; that conditional engagement being once extorted from your Council, they can no longer recede from it, when the Vizier almost immediately accepts the conditions."

I am sorry to see the names of Clavering and Monson subscribed to such unworthy insinuations, because I do not believe that even the heat of party contention can have so far warped their minds from the consideration of that justice, which every man of honor will yield to the honor of others, as to make them really believe me capable of so base an artifice as they have imputed to me, without the slightest grounds to support it. I will not answer it.

17. "Considering that the Vizier himself expressly says, *that it is his resolution to employ the Brigade in the reduction of the Rohillas*, this last intimation from the Select Committee appears to us wholly unaccountable." Why does this intimation appear unaccountable?

The Select Committee were of opinion, that although the Vizier had declared his intention of making a conquest of the Rohilla Country, yet he would not actually undertake it, but would employ all the remainder of the fair season in his operations in the Doaub.

18. An appeal to the passions is an insult to the understanding. Such are the allegations of "The barbarous and unnecessary devastation of the Country;" the cruelty with which the Vizier treated his unhappy prisoners; the brutal outrages offered to their wives and daughters, though "Of the highest rank; His wanton enormities;" and the declamatory quotation from one of Colonel Champion's Letters on the same subject.—I believe it will appear, from the evidence of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton's Letters, and from the examinations of Colonel Leslie and Major Hannay, strongly corroborated even by the Letters and Depositions of Colonel Champion, the Vizier's principal Accuser, that he has been unjustly traduced in the reports which prevailed of the enormities committed by him in the course of the War. I believe it to be a truth, that he began it by sending detachments to plunder. This I pronounce to have been both barbarous and impolitic, but too much justified by the practice of War established among all the Nations of the East, and, I am sorry to add, by our own, in an instance which the Vizier has a right to quote in vindication of the charge against him, of a detachment employed in the War, in which we were engaged with him in the year 1764, to burn and ravage his Country. It fell to the lot of Colonel (then Major) Champion to execute this commission; and how well he discharged it, and how little his feelings were at that time affected by the same scene of barbarities, and *wanton enormities*, against which he has lately so pathetically exclaimed, will appear from the following Copy of a Letter from him on the subject to the late President, Mr. Vansittart, which I quote, not meaning to reproach him with having done the duty assigned him, but to prove, that the principle which dictated to Colonel Champion the severe charges with which he has laboured to load the Vizier in the late Campaign, was either personal animosity, or the desire of persuading the Board to grant him the power which he repeatedly solicited, to control, and in effect to command the Vizier. I pretend not to look into the hearts of others; but I exercise the right allowed to all mankind of judging of intentions by facts; and I appeal to Colonel Champion's Correspondence with

the Select Committee and the Board for the grounds on which I form my judgment, and on which every man who reads them may judge for himself. The Letter above alluded to is as follows:

Extract of a Letter from Major Champion to Henry Vansittart, Esq; dated 20th June, 1764.

"TWO separate parties have been sent into the Enemy's Country, the one of which was as high up as Buxar, and, according to the directions given me, there are destroyed upwards of a thousand Villages. Had not the rain, &c. prevented us, which occasioned our return, we should have done very considerable more damage. I am now marching on the borders of the Diva to the boundary of the Sircar Country to endeavour to bring in the Zemindars, as not one of them of any considerable note is yet come in, nor has a Rupee been collected from this Country."

The cruelty with which the Vizier treated his unhappy prisoners forms the second charge against him. It is not even asserted (except in the instance which I shall proceed to in the third charge) that they suffered by actual violence, but that they were ill-subsisted; and I believe this to be true. Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, whose Letters contain the strongest character both of candor and truth, says, that the Vizier did allow them too moderate a subsistence, and that ill-served; his commands, though frequently repeated, being in this, as in every other instance, ill-obeyed.

The third charge is indeed of the blackest die; of "Brutal outrages offered to the wives and daughters of the Rohillas, though of the highest rank." The only authority which the Gentlemen of the Majority had for this horrid accusation, at least I recollect no other, was a Letter from Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, who mentioned it only as an instance of the falsehoods which had been propagated to injure the Vizier; adding, that the unhappy victims of his brutal lust, who could not survive their shame, but had put a violent end to their own lives, were still living, and that the Vizier had never seen them.—Colonel Champion's Answer to the question proposed to him by the Board on this subject, namely, "Whether he had heard the Report, and if he believed there were grounds for it," is a striking instance of the little inclination he had to shew favour to the Vizier, but amounts to the strongest *conviction* of the falsehood of this abominable history.——He said, "He did hear such a Report, but as to the grounds, he had none sufficient to prove the accusation; but the Report was made to him." The charge of oppressing his new subjects has also being laid against the Vizier, and totally refuted by the depositions of Colonel Champion, Colonel Leslie, and Major Hannay, who all declare that the Country enjoyed, even in the height of the War, a state of perfect tranquillity.

19. This contains a charge against me for suppression. In answer, I say, that these details, if declamations are details, have appeared long ago in Colonel Champion's Letters to the Select Committee, complaining of the cruelties exercised by the Vizier; and in the repeated calls which they made upon him to produce the instances of them, which he replied to by repeating the same declamations, but producing no instances, at least none which, in my judgment, can warrant the smallest part of his invectives against him. The following is his Reply:

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Champion to the Select Committee, dated 12th June, 1774.†

"IN compliance with the Board's Desire I am now to mention a very unpleasing subject. The Vizier's Treatment of the family of Hafez Rhamur, &c. the inhumanity and dishonor with which they, Mahibullak Cawn, his Brother Fizullah Cawn, late Proprietors

† Select Committee's Proceedings of the 1st July, 1774.

"tors of this City and Country, and their families have been used, is known all over these parts. A relation of them would swell this Letter to an immoderate size, and withal prove very disagreeable reading. I send you Translations of two Letters, and Copy of a third, which, affecting as they are, will convey but a faint idea of the treatment these unhappy people have met with."

"I could not help compassionating such unparalleled misery, and my requests to the Vizier to shew lenity were frequent, but as fruitless as were those advices, which I almost hourly gave him, regarding the destruction of the villages; with respect to which, I am now constrained to declare, that though he always promised as fairly as I could wish, yet he did not observe one of them, nor cease to overspread the Country with flames 'till three days after the fate of Hafez was decided. But, Gentlemen, *as in all points, excepting such as immediately respect the operations in the field, he is solely empowered to prescribe*, the reputation of the British Name is in his hands, and the line which has been laid down for me is very clear."

"The above families have been dispatched to Fyzabad, that their mal-treatment might not be so generally known to us; I have however frequent accounts of them, and it will give me the most sensible pleasure, that you stretch forth the hand of benevolence effectually to relieve them from so indescribable a misery. And that you may the better devise the means of so doing, without subjecting them to greater misfortunes, I am to inform you, that every application of mine in their favour, though professedly taken in good part by the Vizier, yet only served to procure them more rigorous treatment."

The two Letters which he enclosed are too long to extract; they are inserted in the Consultations referred to in the margin, ‡ and will be found to contain no proofs.

21. Although it is not material to prove what part of the private Correspondence of Colonel Champion and Mr. Nathaniel Middleton were withheld from the Board, when I have publicly refused to communicate it, yet it is of consequence to me to refute misrepresentations. I never asserted, that my chief reason for withholding the Correspondence was, "That they related to a difference between the Vizier and Colonel Champion."

My declared reason for withholding this Correspondence was, that I could not in honor reveal it; and in relation to Colonel Champion's Letters, I added, that "I thought a greater degree of delicacy due to him, because our Correspondence had not been always cordial on many points, and we had several times expostulated with each other on these topics with the freedom of private friends, and in a style, which, though decent in every degree, is yet different perhaps from the formal addresses of official Correspondence."

26. To blacken my conduct, and to excite indignation against me, facts have been perverted, misrepresentations employed, insinuations thrown out of the blackest perfidy committed by me, in acts neither known nor even alluded to, and opprobrious epithets and invectives applied to the measures of which I had lately the chief direction. Instances of all these kinds of arguments occur in this short paragraph.

It is a perversion of facts to say, that "The British Arms and Honor were absolutely at the Vizier's disposal;" that "An absolute surrender has been made of the Honor and Interests of the Company." We agreed to assist him in subduing the Rohillas. It was necessary to draw the line between the authority of the Vizier and our Commanding Officer. The service to be performed was entirely the Vizier's; it was therefore consistent and unavoidable that he should direct the objects of it; but the execution of military operations was expressly vested in our Commanding Officer; of course, the safety of our Army, and the honor of the British Name and Arms, were entirely confined to his conduct and direction.

It is a misrepresentation to say, that "The Vizier dared to tell the Presidency that he is the Master of the Company's Army." His words, in a literal Translation which was made

Minute of the Governor-General, dated 10th January, 1775, containing

made by myself, and is alluded to in this expression, are these: "But I am the *Major* in these affairs, and the power of retaining or dismissing the English Army is mine;" an idiomatical expression perpetually occurring in the Company's records, and meaning simply, that the Brigade was not to stay or depart without his consent. What follows is pure insinuation and inapplicable abuse. I quote the passage to prove it. "Confounded by appearances which we are unable to account for, we look in vain for sensible causes adequate to such effects, and confess, that every enquiry that we make fills us with equal diffidence and surprize. We shall not however anticipate any conjectures which may arise in your minds, when you review the whole conduct of this dark and mysterious business from first to last, and reflect upon the absolute surrender which has been made, with so little apparent compensation, of your honor and interest to the vindictive or capricious projects of Sujah Dowla."

What are the effects which fill them with equal diffidence and surprize? What business is it which they call dark and mysterious? Who made an absolute surrender of the honor and interests of the Company? No one. I look in vain for the necessity which impelled the Majority to deviate into such reflexions for the justification of their conduct, in recalling the Brigade at the crisis of the War, and in dissolving the appointment of my Agent at the Court of the Vizier; but if "The justification of their conduct can only be supported by a strong and deliberate censure of the preceding Administration," this mode of exciting the passions and surprising the attention, which is calculated to sway with uninformed and inattentive readers, I trust will not influence the judgment of those, who are to decide both upon their conduct and that of the preceding Administration.

