

AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
PROPRIETORS
OF
EAST-INDIA STOCK.



L O N D O N
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WHOEVER imagines the Affairs, respecting your Affairs in *India*, has been spread only to create Confusion and Division at Home, are very much deceived.
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From the Papers communicated to us at the late General Court, we learn, that Lord *Clive* left the Company's Affairs at *Bengal* in a very happy Situation, in *January* 1760,—and that in the *October* following, *Jaffer Ally Cawn*, to whom the national Faith was solemnly pledged, was deposed, on Pretence of Cruelty and Oppression in his Government, Violation of his Treaty with the *English*, and the urgent Necessities of the Company.

The particular Instances of Cruelty are the Deaths of *Caja Haddu*, and *Cossim Ally*, two General Officers, *Surajah Dowla's* Brother, and all that remained of the Family of *Surajah Dowla*.

I have enquired of the Gentlemen employed in the Company's Service at the Period these Executions are dated, and find, that not one of these Executions can be charged to Cruelty of Disposition, in *Jaffer Ally Cawn*, but to that unhappy Form of Government that gives despotic Power to the successful Sword.

Coja Haddu and *Cossim Ally* were two General Officers, who were meditating the Death of the *Soubah*, and to place the Brother of the *Surajah Dowla* in the Government, The Plan was communicated to Lord *Clive* by one *Rajah Bullub*. His Lordship testified his Abhorrence, and assured him, nothing should ever tempt him to violate his Treaty with the *Soubah*. The Plot transpired, and the two Chiefs were put to Death, not by a regular Trial, because they both commanded large Bodies of Men, who would have appeared with drawn Swords to vindicate them, but assassinated, to prevent an Insurrection;

and *Surajah Dowla's* Brother fell the Victim of the *Soubab's* just Jealousy. All that remained of the Family of *Surajah Dowla* fell Victims to the same Jealousy; because he feared the *English* Governor was meditating a Revolution, in whose Favour he knew not, his Fears pointed out these as the Objects; and Self-preservation, not wanton Cruelty, taught him the fatal Remedy: for, I am well informed, *Jaffer Ally Cawn* as little merits the Epithet of Cruel as any Man in *Hindoستان*. No Instances being given of his Oppressions, can only say, I cannot learn his Government was uncommonly oppressive, or more so than that of his Successor; but had he been both cruel and oppressive, the *English* had no Right to be his Judges.

Jaffer Ally Cawn is charged with having violated every Article of his Treaty, but two only are mentioned.—His Conduct respecting the *Dutch*, and the Obstruction of the Currency of our *Calcutta* Mint.

The first is unsupported by any one Proof; it is very possible he might wish to see two *European* Powers in his Country, and himself hold the Ballance. That he did invite the *Dutch* to bring a Force in, is but a Surmise; if true, no Cause for a Rupture; for, when their Force arrived, he permitted us to use his Influence and Authority to what Purpose we pleased, sent an Army to our Assistance, and would have extirpated the *Dutch*, had we not interceded for them.

A Measure so violent, and so precipitate, could not be unanimously approved. From the Letter published under the Title of, *A Letter to the secret Committee*, we see it occasioned great Diffentions Abroad ; indeed, it gave Rise to two Parties which have subsisted ever since.

Major *Carnac*, having defeated the *Mogul**, gave him no Time to recover from his Pannic, but pressed him so close, that Mr. *Law*, with a Party of fifty *French*, were taken Prisoners the next Day ; and the Day after, the *Mogul* delivered himself up to Major *Carnac*, which put an End to the War, and with the War, to the Distresses of the Government, and of the Company, and so it would have been, had *Jaffer Ally Cawn*, remained in the Government.

By the Treaty made with *Coffim Ally Cawn*, the Revenue of three Provinces, amounting to 600,000 *l.* per Annum, were assigned over for the Payment of our Army, which was supposed to be maintained for the Support of the new *Soubah*.

A new System of Politics now took Place, the *Soubah* was taught that he was independant Master of his own Government,

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* The *Mogul* here means the same Person, called the *Shahzada* or Prince, who entered the Province of *Behar* last Year ; his Father being dead, he assumed the Title of King, or as we commonly call him the *Mogul*, but would have preferred the Government of *Bengal*, to the uncertain distant Prospect of the Empire.