28 and 29. These paragraphs seem to contain some criminal charge, but I profess I scarce know how to apply them. They *did* arrive on the 19th, but too late for business, and without the packet. We *did* meet on the 20th, and spent the whole morning, as they say, in settling the Proclamation of the new Government, which, I say too, ought not to have been a matter of much debate. At my desire we adjourned to the Monday following, Mr. Barwell not being arrived; but it was not till the next day, Tuesday the 25th, that I gave them any light into the Political State of the Country. Why their situation, during this interval, was anxious or disgraceful I cannot conceive. There was only a vacancy of two days, Friday and Saturday, and these not unemployed by me or them. I was wholly occupied in all that time in preparing the first points of business necessary for their information, namely, the State of the Revenue, and situation of our Political Affairs. The first required some instant determination, and was brought on the first on Monday, and the debates on it took up the whole time of that meeting.

The last, which required no immediate resolution, was brought on Tuesday, but might with equal effect have been totally withheld, as the Members of the Majority came prepared with a decided resolution to reprobate the whole System, and to take the speediest measures to overturn it in the very crisis of its accomplishment.

39. This is not a fair state of my argument, which I desire may be taken in my words, in the Minute of the 26th November, 1773, not in this mutilation of it. I never conceived the Rohillas to be *weak, divided, and defenceless*; the words to connected convey the idea of utter disability. I said, they were too weak to be a match singly opposed to the Vizier; that their jealousy of him would therefore ever make them ready to arm themselves against him; and that they would seek their safety in involving the Vizier in wars with powers more formidable than themselves.

40. To this opinion of Colonel Champion's I shall subjoin the following of General Sir Robert Barker, which I consider as at least equal authority.

"The General agrees with the President, that the Vizier's Dominions would become compact, and not sufficiently open to invasion. It is from the apprehension of invasion that cements the Vizier's Friendship with the English, and makes him that staunch Ally we find him."

My own opinion upon this subject is very fully explained in my Remarks on the 42d paragraph.

41. This method of separating the parts of a proposition and refuting them singly, without adverting to their relation with each other, is new and embarrassing. I own that the conveniency of possessing the Rohilla Country was not a sufficient reason for invading it. I never said it was; but if they had afforded a just provocation for invading their country, and we saw advantages in invading it, though neither cause was alone sufficient to produce that effect, yet both united would certainly justify it, and the most rigid speculator would approve so fair a conclusion.

I hope I shall stand acquitted in the breasts of all reasonable men, for maintaining the opinions quoted against me in the conclusion of this paragraph; but I adopt it even in the words of my opponents; and if I am "*The Chief of a great State*," alluded to by them, I shall be always ready to "Profess that I do reckon the probable acquisition of wealth among my reasons for taking up arms against my neighbours." I never in any period of my life, though long engaged in public affairs, gave my consent for taking up arms in an *unjust* cause; and I never shall, but in cases of very notorious enormity, give my consent to take up arms in an *unprofitable* one.

42. The answers which have been given by Colonel Champion, Colonel Leslie, and Major Hannay, to the questions put to them by the Board, at once clear up the obscurity, and reconcile what appears to the gentlemen of the majority contradictions in that part of my minute, respecting the acquisition of the Rohilla Territory to the Vizier. It has been asked them, if they thought the Marattas would venture to cross the Ganges, and enter the Rohilla Country, when an English Army was ready to oppose them; to which they have all answered, they did not think they would; and if they did, that they could not retreat without the loss of their baggage; therefore I say, that the Vizier's Possessions by this acquisition *make a complete state, shut in effectually from foreign invasions*, if he has an English Army to assist him. It has also been asked these Officers, if they think, that without our assistance the Vizier's Army would prevent the Marattas from crossing the Ganges and entering the Rohilla Country; to which they have answered, that they did not think it would; and therefore I say, that this acquisition, *by bringing his frontier nearer to the Marattas, for whom singly he would be no match, renders him more dependent on us*. With our aid the Vizier's State, joined to the lately acquired country, which are both bounded by the Ganges, and the northern range of mountains, *form a complete compact state, shut in effectually from foreign invasions*. But without our aid he cannot bring a force into the field capable of defending it; and therefore this very acquisition renders him more dependent upon us. A fort may be impregnable with a proper garrison, which might be easily assaulted and taken, if there were not suitable troops to defend it.

44. The Rupees of the currency of Owd have a fixed standard. The Rupees received by Mr. Lambert, in payment of the first sum of the treaty-money, were not all of the currency of Owd. The difference is certainly due from the Vizier, and ought to be demanded. It will appear I believe upon examination of the Pay-master's accounts, that the Rupees received from the Vizier, on account of the monthly subsidy for the troops, have yielded 111 Current Rupees per cent.

45. I am informed by the Paymaster-General, that the disbursements of the Troops which marched to the service of the Vizier, during the three first months of the campaign, the subsequent accounts not having been yet received, amount as follows;

For February, 1774	- - - - -	206,069	9	0
March ditto	- - - - -	260,752	14	6
April ditto	- - - - -	246,376	1	7

Current Rupees 713,198 9 1

Value in Current Rupees.

That is, upon a medium, Current Rupees 237,733, which is less than the amount due by my estimation for the monthly Subsidy. The hire of boats, and the price and conveyance of stores and field equipages, are as much a part of the military disbursements as the soldiers pay, and are included both in General Barker's Estimate, on which the amount of the Subsidy was fixed, and in the above disbursements. Mr. Nathaniel Middleton's allowances had nothing to do with them; he had no military charge, and his appointment even preceded the order for the march of the Brigade. The Troop of Cavalry was not raised expressly for this service, but proposed and raised long before this service took place, for the purposes of a guard to the Governor, for occasional service against the Sencassies, and

for attendance on the Commander in Chief when the Army took the field. I am astonished to find the charge of recruiting added to the increase of disbursements occasioned by the Brigade being employed in the northern countries; it is from these countries that all our recruits are raised, and the expense in bringing them into our own provinces has always been considerable.—This expense is saved when the Brigade can recruit upon the spot.

46. My minute was not written for the information of the gentlemen of the present Administration, but to inform the late Council of every circumstance and advantage attending the Rohilla War, with which they were not before fully acquainted. The ground of quarrel had long since been considered by them, and was notoriously known to be just; it had furnished the occasion of my journey to Benares. To have entered on a matter in which we were all agreed would have been multiplying words to no purpose.

* 48. 49. 50. In answering the 2d objection to the Rohilla Expedition, as stated in my minute of appeal, I have endeavoured to defend the conduct of the late Administration from the charge of inconsistency. I will only further add, that I think even the extracts which the majority themselves have made from their letters, will suffice to vindicate them from the accusation. They at first steadily refuse to co-operate with the Vizier in any operations beyond the limits of his own dominions. In the mean time the Marattas reduce the Jauts, invade the Rohillas, and threaten Cora. Their power becomes daily more alarming, till at length the Council resolve to prevent them from gaining a footing, either in the Corah Country or the Rohilla. They say they are impelled by indispensable reasons to become parties in these political contests; but at the same time lament that it is a drain of the wealth of this country, and cannot be productive of any advantage to the Company. Afterwards such engagements are made with the Vizier, as procure advantages to the Company, and prevent the drain of the wealth of Bengal; and then the objections which they before lamented no longer subsist. With respect to attacking in 1774 the very people whom we had defended in 1773, both these measures tended to one uniform object, the prevention of the Marattas from establishing themselves in that country.

52. The chasm in my correspondence with Colonel Champion will now be supplied, as he has engaged to furnish the Board with all my letters to him; and I shall with equal fidelity lay all his before them. The suggestions excited by the chasm in this part of my correspondence will vanish with the perusal of them.

53. 54. 55. 56. I presume I have sufficiently obviated all the reasonings of these paragraphs in my minute of appeal.

57. This is a partial quotation, and the inference drawn from it invidious and uncandid. I detest and despise all professional reflections as illiberal, and the effects of a malevolent heart, or a narrow understanding. My social connexions have lain as much, if not more, in the military than in any other line; and I know many of that profession whom I love and honour for qualities which would have equally entitled them to my esteem in whatever state of life I had found them. Let my minute be read (it is too long to be inserted), and it will appear, that my objections had no relation to the military character of the officer who might be in the command of the Brigade, but to the power which that command conveyed with it, and which of course gave him an absolute controul and sovereignty over the Vizier, if every other avenue of communication was cut off between the Vizier and this Government. My objection would have been the same whatever might have been the profession of the person intended for so unconstitutional a trust; and I presume that such were the reasons which impressed the majority of the Board with the like conviction of the propriety of employing an intermediate Agent, in a line independent of the Military Commander, for the ministerial agency with the Vizier.

60 “We hold it beneath us to enter into refutation of loose invectives, or general insinuations. Look to facts, Gentlemen, and we are convinced you will find, that it is your Civil Servants who have involved the Company in offensive wars, and in schemes of conquest by which no publick interest could be promoted.”

This and the concluding sentence of the last paragraph have much the air of “Insinuations, thrown out to the disadvantage of the *civil* branch of the Service,” and with great injustice. The fact is, (since facts are appealed to) that the proposition of the Rohilla

hilla War came from the Vizier and General Barker; a circumstance of little importance, but as it stands properly opposed to an assertion too peremptorily made, since it was intended to brand the objects of it with infamy, unless it had been grounded on certain knowledge.

63. "The fact however differs from the representation." I believe not. The date of this treaty is no proof of misrepresentation; nor can I understand what this charge alludes to, since the facts asserted in this paragraph are undoubtedly true, except one, and prove the truth of my representation. The exception which I mean is to the assertion, "That the Marattas have not since renewed their invasion of the Rohillas." They invaded them the next year, and were driven off by General Sir Robert Barker, who was accompanied by the Vizier and his Army.

64. The passage of the Letter of the Select Committee, from which this quotation is taken, was expressed allusively, not in the terms of an affirmation, and upon a subject totally different from the present. The words are these; "Yet we judge that the Rohillas, who have sought their safety in an alliance with the Marattas, to which they were of necessity compelled, would, when left to themselves, attempt at least to re-establish their own independence."

This quotation will be better understood by the words of the original minute of the Select Committee, in their proceedings of the 7th January, 1773, of which it is an abstract, intended to convey the same sentiments in their Letter to the Court of Directors, "It is however still more probable that the Rohilla Chiefs, who have sought their present safety in a treacherous alliance to which necessity compelled them with the Marattas, will from the same principles abandon their cause, &c."

The Select Committee in these reflections aimed only to prove, that the fears of the Vizier were ill grounded, when he suspected that the Rohillas would abandon themselves wholly to the Marattas. The idea of justifying the treacherous conduct of the Rohillas never had a place in our thoughts. We considered the Rohillas as acting merely on the principle of occasional expediency, or temporary necessity; uniting at one time with the enemies of the Vizier, either to avoid a present danger apprehended from them, or to distress and divert him from forming designs against their security; and at another time uniting with the Vizier to oppose the same enemies, when their successes became an object of greater danger to them than the suspected intentions of the Vizier, and he could repel them.

This is consistent with the opinion which I have always declared of the Rohilla Policy; and when that policy is manifested in acts of open perfidy, they certainly become "The just objects of war and conquest," though not on "vindictive" principles.

65. It would have been little consistent with prudence in the Vizier to possess himself of the dominions of the Rohillas, at a time when the Marattas were capable and at hand to dispute it with him, and his protection of the Rohillas was necessary to defend that avenue to his own dominions; and as little consistent with equity to take that advantage of their distress, because they had not at that time afforded him provocation for it.

66. We are not bound to assist the Vizier with our Troops for the defence of any part of his dominions, should it be incompatible with our own security; and on this principle I apprehend the Board would decide in any requisitions which might be made to us by the Vizier for our assistance, as far as may be consistent with our own security. I am clearly of opinion with Mr. Barwell, that it will be politically necessary to protect the Vizier's new dominions, if he shall be at any time unable to defend them by his own force; which is not very likely to happen, unless the assurance of the necessity of a neutrality on our part should encourage the Marattas, or any other power who may become equally formidable, to direct their whole strength against that quarter, presuming on their superiority to the Vizier's Forces alone, and unsupported by ours. But I am clearly of opinion that such an event is not likely to happen, if it is believed that our forces will march to oppose them. In this opinion I am supported by those delivered by Col. Champion, Col. Leslie, and Major Hannay, in their examinations before the Board on the and ulto. If the Company's interest requires it, and no cause forbids it, I shall not look for the obligation of a treaty to compel my assent to it.

67. "The

67. "The first of the above measures (i. e. the purchase of Corah and Illahabad) necessarily makes the King your enemy." It probably has produced that effect, which we have not felt, nor ever shall. He owed his existence, and all the power and wealth he ever possessed to the British generosity, and he repaid it with acts of hostility. But why are objections at this time raised against the *Purchase* of Corah and Illahabad? Right or wrong it is past, it is irrevocable, and has not even the slightest connection with the measures of the majority, unless on the principle fundamentally laid down by them, that "The justification of their conduct can only be supported by a strong and deliberate censure of the preceding administration." To the opinion of Col. Champion, quoted in this paragraph, I beg leave to oppose those delivered by himself, Colonel Leslie, and Major Hannay, in the late examination to which I refer.

68. "At the risk of making all Indorian your enemies." This is a new consequence drawn from the support afforded the Vizier, and too portentous to be affirmed or admitted without a reason produced in support of it. I cannot guess at any, and cannot therefore answer it.

69. I have already said, that the cession of Corah and Illahabad, which is filed by the majority, a *Sale*, a *Purchase*, and the subsidy fixed for the maintenance of our troops while employed in the defence of our Ally, which they have branded with the appellations of *pecuniary* terms, and *hiring* out the troops, &c. were known to the Gentlemen of the majority before they left England, and at the time in which they profess themselves to have been "Impressed with the highest idea of the wisdom and ability with which the Company's affairs had been conducted under Mr. Hastings." While it united their present purpose or passion to favour the measures of which I had the conduct, the most exaggerated applause was not thought to over rate them; but the same measures are now become the subjects of their ridicule, and the ruin of the British interests in Bengal is inferred from their effects, "Because the justification of their own conduct, can only be supported by a strong and deliberate censure of the measures of the late Administration."

The reasons which have been alleged for the Sale of Corah and Illahabad have not been controverted; I believe they never will, and I shall therefore pass over this subject as decided; but it may be necessary to say something in vindication of the stipulation for the monthly subsidy, against the new construction which has been forced upon it, and the inferences deduced from it. By the original treaty formed with the Vizier in 1765, we are under obligation to assist him with our forces whenever he required it (with the reserve already mentioned) and he is obliged to pay the extra-expense. This engagement has proved a source of vast expense to the Company, and made the Vizier's alliance a burthen to them. It compelled them to keep up a larger force, at an expense exceeding the proportion of the rest, than the defence of their own possessions required, and they derived no other advantages from it, than in the security which their own Provinces eventually received from the security of their Ally. To remove this heavy load, it was proposed to raise the subsidy to the full amount of the expense of a Brigade, estimated at what it ought to be. This was effected by the treaty of Benaris, and at once removed all objections, placing the alliance between the Company and the Vizier on a ground of reciprocal advantages; and at the same time rendering the employing of the Company's arms an object of interest instead of disadvantage. The subsidy is not new, nor an act of the last administration. It has its foundation in the original alliance with the Vizier, but the modification of it has been improved; the sum paid in 1765 for it was 30,000 Rupees per month, and it is now fixed at 210,000, which is just seven times the first amount.

Here I cannot omit making one general reflection which occurs in reading the Address of the Majority, which is, that their grand and principal objection to the Measures of the late Administration, seems to be, that we allowed the Company to acquire any pecuniary advantages from our political arrangements. The ceding of Corah and Illahabad to the Vizier is objected to as a *Sale*, because fifty Lacks of Rupees were stipulated to the Company on that account. If we had given up these without any consideration in return, this objection could not have been made. The subsidy for defraying the whole expense of our forces employed with the Vizier, is reproachfully styled *hiring* them. If the Vizier had only paid the extra-expenses, it would *then* have been less reproachful; but if we had made the Company pay the whole expenses, in the language of the Majority it must *then* have been entirely irreproachable, and we should have acted for the glory of the British Nation. Our agreement with the Vizier concerning the Rohilla war is dishonourable, because

cause the conditions were *mercenary* and *pecuniary*; that is, the Company were to acquire forty Lacks of Rupees from it. Had there been no such acquisition to the Company, the Majority would have withheld these dishonorable epithets. Upon these points I leave the Company to decide between the sentiments of the Majority and the motives which influenced our conduct.

If I have expressed the opinion ascribed to me in these words, "It is highly useful to the Company to hire out their Troops to Sujah Dowla, in order to save the expense of their pay, and to preserve their discipline, by keeping them in the *continued practice of war*;" which words, by the line drawn under them, I suppose to be mine, I hereby retract and disavow it. I am of opinion that the best military establishment will lose its spirit and discipline by long inaction; that it is necessary to both that the Troops should frequently take the field, and not enjoy too long an interval from active service. This maxim I have often avowed, and I believe upon record; but a *continued practice of war* is suitable only to a Piratical State, or an herd of Savages. The *refutation* of this maxim is extraordinary. "We fear the time is approaching very fast when the India Company and the Nation will know the extent, and feel the force of it;" and this is called, *speaking plainly, and apprizing the Company of their danger*.

70. The particulars of this paragraph, which appear improperly introduced on this occasion, have either been misunderstood or misrepresented. If it has been admitted in Council, "That the Plan for letting the Lands has in a great degree miscarried, and that this Country is unable to bear the expense of the Investments, together with that of the Civil and Military Establishments," the admission is not founded in truth. The Plan for letting the Lands has not miscarried, and is still, in our opinion, the best which could have been adopted. What deficiencies have happened in it have proceeded from eventual causes, which have been fully explained, and which no general Plan could prevent. It has been said, that this Country was unable to bear the current expenses of the Civil and Military Establishments, to furnish the Company's Investments, and supplies of treasure for China and Bombay, and to pay off a Bond debt of near a Crore and thirty Lacks, accumulated in the course of former years, without a reduction of its expenses and an addition to its resources.

It was for this reason that so much pains were effectually taken by the late Administration to retrench the current expenses, and that their political measures were successfully calculated to furnish additional resources.

71. The employing of our Troops with the Vizier does not suppose the *destruction of Nations*, but, on the contrary, the preservation of them, at least of his Country. The express purpose for which the Vizier can by treaty apply for our Troops, is for the defence of his Dominions, and that most probably against the Marattas, for there is no other enemy likely to attack them. Col. Champion, Col. Leslie, and Major Hannay, have given it as their opinion, that since his acquisition of the Rohilla Country, this would be effected by our Army only appearing in his support, as the Marattas would not dare to cross the Ganges if they were opposed by an English Army. The consequence is, that as often as the Vizier was under apprehensions of invasion, he would call for our Troops, and we would have it in our power to ease the Company of a part of their military expenses. It is true that this resource is temporary; but I hope the difficulties of the Company will also prove only temporary. It is to remove them that we have proposed these expedients, and every expedient which lessens their disbursements, and adds to their resources, must contribute to produce this effect.

72. This paragraph I shall reply to in the sense to which I understand it to allude ob-
liquely. The conquest of Agra was effected by Nudjif Cawn, assisted by some Sepoys of Agra.
the Vizier. Major Polier, who had been employed by the Vizier, with my permission, in Major Polier.
conducting the Works of Fyzabad, had charge of these Sepoys, or some other occasional
command (I forget what) given to him by the Vizier, and he was present at the Siege. This
Government neither assisted nor countenanced the conquest of Nudjif Cawn, since the re-
duction of Agra was attempted and accomplished before our interference could have
availed on either side.

My wishes, however, I own to be favourable to Nudjif Cawn, because I believe him to Nudjif Khan
be strongly attached both by inclination and interest to the Company, and a natural enemy
to the Marattas. Had I the smallest idea of its being possible that the Vizier should be-

come an enemy to us, this would be an additional motive with me for wishing to maintain a constant connexion with Nudjif Cawn.