and to make him so we gave into his Power *Ramnaran*, the Nabob of *Patna*, to whom our Protection had been solemnly promised by Lord *Clive*, and who had merited it, by Services that claimed a Continuance of that Protection, both from Honour and Interest, now more immediately necessary, since by taking three Provinces to ourselves, we were no longer Merchants, but a rival Power to the Man, whom we had made *Soubab*; he could certainly look upon us in no other Light, he understood the Lesson of Independancy so well, that he marched his Army 200 Miles higher up the Country, where he built a Fortification, and formed his Attention to the disciplining of his Army, after our Manner, and the Increase of his Revenue, still growing rich and powerful, he began to check and to oppress the Trade of the *English*. From the Papers read at the General Court, it should appear, that the Company's Servants advantaging themselves of the Influence and Power of the *English*, throughout the Country, had extended their Privileges of Commerce beyond former Bounds; but it does not appear, that this was any Infringement or Violation of Treaties; for the original *Phirmand*, and the Treaty of Commerce made by Lord *Clive*, and the select Committee of *Calcutta*, with *Meer Jaffer*, (both of which were read in Court) which were confirmed by *Cossim Alley Cawn*, extended the Privilege of trading Duty-free, to all Articles whatever, and they had availed themselves of this, during the two first Years of *Cossim Ally Cawn*'s Government; but on a sudden, the whole of this Commerce was obstructed, by the Nabob's stopping all the Boats with their Cargoes, throughout every Part of his Dominions.

nions. To remedy this, Mr. *Vanfittart* went up to the Nabob at *Mongbeer*, with whom he executed a Treaty of Commerce, unauthorized by his Council. His Intention therein was just and equitable, but it was looked on by the *Soubah* and his Subjects as a Concession extorted by a Dread of his Force. One Article in it subjected the Agents of the *English* to the Courts of the *Soubah*, so that the Remedy proved worse than the Disease.

It may be necessary to explain to the Proprietors, that the Servants of the Company have always enjoyed the Privilege of carrying on a Trade to the different Parts of *India*, the Car-goes for such Trade, and the Returns both require; the Privilege of an inland Trade, for buying and selling Goods, at the best Markets, and this Trade has been always protected by the Company's Passes, (or *Dustuck*) and was never by the Natives distinguished from the Company's own Trade. It is acknowledged, this Trade had been confined to Articles of Exports and Imports by Shipping, not that our *Phirmaundor* Treaties set any Limits to it; but former *Soubahs*, apprehensive their Subjects and the public Revenue might suffer, had put this Restriction upon us, which the happier Times that followed, we thought would have removed, and that, Increase of Power and Influence, should have added Increase of Trade. On that Pre-sumption, Mr. *Vanfittart* had given Passes, for Commodities, from one inland Town to another, and availing ourselves of our Interest at Court, we had obtained Passes from the *Soubah* himself, or from the authorized Custom-Masters, for the Salt-Trade, which

which ~~we~~ had never presumed to protect by our own Passes; and the Governor, and all the principal Servants, had engaged very far in this Trade, at the Time a general Stop was put to it by the *Soubab*, though under Cover of his, or his Officers Passes.

This was certain Ruin to all that had engaged in it, on the Faith of the *Soubab's* Passes, and could not fail to create a general Murmur; the more so, as the Treaty (hereto annexed) by fixing no Period, when the new Regulations, therein contained, should take Place, exposed the Trade, then on Voyage, from one Town to another, to instant Seizure.

Whoever argues, that the Company are not to protect their Servants in their Trade, uses an Argument that would render the Company unworthy the national Protection, and deserving to forfeit their Charter. Their Servants Abroad are in this Light to be considered as Subjects, as such, the Company receive from them Consulage, and other Duties to a great Amount, and it is in a great Measure to be imputed to the Advantages of the Trade of the Servants, that *Calcutta*, is so flourishing a Place, having 400,000 Inhabitants, yielding a great Revenue to the Company, which is yearly increasing. It is by this Trade, their Servants acquire Fortunes, not by the Pay they receive from the Company, which to the highest, except the Governor, does not exceed 200 l. per Annum.

To return to the Treaty; the *Soubab*, I say, esteeming it a Concession, from Fear, and probably now, determined to break
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with us, immediately made a most tyrannic Abuse of it; and appeared from the Letters laid before the Court.

To conclude, Mr. *Vansittart* himself, acknowledged the Errors of it, in a Minute of Council, annexed; and a Deputation was sent from *Calcutta*, to adjust a new Treaty. All that we know, with Certainty is, that the Deputation were assassinated, on their Return, that Hostilities were commenced, and *Jaffer Ally Cawn*, proclaimed *Soubab*.

Thus by the last Advices, the Fate of the Company was once more depending on the Issue of a Battle, for which the *Soubab* would have many Months to prepare himself, as the Hostilities began in the Month of *June*, the Rivers swell in *July*, and all Operations must cease, till the Waters subside in the Month of *October* or *November*. What has been the Source of these Misfortunes?