73. If I understand the scope of this argument, and I declare that I mean not to misconstrue it, it aims to prove, that if the natural resources of Bengal have failed, the existence of the British Empire in India is at it's crisis, and the attempt to save it by external remedies, which are unnatural, will but precipitate it's dissolution. Surely this is not a just way of reasoning. If the internal resources of a State fail it, or are not equal to it's occasional wants, whence can it obtain immediate relief but from external means? which, in the present case, will certainly afford that relief, and prove the surest aid to those lenient remedies which the wisdom of Government may apply for the restoration of it's constitutional vigour. No concealment has been ever made by me, or by the late Administration, of the true state of this Country. Our Advices have been honest, full, and explicit. We have told our Employers that we had encountered great difficulties, and that we hoped to surmount them; and I trust that they will already have seen these hopes in part realized, and ample grounds afforded to look for the establishment of a confirmed System of Government, and of commercial and territorial resources in Bengal, which it hath hitherto wanted. Such a state it is yet capable of receiving, although it may suffer, as I fear it will do, an interval of almost two years lost in anarchy and distraction.

The solemn asseveration at the close of this Address, as it contains no argument, requires no answer, and should pass unnoticed by me, if it were not that such a positive pledge of their honor, and every thing that can be dear "To honest men," may sway with many in opposition to all reasoning; and I must confess it appears to me to be introduced with a view to this effect. I must therefore express the surprize I feel, that the Gentlemen should hazard so sacred a pledge upon the truth of facts, so various and unascertained, that it is impossible for human reason to decide on many of them; much less for these Gentlemen, to whom the subjects were entirely new, to receive, in so short a time, such information, as they could affirm, upon a pledge of honor, to be truth; and in effect it will appear from the above remarks, that they actually have been mistaken in many of the *facts* and *inferences which relate to the state of the Company's Affairs*. For myself I will declare, that, with certainly a fuller knowledge of the circumstances than they can possibly have attained, and with as earnest a solicitude to abide by truth, I will not venture to pledge my honor, that error and mistake may not have a place in what I have written: but I will make this sacred pledge of my "Honor, and every thing that is dear to me as an honest man," that my endeavours, both in my Minute of Appeal and in these remarks, have been to free my conduct, and that of the late Administration, from the misrepresentations which have been cast upon them; and, by a fair statement of the motives and effects of our measures, to lay the truth before our Employers, and enable them to decide with justice between us and our accusers.

Having finished my observations on the several arguments made use of by the Gentlemen of the Majority in their Letter of Appeal, I think it necessary to conclude with one striking remark, which is apposite to the whole substance of it; namely, that although it is professedly drawn up for the defence of their measures, and the condemnation of the late Administration only, as involved in that defence, there is not a single word in their Address, which, in my understanding, defends, or even aims to defend their measures.

The recall of the Brigade at a time when we were in hourly expectation of hearing that the War was concluded, and before the conquest was secured; the dismissal of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, the public Minister of this Government at the Court of the Vizier, and the dictatorial licence granted to the Commanding Officer in the field to provide against any attempts which might be made on the safety of the Army, are the measures against which I have protested; and which I affirm to be equally injurious to the faith of Government, and the interest of the Company, whether the measures which they have laboured to depreciate be right or wrong.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Governor-General's Remarks on the Separate Letters of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, to the Honorable Court of Directors.

4. I shall never be deficient in the due returns of civility; but I presume that the Gentlemen of the Majority will not expect from me any acknowledgments for these expressions of personal respect. I shall desire that Captain Brooke may be recalled, if his appointment is considered as repugnant to the principles or policy adopted by them; because, under the influence of such an opinion, the design of his appointment must be defeated. Capt. Brooke.

5. I do not know what my words were, which have been construed as a declaration that Major Polier. Major Polier was employed in the Vizier's Country on the surveying service only, neither do I recollect whether I ever mentioned his name to the Board at any time to which this paragraph can refer. It is certain that it never was my intention to conceal the real footing of his residence with the Vizier, which was publickly known. This I have fully explained in my Minute in Consultation of the 19th of December; and to save both the Gentlemen of the Majority the trouble of a scrutiny into the transaction of which they expressed their suspicion, I take this occasion to inform them, that Major Polier did assist at the Siege of the Agra, that he informed me of it in a letter which he wrote to me at the time, and that, to the best of my recollection, I expressed my satisfaction in reply, that the Vizier had found this additional use for his services to those for which I had recommended him. I will further declare, that I approve of the Major's conduct in this instance; and that had my consent been previously required, I should freely and cheerfully have given it, not knowing of any possible objection which could be made to it.

7. I must take upon me to justify Mr. Barwell, by affirming, that the Majority had taken their resolution before they had consulted all the records by which it could any way be affected. "That much assiduity and attention have been since employed to trace and collect the facts and opinions, which they have offered in justification of their resolution, is undoubted; but I appeal to their own words, and to the records, for proof, that they could not have obtained that complete information at the time in which they had taken their resolution. Mr. Barwell.

On the 25th of October I read to them the concluding part of my Minute entered on the Consultation of that day, respecting the political state of this Government; and this contained a connected list of all the proceedings which were necessary for their perusal, to enable them to form a complete understanding of the subject. The only parts of these references which were called for and read at the Board, were the passages of the General Letters of the last year to the Court of Directors which related to the Treaty of Benaris, and the Rohilla Expedition, the Treaty of Benaris, the Vizier's requisition for the march of the Brigade, and my Report of my transactions at Benaris. Yet, on this scanty information, if they waited even for this, they at once formed their decision; and as they themselves affirm, in the 33d paragraph of their Appeal, "They should have thought it their duty to have proceeded immediately to the recall of the Brigade within the Company's Territories, or at least within the original Dominions of the Vizier, but for the vehement opposition made to that proposal by the Governor-General. He urged, that there were a number of records and letters still to be consulted." &c. &c. &c.

Of the Letter † addressed to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, one part only requires annotation, the rest having, as I presume, been fully answered in my Minute of Appeal and in the preceding remarks.

Much stress is laid on the contents of the last General Letter from the late Council, as containing facts and opinions not according with the date of it; and arguments are accumulated to prove, that the Letter was written later than the date of it. This charge is in part true. That part of the Letter to which this objection particularly applies, was most certainly written after the assembly of the new Council; and written, as I can vouch, with the design of obviating the objections which might be, or had been made to the propriety of the Rohilla Expedition. The date was a mere form, necessary to authenticate the Letter, which was to be signed by the Gentlemen of whom the late Council had consisted, and who were no longer a public body after the proclamation of the new Council. This is not the only instance of facts, in their own nature perfectly indifferent, which have been produced against me, and against the late Administration, with all the solemnity of the most criminal accusations.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Letter from Lauchlin Maclean, Esq; late Commissary-General, and
Comptroller of Army and Fortification Accounts in Bengal.

To the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants trading to
the East Indies, dated, Berkeley-Street, 19th September, 1775.

HONORABLE SIRS,

I Beg leave to return my thanks for your indulgence in granting me transcripts of the proceedings in Bengal, relative to the Office I had the honor of executing in that Presidency by virtue of your appointment.

As I find in those transcripts the fullest approbation of my conduct during the time I acted under the *late* Administration, and a positive declaration from the *present*, that they had no fault to find, or accusation to bring against me; nay, that I had given them the satisfaction they required in those points on which they wished for information; I shall not venture to trouble the Honorable Court with many words in defence of my conduct, which turned solely on the principle of recommending myself to your notice for future reward, by Zeal, Assiduity, and Integrity, in discharging every trust reposed in me. This is a ground from which I can never depart; for to attain it I sacrificed every temporary advantage. It is therefore more easy to imagine, than for me to express, with what surprize, nay indignation, I received the first accounts of an attempt to lessen me in your good opinion, by bestowing ridicule on those services which could not be impeached.

On speaking of the paragraphs written to you by General Clavering, Col. Monson, and Mr. Francis, which relate to me, I am at a loss for words proper for the occasion. The respect which I bear to the Honorable Court; the deference due to those honored by you with public trusts; the nature of the insinuations against me; and the regard due to my own character, render the choice of terms truly difficult. Inconsistency is the least charge that I can bring against the Writers of those paragraphs. They formed a Majority of that Board which took cognizance of my conduct; which examined me inquisitorially; which twice declared they had received full satisfaction; and yet this Majority, in their Separate Letters and Minutes, depart from their own records, and insinuate matters unsupported by argument and contradicted by facts. Why did not these insinuations make part of the General Letter, and find a place on the public records prior to my leaving Bengal? for the Minute was kept back 'till the Dispatches were sent off. Respect forbids me to say why; yet I may be permitted to say, that wit, though the usual substitute for reason in controversy, is a dangerous weapon in matters of justice or business, and seldom fails to wound the hand which deals the blow.

I am ludicrously charged with controlling my own accounts; with making bargains with myself; with appearing as a Merchant in Sujah Dowla's Country; with carrying Merchandize in Boats at the Company's Expence, and with varying my form of appearance, Proteus-like, from Civil to Military, and from Military to Mercantile, as best suited my convenience. To these charges I am under a necessity of replying *seriously*, that not one of them is supported by the shadow of fact. I attest every person to whom my actions were or could be known in India; and further I call God solemnly to witness, that I never controlled an account of my own; that I never made a bargain with myself; that I never appeared as a Merchant in Sujah Dowla's Country, nor in any other Territory or Presidency in India; that I never applied for a Duftuck for Merchandize by myself or others, nor ever received one; that I never traded, or had a concern in trade, directly or indirectly, for the value of one Rupee in India; that I never carried Merchandize of any kind for myself or others in Boats; and that I never had a Boat belonging to the Company in my possession, nor even meant to bring any charge against the Company for Boat-hire, except the small sum mentioned in the Consultations for those Boats of my own, which were necessarily loaded with Iron and Lead for the use of the Army in the Rohilla Country, and which could not be afforded at 15 per Cent. above the Bazar price, on account of the

Letter from Col. Maclean to the Court of Directors, dated 19 September, 1775.

the great length of the water carriage. This is my answer to those charges which imply delinquency; there are other charges which imply none, and therefore do not merit any answer.

The circumstance so much dwelt upon, of the Credit granted to me on the Factories of Patna and Cossimbuzar, is fully explained in the Consultations, and proves, that I did not betray the trust reposed in me by the President and Council. The money taken up by my Agents amounted no more than 9,000 Rupees. On my hearing that they had taken up any money, I immediately wrote to them that it was irregular, for that I was determined to receive no advance of any kind till my accounts should be audited in Council. And I even directed the money received to be paid back again, though the Company were then indebted to me for all the contingent Supplies I had furnished. Five Thousand Rupees were actually paid back again, and no farther use ever made of the Credits. This happened three months before the arrival of the Supreme Council. When so flimsy a charge as this is brought against any man, it cannot fail ultimately to do him service. For it proves, that if a material and well grounded charge could have been brought against him, the inclination to bring it was not wanting. I must however observe, that the nature of this Credit is totally misrepresented to you in the Separate Letter; for so far from being an unlimited Letter of Credit, it was expressly limited to 1000 Rupees per month, and as much over and above for an immediate repair† as would render the Cantonments merely water-fast; a service which was performed with the utmost economy.—Justice to the late Administration, which has been so severely animadverted upon in the Separate Letter, obliges me to dwell more particularly on this point, than upon any which relates solely to myself. Before the commencement of the rains, the different Barrack Masters of the Cantonments at Dinapore and Burrampore represented that many repairs were wanting at those places; and different Estimates to a very large amount were laid before the Board of Inspection for putting the Cantonments in repair, and keeping them so for a term of years. It appears on the face of the Consultations, that the Board determined not to take the Estimates into consideration at that time, because they had advices of the appointment of the Supreme Council, and in deference to them (which deference was paid them in every other article of disbursement,) it was resolved to expend no more on the Cantonments than would merely make and keep them water-fast. Had the Gentlemen of the Supreme Council attended to this circumstance in the Consultations, they certainly would not have treated the matter in such injurious terms as they have done in the Separate Letter, when they say, “But the circumstance of the unlimited Letter of Credit on two Factories being totally forgot by the Governor or Mr. Barwell, will serve to shew in what an irregular manner the Company’s Money Affairs have been conducted.” Again, “False argument may be refuted, but a total want of reason is unanswerable.” I appeal to the Consultations whether I have not stated this matter fairly; and I appeal to the feelings of the Honorable Court, whether a conduct, so full of candor and deference for the Gentlemen then expected from England, has merited the extraordinary return made them?

The ridiculous representation ‡ of the different characters I am made to personate, is the last point of the Separate Letter on which I shall trouble the Honorable Court. I have already proved, that such of these characters as were censurable had no existence but in the invention of the Writer; the rest were my undoubted right; and I am convinced the Court would not wish me to relinquish my right, nor think the better of me if I did. My Appointments gave me considerable rank in the Settlement; I endeavoured to demean myself with propriety; equally careful to arrogate nothing from my Station on the one hand, nor to do any thing that could lessen or disgrace it on the other. And had this Station been much higher, I had experienced too many vicissitudes in life to have suffered it to turn my Head; had it been lower, it should not have dejected me.

I come now to those parts of the Transcripts which give me real concern, and which would render me truly inconsolable, could I not give the Honorable Court the utmost satisfaction in regard to them. I mean the Extracts of the Company’s General Letter to the Governor-General and Council at Bengal, dated the 3d March, 1775. In these the Honorable Court are pleased to say, “That Mr. Maclean, in his Address to the President and Council, has deviated in two very essential Points from the Letter and Spirit of their Orders and Instructions; first, by recommending an expensive Establishment, and secondly, by suggesting an improper mode of providing contingent Supplies.” I

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† See Proceedings of the Board of Inspection, and Orders to the Chief and Council of Patna, contained in Appendix 20.—B, 1. Page 62.

can with great truth answer to this, that my whole endeavours in Bengal were bent, and with success, on diminishing, as far as came within the sphere of my Department, every species of military expence. The President and Council applied themselves with unremitting care to this object; their instructions to me were clear and positive; and I was happy in receiving their repeated approbation for my assiduity in the execution of them.

In regard to the increase of expence in the formation of the Commissary-General's Office, it has not occurred I imagine to the Honorable Court, to deduct the savings derived from ceasing to employ Commissaries and Deputy Commissaries of Musters. These savings amount to Rupees 36,800 annually, which, deducted from the calculation of Rupees 79,800 mentioned in the Extracts, leave for additional expence Rupees 43,000, a sum no ways disproportionate to the benefits from this Office. I must further observe, that the calculation abovementioned is made on the supposition of full Batta, which does not take place but in part; so that I may safely say, the Establishment of the Commissary's Office, including the Salaries of the Deputy Assistants and Clerks, does not exceed, in point of additional expence, the rate of Rupees 30,000 per annum†.

Before the Establishment of the Commissary-General's Office, there were four Commissaries of Musters and four Deputy-Commissaries constantly employed on the sole business of the Musters. This duty (as well as that of the control) is now done by the Commissary-General and his Assistants, and makes but a small part of the very extensive business conducted in his Office. The Court will the better judge of the extent of this business, when they consider, that not a single bill for military charges is received or paid without being regularly copied and entered in the books of that Office; and as these bills are very often curtailed before the payment, there is a necessity for double entries before the books containing the nett payments can be perfected. The reason which induced me to adopt this mode of conducting the audits was, that books so kept form a compleat check upon, and are checked by the books of the Paymaster-General. Had the method of employing writers without salaries been followed, this business could not have been well done, for the transcribing is of such magnitude that it employs the whole time of the Clerks. Indeed it has been found requisite to adopt this mode of giving salaries in the other Offices, and very beneficial effects, in point of accuracy and dispatch, will be found from it.

As to the Deputy Commissary-General, I really understood, at the time of my own appointment, that such an Officer was held to be necessary, and I now know by experience the impossibility of conducting the business without him. Several Offices of much less magnitude and trust have Deputies; and the variety of business in this Department, on its present footing, is too heavy for the ability and attention of any one man. The Directors for the time being seemed to be of that opinion; for a Gentleman, then a Director, desired the Appointment for Mr. Croftes, who when it was offered to him declined it; and Mr. Gunning, the present Deputy, has amply merited the salary attending that Station; for emoluments it has none.

With respect to the charge, of having recommended an improper mode of providing contingent Supplies, I can truly answer, that if I have erred it has been an error in judgment, and that the motives which actuated me were not those of an immediate personal advantage. That I had views of personal interest in going to India it would be unpardonable and absurd in me to deny; but I thought those views would be best answered by pursuing such a line, as could not fail to recommend me to your notice and favour for future reward. This line lay plain before me, and consisted in the honest execution, as far as depended on me, of the four heads adopted by the President and Council; 1st, Bringing as much of the Supplies to fixed Contracts as possible. 2dly, Making the Contracts

† Since the giving in of this paper to the Court of Directors, it occurred to me, that each Commissary of Musters, and each Deputy Commissary, charged, and were allowed wages for separate sets of Black Servants; so that, on the whole, I much doubt whether the Establishment of the Commissary-General's Office has in reality put the Company to any additional expence.

tracts at as low prices as possible. 3dly, Diminishing as much as possible the quantities and prices of such Supplies as by their nature must remain contingent. 4thly, Paying unremitting attention to the Musters of Men, Cattle, Boats and Stores.

The Supply of Contingencies on this ground must either be very inconsiderable, or must directly counteract what I have declared to have been my principal object, the recommending myself to your favour, by bringing military Supplies as much as possible to Contract, and leaving as little as possible to contingency. Whether I have been worthy of your favour in this point, the diminution of contingent expenses for the year ending in April, 1775, will shew; and the amount of the sum \dagger charged to the Company for the execution of this part of my duty will prove, that a long life spent in the Service would not procure, on the principles I acted, a moderate independency. The principal view I had in soliciting for the entire management of this branch was, that by having the quantities, qualities, and prices of the contingent materials before me in the first instance, I must attain such a knowledge of them, as would enable me to judge perfectly of that service, to check it properly in future; and the President knew and approved of my intention to execute it for one year only. Had undue motives influenced me in the execution of my Office, these motives would have led me to have held, *covertly*, shares in the Contracts, or to have been remiss or corrupt in my audits. My conduct, and I hope my character in life, have secured me from the most distant suspicion of these mean frauds; nor have my Accusers ventured to bring any charge of this nature against me. Indeed it would have been too inconsistent if they had; for, with all the faults they have been pleased to allege against me, they were still very unwilling to accept of my Resignation.

And here it is incumbent upon me to justify myself to my Honorable Employers for having resigned their service. This will be done best by a plain state of my Case, which I hope will be pardoned, though it may contain some repetition of matters already touched upon.

I went out to India with the rank of Colonel, and with the Salary, Allowances, and Emoluments of a Councilor, to execute Trusts of great magnitude. The total amount of my income did not exceed £1,800 per annum; for though allowed the privilege of trade, I found that I could not attend to the public and private business at the same time. I therefore, from the first, took the resolution of relinquishing every view of immediate advantage, in hopes of future promotion and reward from my Employers; a resolution so much approved of by the Administration, that I had a promise of every support while I conducted myself on those principles, and of their recommendation to the Court of Directors for a recompense proportioned to my services. Happy in these assurances, I proceeded in the discharge of my duty with alacrity. Soon after this the Board thought it right to deprive all Members of Council of their privileges of trade, giving as an equivalent Rupees 3,000 per month from the Opium Fund then established. To this sum I became of course entitled; but the Government being changed by Act of Parliament, this arrangement was not carried into execution, consequently I never received it. It is well known to the Honorable Board, that the principal advantages reaped by the Members of Council arose from their holding subordinate Chiefships, or lucrative Appointments, the stated Salary and Allowances being inadequate to the expense incurred by their Station. To any Appointment of this nature I had no pretension. It must, however, have been the intention of the Honorable Court to have put an Office of such trust above corruption; and as I relinquished trade intirely on public motives, the equivalent of Rupees 3,000 per month could not be deemed unreasonable. In this situation of things the Act of Parliament and your Instructions arrived. There appeared nothing in the Act of Parliament that could be construed to annul the words of my Appointment, which were, that I should receive the Salary and Emoluments of the youngest Member of Council, with privilege of recording Dissents in the Proceedings; nor did the Court of Directors by their Instructions or Letters make any change on that head; I therefore concluded, and still think, that my Office deserved, and that I had a right to, the Salary annexed to the youngest

\dagger The total amount of contingent Supplies furnished at the time I resigned my Office, I am positive did not exceed Rupees 60,000; I am willing to be above the mark rather than under, for I think the real disbursement will not exceed Rupees 50,000; but something may have escaped my recollection, as I speak from memory.