The unworthy, ungrateful Treatment of your *Bengal* Servants, many of whom, the most approved, and most experienced, were either turned out of the Service, or quitted in Disgust, at the Conduct of the Directors at Home, in superseding them, by Strangers; from other Settlements, by injurious Language in your Letters, as the Public has already seen, in a Pamphlet, entitled, *Reflections on the Commotions of Bengal*.

The Want of Experience in a Governor brought from a distant Settlement, unacquainted with the Scene he was to engage in, which betrayed him into a total Deviation from those wise Maxims, by which Lord *Clive* acquired so much Honour to himself and to this Nation.

What Measures are now pursuing?

Turning out more than Half the Council, without waiting their Vindication, and sending for a Governor, a Stranger, from *Bombay*, utterly ignorant of the commercial or political Interests of *Bengal*; left too at his Option to go or not, and if refused, one *Price* is ordered from *Bombay*, for whose Integrity or Abilities not even his Patron would vouch. And on him the Government must probably devolve; for Mr. *Spencer's* Age and Circumstances considered, it is not reasonable to think he will venture to take the Government of *Bengal* in its present embroiled State.

What may be the probable, nay, almost certain Consequences of such Measures?

Besides the Number of Councillors turned out by the Orders from Home, for no other Crime, but an Attachment to *Jaffer Ally Cawn*, who, at this Time, must either be *Soubah*, or the *English* drove out of the Country, it is reasonable to expect every one, in independent Circumstances, will immediately resign, and the Succession devolve on young Gentlemen of three to five Years Standing in the Service, equally strong in their Resentment, at being superseded by Strangers; for that Indignity is common to all, to imagine Servants will submit to it, is to imagine them without a Sense of Honour, which I hope even our Directors would not wish. They are sending a Governor, who, besides the fatal Consequences that may attend his Want of Experience, comes with the Odium of superseding all the old Servants; the inevitable Consequence will be, that he will find the
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Gentlemen, superseded by him, unanimous only in distressing him, and thus establish a new Source of Dissentions, at a Time that calls for an Exertion of the greatest Talents, assisted by the Unanimity of the whole Settlement, to extricate the Company's Affairs from the Difficulties in which they are involved. I do not lay it down as an unerring Rule, that the Directors never should supersede their Servants; in Cases of very extraordinary Merit it will be acquiesced in. The Gentlemen of *Bengal* superseded themselves, and for the public Good set aside the Appointment of the Directors, and, of their own Authority, gave the Government to Lord *Clive*. But, in the present Case, where no such extraordinary Merit is pleaded, (the Deputy Chairman, indeed, told us, Mr. *Spencer* was conversant in the Affairs of *Debli* and *Sittarab*, as unconnected with the Affairs of *Bengal* as those of *China*, or of *Persia*) when a Gentleman has offered, whose Integrity and Abilities stand unimpeached, to whom I never heard but one Objection, a very extraordinary one indeed (his Attachment to Lord *Clive*). What are we to think of the Conduct of our Directors? Is one Man's Friendship and Partiality (to give it the most favourable Construction) to endanger the Ruin of the Company? We saw 17000*l.* per Annum, lavishly given to a Favorite, and other great and partial Donations; yet, no General Court was called: Because it could extend no further than the Loss of so much Money to the Company; but in these unjust Appointments the whole is at Stake. If *Jaffer Ally Cawn* is in the Government, what will he think when he sees the Command of the Troops given to the very Man who deposed him, and every Servant dismissed who shewed an Attachment to him? Be not surpris'd, if he should esteem
a War

a War inevitable, and immediately seize your Out-Settlements, and put in Danger the Lives of your Servants.

Would the Company shew a just Sense of their present Danger; would they recover the blemished Reputation of the Nation; would the Directors lay aside all Party Passion and Resentment; Reason would suggest to them the Remedy they ought to wish for, though Reflection would, perhaps, make them sensible their Ingratitude may preclude them from it.

I hope, every Proprietor will attend the next General Court. That the Force of Argument, not of Numbers, may prevail, and that proper Steps may be taken to rescue the Company from the Dangers that threaten them.

A P P E N D I X.

The TREATY made by Governor VANSITTART.

“YOUR gracious *Perwannah* is arrived, and has greatly honoured me. I am informed of all the Particulars of your high Commands.