Reasons which induced Col. Macleane to resign the Company's Service.

youngest Member of Council, and to the privilege of recording Dissents agreeable to your Instructions. Both were refused me, and therefore I desired, and with difficulty obtained leave to resign, that I might have an opportunity of applying to the Honorable Court for relief. Thus circumstanced, I accepted a temporary Employment then in my offer, neither contrary to the interest of the Company, or of my Country, but consistent with my duty to both; and it is by the Emoluments arising from this Employment (being a loser by my services to the Company) that I am enabled to subsist 'till the Honorable Court shall please to restore me to their Service.

I am fearful of trespassing on the time of the Court by prolixity; and this has prevented me from repeating here many arguments which I used in Bengal on the first arrangement of my Office. These appear on the Consultations from October, 1773, 'till the month of February in the subsequent year, and added to what I have now said, not only contain a full vindication of my conduct, but, I flatter myself, shew me worthy of that countenance, protection and reward, which it has been, and is my ambition to receive from this Honorable Court; and which they have been pleased to promise me, if my services should be found deserving them, in their General Letter of 3d March, 1775.

I have the Honor to be with the utmost Respect,

Honourable SIRS,

Your most Obedient, and

Most faithful

Humble Servant,

Berkley-Street,
19th Sept. 1775.

L. MACLEANE

Narrative of the Reasons which induced Col. Macleane to resign the Service, dated London, 13 February, 1776; read in Court the next Day.

Narrative of the Reasons which induced me to resign the Service, that I might submit my Case and Conduct to the Honorable the Court of Directors.

SOON after my arrival in Bengal I was attacked by a very dangerous disorder, under which I continued for more than three months, without prospect of recovery in that Climate. This induced Doctor Handcock, and the other Physicians of Calcutta, to prescribe a sea voyage, as the only chance of restoring me to health. Accordingly I left Bengal at the end of the Monsoon, that I might return by the beginning of the next. We were a month at sea, and before the Ship's arrival at Madras I had perfectly got the better of my indisposition.

The Nabob of Arcot is of an inquisitive and curious disposition; he wishes to see, and actually sees all strangers of any rank that arrive at Madras. He had learnt that I had been Under Secretary of the Southern Department; that I had been in Parliament, and that I held an Office of trust in Bengal. I was introduced to his Highness by the Governor, Mr. Wynch, who carried me from his country house to Chepauck in his chariot. As we passed along Mr. Wynch told me the Nabob would ask me many questions; I replied, that he might depend upon it no answer should escape from me, but what became a faithful
Servant

Servant of the Company to make; and I solemnly protest that I never made a reply, or gave an advice to the Nabob, that did not flow from my duty to the State, and to the Company. I found his Highness very inquisitive, particularly to know what was thought of him in England; how he stood with the King, with the Company, with the Parliament, with the People? I answered, that in general the Nabob of Arcot stood well with the Nation of England; but that some of his measures had given umbrage to the Court of Directors. He seemed surprized; the Governor, says he, often does me the favour to breakfast with me at my house on the sea. I shall expect to see you often; if the Governor's leisure permits him to come, I expect you will accompany him; but I shall expect to see you often. I bowed and accompanied the Governor back. After this, for more than a month, I had frequent interviews with the Nabob. He seemed particularly uneasy at hearing he did not stand well with the Court of Directors. The phrase I made use of was, that he was in bad odour with the Court; that some of his measures gave them room to suspect he was aiming at an independency, not consistent with the welfare of the Company, and that he ought to take measures to remove those impressions. He declared that he never entertained such a thought; that if he had erred it was without design; that he was not so weak as not to know that the height and importance to which his Family had risen amongst the Mussulmen of Hindostan, were owing to his connections with the English; that he had invariably in the worst of times been their best Ally, and that he looked on himself as embarked in the same Ship with his friends the English, and that they must sink or swim together. He was anxious to know what in particular had given offence; I named some things, and told him that unless he permitted me to see his correspondence, I could not give him the sound advice he required. He ordered his Secretary to let me have his correspondence. I then pointed out † many things that could not but give umbrage. He protested his innocence, entered into a long detail of his services to prove it, and concluded with asking what he must do to remove these unfavourable impressions. I told him that England was a generous Nation, which never attacked or broke Faith with it's Allies, till they either entered, or were inclined to enter into hostilities against it. That his best way was to throw himself upon their generosity, and they would give him a lasting and honorable constitution. That his error had been in separating, even in idea, the Company from the Nation. That whoever had told him that the King, the Nation, and the Company were not one and the same, had misinformed him. That it was his duty to look up to the King as the Head of the whole; but in looking at his Majesty he should look through, and not over the Company. Many conversations passed to this purpose, the result of which was a desire to know what he ought to do in his present situation. I advised him as above to throw himself entirely on the Nation and the Company, and to send some person he could rely upon home with full powers to settle all differences. He said he would consider the matter. At the next interview, he told me he had considered my advice and found it good; that he had been often solicited for powers similar to those I advised, but he never could prevail upon himself to invest any man with the Power of granting away his Dominions with the stroke of his Pen. He now found it necessary for him to vest those Powers in somebody, and where, he was pleased to say, "Can I vest them so safely as in the person who has given me good advice?" If you, added his Highness, will enter into my Service, I will send you to England, and give you full Powers to settle all my Affairs. I protest to this Honorable Court, that I did not entertain the smallest idea that such an offer would be made to me; I was, consequently very much surprized at it. I replied, that his Highness had many friends in England more capable of serving him than me; that he had also Servants in Madras whom he might trust; but that I was a Servant of the Company, and could not accept of the honor he intended me. I held besides an office of trust and consequence in Bengal, and had privileges of trade which were very considerable; therefore both in point of duty and my own interest, I was precluded from accepting his Highness's offer. Laying his hand upon my shoulder, he replied, my Friend, the best trade you can follow is my trade. The Company, I hope, will not refuse me one Servant, especially as I mean to employ him for our mutual Service; I therefore intreat you not to refuse me. In answer, I told his Highness, that exclusive of the reasons I had urged already, I had the honor to live on terms of friendship with Mr. Hastings, ‡ now placed in political concerns at the head of all the Settlements in India, and therefore I could on no account accept the offer with-

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† The manner in which he talked of his being neutrally situated with France, on account of the Treaty of Paris. Expressions that had escaped him rather disrespectful to the Company. His desire to garrison Trichanopoly with his own Troops. Not admitting an English garrison into Tanjore, &c. &c.

‡ May 1774. The Swallow Sloop had brought authentic Accounts from Bombay, of the Act of Parliament constituting the Supreme Council, &c.

out his approbation and concurrence. His Highness replied, "I will write to my Friend Mr. Hastings, who I hope will not refuse me the service of one Friend." On these terms we parted, and I returned to Bengal. From the several conversations I had with the Nabob, the matters he wished to transact in England were these; "I wish, said he, to deposit one copy of my Will with the King, a copy with the Company, and a copy with the Council of Madras, that after my decease the wisdom of the Nation may be exercised in respect of the succession. By the Mussulman Law, the Father has a right to chuse his Successor from among his children; by keeping his Choice secret, he is enabled to preserve harmony and peace in his Family. Should I die, my children may each become competitor, and bid for the succession; and if there should not at the time be a good Governor in Madras, the highest bidder might be taken; but if my Will were deposited as I have explained, and England would guaranty the succession to my Dominions in my Family, no immediate step could be taken to my detriment on my decease, and I should die in peace. The world, added he, imagines that I have preferences for my children. They are mistaken. I love all my children, and wish to provide for them. I wish to leave my Arcot Dominions to my heir, and my other Countries to my younger children as Fiefs tributary to Arcot. Should this be guarantied to me, I would enter into a Treaty Offensive and Defensive, to last as long as our United Power should endure. I would allow my Army to be regulated; I would maintain a stipulated Body of Horse, and no more; I would maintain a stipulated Body of Sepoys; I would regulate my finances, and when out of debt, would lend my treasure, if wanted by the Company, or remit it till I should want it, as a resource for my Family, to England. By such a plan both the Company and I would be enabled to make large savings, and all that I would ask in return would be the guaranty of my Dominions, and assurances that the English Gentlemen would not interfere in the interior management of my Countries, but that I might be allowed to govern them by my own Laws and my own Customs; and to convince them that I do not mean or wish for independency, I would build, or agree to the building of cantonments and magazines in proper places, that the Company's Forces might be kept in a body fit for action, to crush me if I failed in my engagements to them, or in my stipulated payments."

When I returned to Bengal, I found Mr. Hastings very much agitated by the animosities and dissensions which had arisen in the Rohilla Country between the Vizier and the Commander in Chief, and between the Commander in Chief, the Officers of the Brigade, and the Governor and Council relative to prize money; the Brigade being discontented that the Vizier's Troops had received contributions and booty from the conquered country, while they had been allowed none. Mr. Hastings said these things made him very uneasy, lest the public Service might suffer. He was afraid of a mutiny, or that the War might spin out into a length he did not expect, and therefore he had come to a resolution, to send some person of a conciliatory disposition to heal all these differences. If, he was pleased to say, your health would allow you to go, I had thoughts of asking you to undertake this commission. I answered, that I should esteem myself honored in the trust, and that my health was perfectly re-established; but I took the resolution not to mention any thing of what had passed at Madras, knowing that if Mr. Hastings approved of the Nabob's design, and thought it advantageous for me, his delicacy would have thrown his choice on some other person; and I was anxious to serve him, and to execute so important a commission. I soon after set off for the Army, which I reached with as much expedition as was expected; but I found the task assigned me very difficult. I found it utterly impracticable to heal the breach between the Vizier and the Commander in Chief; but what related to the Officers of the Brigade I perfectly succeeded in, for they were easily convinced that they had blamed the Governor and Council without cause, as they had not the power of complying with their wishes, on account of a clause in the late Act of Parliament; but that it was their duty to submit their case to the Court of Directors for relief. As I am conscious that in every part of my conduct in India I strictly adhered to my duty, and as I wish most ardently to stand high in the opinion of this Honorable Court, I beg leave to be a little more particular in my recital relative to my interviews with the Vizier, because it has come to my Knowledge, that General Clavering suspected me of having "Fabricated the Vizier's Letter against Colonel Champion." I solemnly declare that this suspicion is highly injurious to me; that I acted on principles diametrically opposite; that friendship to Colonel Champion was one of the motives Mr. Hastings assigned for sending me to the Army; and that I used every argument furnished me by Mr. Hastings, and every Argument I could think of myself, to effect a reconciliation between the Vizier and the Commander in Chief, but in vain; for the breach was too wide between them, and the charges brought by the Vizier of such a nature, that every thing I could

urge proved ineffectual. Mr. Middleton, who was present and acted as Interpreter at every interview I had with the Vizier, will bear witness to the truth of this; for I was particularly careful, out of delicacy towards Mr. Middleton, never to go near the Vizier but in his company, and never to have any intercourse with him either by Letter, or Message. And I solemnly declare upon my honor, that I never received, either directly or indirectly, by myself or others, any present or emolument from the Vizier, or any other Prince or person while in India, or since I left it, († the Nabob of Arcot excepted) except the usual presents of introduction, a Dress, and a Horse, within the limits of my Covenants; and I further solemnly declare, that by my Service in Bengal I am and must continue to be a great sufferer, unless this Honorable Court shall be pleased to take my case into consideration, and grant me relief. The uneasiness consequent of a groundless suspicion will I hope plead in my excuse for this short digression, which I will conclude by saying, that I was so far from fomenting the differences subsisting between the Vizier and Colonel Champion, that when his Excellency pressed me to lay his complaints before the Governor and Council, I told him, in the plainest language I could chuse, "That he totally misunderstood the purport of my Mission; that I had been sent as the Messenger of Peace and Friendship, but that he endeavoured to make me the Messenger of Discord," and I positively refused to prefer his Complaints. Exclusive of what I have said, I have written Documents to prove that private friendship for Colonel Champion was one of the reasons which induced Mr. Hastings to send me to the Vizier.

Having returned to Calcutta, I found one of the Nabob of Arcot's Secretaries, Mr. Johnson (who has since accompanied me here) sent to solicit me, in consequence of what had passed at the Coast, to enter into his Highness's Service. On taking the advice of my friends, and being clear in point of the legality of the measure, having consulted the Chief Justice, I for the first time acquainted Mr. Hastings with what had passed, and came to the following resolution: That if the office I held should be put on the footing I had a right to expect, I would prefer it to that offered me by the Nabob, which was in it's nature precarious. But no notice having been taken, either for or against me, in the late Act of Parliament, nor in the Instructions of the Court of Directors, I consequently stood upon the words of my first Appointment, which were, that I should "Enjoy the privilege of recording Dissents on Military Expenses in the Proceedings of Council, and that I should receive the salary and emoluments of the youngest Member in Council." The office I held was of great magnitude, trust, and utility, and therefore deserved being put above corruption. On these grounds I moved for what I conceived, and still conceive to have been my right; but not succeeding, I resigned my office, and accepted of the Nabob's offer, as the means of laying my case before this Honorable Court; hoping that as every thing I have done has been within the line of my duty, and much for the benefit of the Company and of the Nation, they will be pleased to look upon me as still in their Service, the light in which I have all along considered myself. As such it is my duty to submit the ultimate decision of this matter entirely to this Honorable Court. I can venture to pledge myself that the Nabob of Arcot will ratify every thing that I have set forth. If the Court declines receiving the Letter which I am charged with for them by the Nabob, I am ready to furnish every necessary information from and to the Nabob as a private confidential Friend entrusted by him; and if neither of these modes shall be found eligible by this Honorable Court, I then hope they will employ me in whatever manner they may judge my talents or my endeavours useful; it being my ambition to devote the remainder of the active part of my life to the Service of the Company.

It may be proper for me to mention, that since my arrival in England, I have heard many Reports which have been circulated as written from Madras, and some published in the Papers, assigning different motives for the Commission with which the Nabob has honored me; but I thought it right never to make the least reply to any rumours of this nature, knowing that as soon as this Honorable Court should be pleased to hear what I had to say, every thing of that kind must fall to the ground. I also thought it my duty not to solicit the favour of the Directors individually before I had laid my case before the Court, sensible that a matter of such importance must be determined by it's own weight, and that it would be presumption in me to expect that any personal interest could be obtained where the public advantage was so materially concerned.

It may farther be not improper for me just to observe, that the advice I ventured to give the Nabob has already had it's weight with him, and prevented his taking some steps that might have given umbrage to the Court of Directors. I beg leave to mention three. The

† Who allows me 4300l. per Annum.

100 Advices and Proceedings received by the Bute and Pacifick.

Nabob had determined to blow up the Fort of Vellum, situated within fifteen miles of Tanjore, as being a needless expense to him, to resent Hyder Ally's having hostilely entered and raised Contributions in his Districts of Cudapa and Kinnoul, and to take a Frontier Country into his protection which complained of ill treatment from the Nizam. I represented to his Highness, that nothing could tend more to confirm the Court of Directors in the Opinions they might entertain of his aiming at independency, than his entering into measures of such magnitude without their knowledge or participation. That although the Fort of Vellum became a needless expense, now that Tanjore was in his possession, yet being a Key to Tanjore, it would be suspected that policy and not expense was the true reason which induced his Highness to demolish it. In respect of Hyder Ally's eruption, I intreated his Highness not to think of retaliation on any account without the knowledge of the Company at home, as it might lead to a very serious War. That while he placed his Confidence in the Company, they would never suffer either insult or injustice to be done to him, but would take such measures in concert with him as wisdom and sound policy dictated. And in regard of the Country claiming protection against the Nizam, I gave him the same advice. His Highness approved of the whole, and took no other measure on any of these Occasions, than directing me to lay them, in his Name, before the Court of Directors.

L. MACLEANE.

London, 13th Feb. 1776.

Extract of Letter from the Governor-General and Council, in their Secret Department, to the Court of Directors, dated Fort William, the 24th February, 1775. Received in London 18th September, 1775:

Par. 1. **O**UR last Advices went by the Dutton of date the 4th ultimo, a duplicate of which is now sent,

Sujah Dow-
lah's Death.

2. We then informed you of the declining state of the Vizier's Health, according to the intelligence we received from Mr. Middleton, and that in his opinion he could not survive long. On the 6th instant, by Letters from Colonel Galliez, we were informed he was actually dead, the Colonel had previously apprized us of the imminent danger in which the Vizier lay, and we had dispatched instructions to him, to support the pretensions of Mirza Amanny, the Nabob's eldest and only legitimate Son, in the succession in case of his Father's death, and immediately to move the Brigade down to Fyzabad, to prevent any disturbance in the city on the occasion. We at the same time ordered the third Brigade to march up from Barrampore to Dinapore, that it might be nearer to the frontier in case any service should be required.

Measures in
consequence
thereof.

3. We confirmed these Instructions after the news of that event having actually taken place, and further directed Colonel Galliez to continue his negotiations for the payment of the money due by the late Vizier. We have further enjoined him to discourage the offer of any present from the Nabob to the Army, or to individuals,

Successor.

4. Just before the Vizier's death, he wrote a Letter to the Governor-General, which was afterwards transmitted to it's address by Mahomed Elich Chan, his Minister and favourite servant, accompanied by one from himself. By these Letters it appears that Mirza Amanny, otherwise called Asoph ul Dowlah, had his father's positive nomination to the succession; and though by all accounts he possesses neither the qualities of the heart nor head equal to the station to which he is thus called, we have not as yet any reason to think that his right will be disputed.

V. In conformity to those assurances which we gave in our last Letter to your Honorable Court, we have had in deliberation the line which on this important event it may be most

most proper for us to pursue for drawing from it the greatest possible benefit to the Company's Affairs. We have already determined, that the specific conditions of our former Alliances with the Vizier expired with him, and that although we owe friendship to the present Nabob, as heir to his father, we are not bound to any special services to him. In this essential point it is necessary to mention that the sentiments of the Board were not unanimous, as will appear upon the Proceedings†. Our present engagement goes no farther than to a simple acknowledgment of his title; and therefore should he apply to us for assistance and effective support, we mean to afford it only on such terms and stipulations as to us shall appear most advantageous to the Company, and honorable to the British Name. As this is a subject of great magnitude and importance, we have chosen to enter upon it in Council with all the deliberation which it requires. The ideas of the different Members will appear in the Consultation referred to in the margin‡. They are not given † Contained in as conclusive opinions, but as sentiments subject to be canvassed, modified, and corrected, and tending only to throw lights on the subject before the final determination of the Board; when that determination takes place you shall be duly advised.

† Appendix, No 41.

6. Mr. Bristow, who has set out for his Residency at the Court of the new Nabob, will be furnished with ample Instructions on these heads. In the mean time we have charged him particularly with the business of settling the payments of the different sums due by the late Vizier, and given him such further directions for his general conduct at the Nabob's Court as we thought necessary. We also furnished him with a copy of a report from Mr. Middleton of the characters, views, and interests of the principal persons there, which cannot fail of being useful to him on his first arrival. Mr. Middleton arrived at the Presidency in the end of last month with the fifteen Lacks of Rupees, which we have formerly advised you he had received from the Vizier; this money is in part payment of the forty Lacks stipulated for our assistance in the Rohilla War.

Mr. Bristow.

7. We have also advice that the Assignment of five Lacks of Rupees granted by the Vizier on Rajah Cheyt Sing has been received on the Company's account at Benares, and is on the way down to the Presidency.

8. Colonel Galliez advises us of his having received three Lacks of Rupees from the late Vizier, in further acquittal of his engagements on account of our assistance in the late War.

9. Some time before the Vizier's death, he applied to Colonel Galliez to know whether we would permit a Battalion or two of Sepoys, or any Body of the Company's Troops, to return into the Rohilla Country, should he have occasion to make such a requisition.

Col. Galliez.

10. Colonel Galliez declined giving him a positive answer, but told him he would refer his application to us. In return, we directed him to wave coming to a positive refusal if he could avoid it, but if the Vizier pressed the question upon him, to declare, that we could not consent to his requisition, judging his own Force sufficient for the defence of his new Conquest.

11. Notwithstanding our orders to Colonel Galliez were very precise to keep the Brigade together, we were sorry to find that he had, without leave from us, or even any previous intimation of his design, detached two Battalions of Sepoys to Cawnpore, for the purpose of aiding the Nabob to reduce some rebellious Zemindars in the Province of Korah, a Service we disapproved of much; and had also marched one Battalion to Fyzabad, and detained it there without any apparent purpose.