“It shall be written to the Chiefs of our Factories, that they are to give a *Dustuck* for the buying and selling of Ship Merchandize; and Merchandize that they buy and sell in every District for Traffic in this Country, they are to do according to Customs of other Traders and Merchants, and not to give the Company's *Dustuck**. They are to take a *Dustuck* from *Backsh-bander* or *Shah-bunder*, paying in upon the Cost of the Merchandize 9 per Cent. including Wharfs, and other Receipts of Custom; nor shall they use any Manner of Force or Violence, Extortion or unfair Dealing.

It is hoped that your Excellency's *Purwannah*, will be issued out to the *Fowj dars*, and other Offices of the Government, that the Company's *Dustuck* is to go along with the Purchase and Sale of Ship Merchandize, and they are by no Means to stop it, or demand the smallest Custom; nor shall they hinder the Purchase and Sale of Country Commodities; but they are to give *Dustucks*, receiving the Duties on Cost of the Merchandize agreeable to your Excellency's high Command. And the *Darugah's* † at the *Chekeys* are only to take Copies of the *Dustuck*, without demanding any Thing.

Heretofore it was written to all the Chiefs of our Factories, to forbid them injuring the Country People and Inhabitants of the *Pergannahs*, and protecting the Dependants and Servants of the *Sircar* ‡, and damaging the Affairs of the *Sircar*. Now repeated Directions shall be sent, that they are to refrain from such Proceedings: and further considering the Officers of the Government as Magistrates, where they are: *In case of any Troubles or Disputes happening, they are to appear before that Magistrate, and have them settled by his Decision.*

“Let your Excellency's Instructions be sent to the *Fowz da's* and Officers, that they are to determine Disputes of our Factors with Justice and Truth, and are to have no Regard to Party Concerns. And if any one complains against a Factor to send for him, and settle the Affair Face to Face: And if a Factor has Complaint against any one, to consider it well, and so determine it.

“It has been written to the Chiefs of *Islamabul* and *Luckypore*, that they shall not make Salt-works, nor hinder the Merchants or Farmers of the Salt-works that pay Revenues to the Government, but to buy what they want of

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Custom-Masters. † Toll Takers on the Roads. ‡ Government.

them at a reasonable Rate. The two Letters to the Chiefs aforesaid, being inclosed with this Address.

" An Order will be sent to the Chiefs and Servants of all our Factories, that they are not to farm or buy Lands; and whatever they may have bought heretofore they are to resign it.

" Let your Excellency's Order be passed, that the Price of the Purchase be likewise returned.

" But from several Places there is come Complaint, that the Officers of the *Sircar* importune for former Collections, and beat, bind, and confine the People, which Doings are far from being just.

" Let your Excellency's Order be passed that they return back the Price of the Purchase, and never demand old Accounts.

" The Chiefs and Servants of the Factories will be directed, that they are not to hinder the Brokers and Weavers of the Government.

" And if your Excellency is not pleased that the Money and Bullion of *English* Gentlemen and their Factors, should be made into *Siccas* & in the *Mints* of *Azimabad* and *Jebangernagan*, and by it there will be a Loss to the *Sircar*, let the *Darugah's* of those Places be ordered not to receive the Money and Bullion of the *English* Company, to be made into *Siccas*. But upon hearing this, the Money Changers will demand, as Exchange, just what they want, and the Company's Business will be impeded by this Means.

" It is hoped that a *Perwannah* will be issued out to the *Naiibs* of *Murshedabad*, *Jebangernagan*, and *Azimabad*, that the Exchange on Money of the *English* Company and Gentlemen, shall be taken according to the Market-Currency, and in case of Exaction to bring the Money Changers to Punishment.

Directions will be sent to the Factors at *Gualparah*, that he is to maintain Business of Traffic as was Custom heretofore; and he is not to trade with the People of the Hills, the *Bootans* or People of *Affam*. Whatever he has to buy or sell in that Place, he is to do by Means of the Officer of the Government. Let your Excellency's Order be sent to the *Darugah*, that he is to deal with the *English* Factors as with other Merchant."

Mr. VANSITTART's *Minutes* acknowledging the Errors of the Treaty.

" But, I grant, that the late Conduct of the Government's Officers, in many Parts of the Country, gives me too much Reason now to think with the Rest of the Board, that they cannot exercise Authority without Oppression; and that whatever Cause they might have of Complaint against the *English Gomastahs*, their own Tyrannies are yet more insupportable; for, instead of freeing our Trade from any Impediment, Detention, or Obstruction, under Pretence of Customs, Duties, &c. which was my only Intent of laying down such Rules, they have had a quite contrary Effect. The Officers of the Government presuming on the Remonstrances laid on our Agents and *Gomastahs*, have gone directly contrary to the Regulations prescribed to them.

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