We thought this disregard of our orders worthy of our particular reprehension †, and we wrote him accordingly; giving him at the same time a caution to avoid such Detachments for the future, as by thus dividing his strength he might endanger the safety of the whole Troops under his command.

† Appendix, No 42.

12. Being dissatisfied with the conduct of Major Polier, in having in the last season assisted at the Siege of Agra at the head of a body of the Vizier's Troops, without any authority from this Government, we have thought proper to recall him from his station in the Country of Oud, where he had been appointed, as we formerly advised you, to superintend the Surveys carrying on there.

† Appendix, No 43.

Captain
Brooke.

13. We advised you of our having indulged Captain Brooke with leave to remain in the late Vizier's Service in the station to which he was appointed by permission of the late Administration, although not perfectly conformable to the ideas adopted by this; but the Governor-General conceiving that his services could be of no use in the Douab without the firm confidential support of the Board, moved that he should be recalled from his Station, which was agreed to.

Mr. Lane.
Captain
Stewart.

14. It was also thought proper at the same time to recall Mr. Lane, Captain Stewart, and all the other Officers who had been permitted to take service with the late Vizier.

15. We gave orders at the same time for the recall of all British Subjects resident in the Dominions of the Nabob of Oud, not employed on Public Service, or licensed to remain there. Messrs. Morle, Fowke, and Scott, who were permitted by the late Administration to remain in the Province of Gazipore, were granted a further indulgence 'till the receipt of the first Letters from you.

17. We advised you in our last of the complaint which the late Vizier had written against Colonel Champion, and of the answer which the latter was preparing to it. That answer is come in, and goes home in the Proceedings now sent. As the Governor-General conceives that the late Administration and the late Vizier are unjustly arraigned in many parts of this Address, ‡ he proposes to discuss these points in reply to Colonel Champion when he shall have more leisure; at present the near dispatch of the Ships, and the voluminous size of the Letter, entirely precludes him from entering upon such a discussion; but he has informed Colonel Champion of his intention for a future day.

18. Colonel Champion has also delivered in to the Board complete copies of his whole Correspondence § during his command in the late Campaign, agreeable to their request.

19. Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, who, on his return to the Presidency, was also desired to give in copies of his Correspondence during his residence at the Vizier's Court, excused himself by alleging, that as he received his Appointment from the late President, and was enjoined to correspond on all points relative to Public Service with him alone, he did not think himself authorised ¶ to make any communication of such Correspondence without his express command.

20. The Governor-General proposed ¶, that it should be an additional clause in Mr. Bristow's Instructions, that he do not carry on any private Correspondence with any of the Members of the Board. The Majority deeming such a prohibition very injurious to Mr. Bristow, on whom this Government has conferred so high a trust, and to those Members of the Board who may be supposed to be aimed at, as if they were thought capable of carrying on an improper Correspondence with any body, agreed to reject the proposition.

21. General Clavering and Mr. Monson having received Letters from Mâbulla Cawn, one of the Rohilla Chiefs made Prisoner by the late Vizier, complaining of the hardships they all endure in their Captivity, and praying for the intervention of this Government in their behalf. We have thought proper to instruct Mr. Bristow to enquire into the condition of these Prisoners, and to interpose his earnest good offices for their release, and an honorable provision to be settled on them, and to report his success to us.

22. About the middle of last month we received advice from Mr. Mostyn, the Resident at Poonah, the Capital of the Maratta State, of his having been suddenly recalled by the Presidency of Bombay. As he assigned no reason in his Letter for this recall, we were left altogether to conjecture, but suspected by his silence that it had some relation to the state of affairs between their Government there and the Marattas. Some time afterwards we had sundry reports, by the way of Madras, of disturbances on the Coast of Malabar, but it was not 'till the 18th instant that we had certain intelligence from Bombay of the rupture with the Marattas, and of their Troops there having invaded and possessed themselves of the Islands of Sallet and Bassein. As we propose taking these Advices into early consideration, after the departure of these Ships, for the present we shall content ourselves with referring to the Proceedings in which they are recorded for your information.

27. In the latter end of last month the General proposed a mode to the Board for reducing the interest of the Bond Debt from eight to five per Cent. The Governor-General at the same time proposed, that the Debt of 1772, at eight per Cent, should be entirely paid off

off before the latter end of this month, leaving those of 1773 at eight per Cent; and that the Board might then take into consideration the reduction of the Interest, or discharging the Principal of the whole Debt then remaining. For the better determination of the Board on this subject, an Estimate ¶ was laid before us of the probable resources and disbursements of the year 1775. In the mean time, it was determined to offer the Holders of Bonds of 1771, then under course of payment at the Treasury, to renew at their option their Bonds at five per Cent, or to be paid off, to lay the foundation of a Sinking Fund to be applied to the reduction of the rest. The general subject was afterwards canvassed very fully in debate, and in the Minutes which will appear on the Consultations of different dates referred to in the margin ¶. At length it was determined, and public notice given accordingly, ¶ Appendix, No. 46. that the Holders of Bonds bearing date before the 1st February, 1772, would be paid off any time before the 15th April, unless they chuse to renew them for Bonds bearing Interest at five per Cent; and in this method it is proposed to continue reducing the Interest gradually on the Debts of different periods, or totally extinguishing the whole, as circumstances shall admit. On this subject we recommend an attentive perusal of the Minutes † on record, as our sentiments differed much, and thereby produced a discussion † Appendix, No. 46. of the state of your finances here, which we believe will afford useful lights to you. You will observe that Mr. Barwell, on occasion of the General's first proposal, offered to pay into the Treasury five Lacks of Rupees at five per Cent, the greatest part of which was accepted and paid in.

29. We acquainted you of the objections which the General made to employing Major Hannay as Adjutant-General. The Board have since come to a Resolution ‡ that he shall continue to do the functions of that Station 'till your pleasure be known. ‡ Contained in Appendix, No. 25.

30. The General, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Francis, have lately notified to the Board, that they have received a visit from Mahomed Reza Cawn, and will lay before them at a proper time such communications as he may have made regarding the interest of the Company. The Governor-General has delivered in a Minute objecting ¶ to this mode of proceeding. ¶ Appendix, No. 47.

32. We have already informed you in this Letter of our having thought proper to recall Major Polier from the Court of the Nabob of Oud, and of the reasons which induced us to take that step; we have just on the closing this Packet received a Letter from him, praying to be indulged with leave to continue for some time longer to settle some Commercial Affairs in which he is engaged. We could not admit this plea, and therefore have peremptorily repeated our orders § for him to repair to the Presidency without loss of time. § Contained in Appendix, No. 43.

33. We have also just received Advices from Colonel Galliez of his having received seven Lacks from the new Nabob of Oud, in further discharge of the sums due from his late Father, which makes in all ten Lacks of Rupees received by him.

We are with respect,

Honorable Sirs,

Your most faithful humble Servants,

WARREN HASTINGS,
J. CLAVERING.
GEO. MONSON.
RICH^d. BARWELL,
P. FRANCIS.

Fort William,
the 24th February, 1775.

Extract of Letter from the Governor-General and Council in their Revenue Department, dated 25th February, 1775 ; received in London, 18th September, 1775.

Par. 2. **W**E have received from the Vakeel of the Ranny of Burdwan the Credentials † which he was vested with, and you will find them recorded in our † Appendix, No. 35. A. Proceedings. We have furnished the Ranny with copies of Mr. Graham's answers to the † Appendix, No. 35. B. accusations she preferred against that Gentleman, and having just received her reply †, transmit it a number in the packet.

3. We advised you in our last Address of the measures we had taken to investigate the grounds of the information we had received of a much larger quantity of Salt being lodged in the Golahs than the Contractors had avowed. We have received sometime since the Proceedings of Mess. Young and Anderson at the place that they begun their enquiries ; but the remaining part being just come to hand, and too voluminous to be prepared for this conveyance, we defer forwarding any part of them until we shall be enabled to transmit them complete.

4. The Attorney not having been able, from the multiplicity of evidences he has to examine, to prepare the materials for the consideration of the Counsel, there has been little progress yet made in the Molungees' prosecutions against the Salt Contractors.

5. Having received from the several Provincial Councils their answers to the queries relative to the Bank, and fully considered your Instructions regarding this institution, we have come to the resolution of abolishing it. For our several opinions and deliberations on this subject, we beg leave to refer you to our Proceedings §. § Appendix, No. 48.

6. On the receipt of a Letter from the Provincial Council of Patna, advising us of the great impediment that would arise in the provision of the Article of Ophium, and the danger of a diminution in the revenues, if the management of it should be separated from the persons who had the collections of the Revenues, we took into our consideration the propriety of the Board of Trade having taking this article under their own charge ; and being of opinion, that it was immediately and necessarily connected with the Revenue, we have resumed to ourselves the management of this article.

7. For our separate opinions on this subject we beg leave to refer you to our Proceedings || noted in the margin. || Appendix, No. 49.

10. The activity of the Courts of Adawlut in Calcutta is suspended 'till the Supreme Court of Judicature shall decide a question †† which has been before them, regarding a †† Appendix No. 32. A. prisoner who was confined in the Dewannee Court of Adawlut, and taken in execution for debt, who had applied to the Court for a Writ of Habeas Corpus. As the decision of this question will determine how far their jurisdiction with regard to natives in Calcutta will extend, we have furnished the Counsel with such materials as were in our possession for the defence of the Rights of those Courts.

11. It appearing to us that the Company will be engaged in many Suits on behalf of Mess. Farrer, Brix, and these people, we have employed Mess. Farrer and Brix as standing Counsel, and Mr. Durham. Hercules Durham as Attorney, on behalf of the Honorable Company.

12. We think it proper to apprise you of this, that you may judge whether it be necessary to send out any other other able person to defend your rights, which we are afraid will be much injured by the effects of the new Court, until it's jurisdiction shall be well defined, and the limitations of it known to the people.

13. We had a representation forwarded to us by the Provincial Council of Calcutta, setting forth, that Mr. Justice Le Maistre had interfered in his judicial capacity, to overturn the decree of the Adawlut of that Council ; but we are glad to find by his answer that this was not his intention, as the authority of the Dewannee Court is not in this instance called in question, and it's decree has since been enforced.