



A fifth order, to stop the temporary brigade from recruiting, might be of great use, if immediately issued, as I understand that officers are now employed in different parts of the Vizier's country on that service.—In short, my dear Sir, if it be true, as I have heard it lately reported, that you mean to re-establish the Golundaz corps, and to have an additional military establishment at Benares, the men required for these two objects, together with the drafts sufficient to complete the 3d brigade, will preclude all difficulty in disposing of the officers and men which now compose the temporary brigade and the cavalry, whether you chuse to allot one regiment to each brigade, or fix the whole at Benares.

It is also to be observed, that it is not indispensably necessary, by the new agreement with the Nabob, that the troops are to leave his dominions on a fixed day; it is sufficient that he is exonerated from the charge of maintaining them, and that the Company find funds for their pay from the period stipulated: but if the orders above suggested, or some others to a similar effect, be not immediately issued, the sudden expiration of the stipulated time must create much confusion and difficulty, as the effectual accomplishment of this arrangement, in all its branches, will necessarily require time, and the provision of new funds and resources must become an object of your early consideration.

Excuse, my dear Sir, the freedom with which I have suggested the above points, as preparatives to the final execution of your engagements with the Vizier; and do me the justice to believe that I am actuated by no other motive than a sincere desire to save your embarrassment.

Major Naylor's compleat defeat of the Rebels in the Goruckpore country has left Colonel Hannay without any apprehensions of danger to himself or detachment; but the country is yet in a very unfettled, disaffected state, and will, I fear, remain so until some severe examples have been made of the leading insurgents, which the circumstances of their local situation, their resources, and inaccessible retreats, may render both a difficult and a tedious operation.

I am, most respectfully, &c. &c.

(Signed)

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON.

The Honourable Warren Hastings.

My dear Sir,

Lucknow, the 16th October 1781.

I have been duly honoured with the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant, to which the usual and unavoidable delays of the Vizier's office prevented my giving you an earlier reply.

Inclosed I now do myself the pleasure to transmit you an address from his Excellency, assenting to the request I made to him on your behalf, in regard to the farm of Khyra Ghur, and a Shoka to Raja Meyhipnarrain on the same subject; the necessary orders having also been forwarded to the Fougedar of Allahabad, it remains only for the Raja to depute an officer to receive charge of the Purgunnah, which will be made over to him immediately on his arrival.

From the difficulties which the Nabob's Ministers have heretofore experienced in realizing the rents of this farm, owing to the want of any effectual controul or authority over Cheyt Sing, his Excellency was secretly very averse to continuing it to his successor, and had, I have reason to believe, expedited the resumption of it on that account; but I must do him the justice to declare, he did not suffer this objection to have any weight in competition with your inclinations.

The Nabob's Shoka to Meyhipnarrain, is left open for your perusal.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

NATH. MIDDLETON.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings.

Lucknow, the 1st December 1781.

My dear Sir,

The account of the Jagheers, in the manner you desire it in your letter of the 21st Ultimo, is by no means easy to make, with any degree of certainty, while they remain separated and distinct from the Mahls of the Sircar, as every Jagheerdar finds it too much his interest to conceal any excess of collections above the amount for which the lands are granted to him, to suffer an exact valuation to be taken, so long as he has the means of preventing it; but as the Jagheers will now either be re-annexed to the Khalfa lands, or made a separate aumildarry, under the direction of a person of my





own recommendation, it will not be difficult for me to obtain the information you require, as their produce, whatever it may be, will be brought into the Treasury, from whence those who are entitled to the mediation of the Company, will receive their proportions in ready money. I have this day signified to the Minister, my expectation that the whole of the Jagheers be resumed, and their revenue, after paying to such of the proprietors as have a right to claim the mediation of our Government, the amount of their jagheers, be applied to the liquidation of the Nabob's debt to the Honourable Company. I shall be very glad if his Excellency consents to make this measure an act of his own, as I conceive it would be more agreeable to you, and more consistent with those appearances which it may be thought expedient to preserve with his Excellency; but if he declines it, as is by no means improbable, I shall think myself justified by your instructions in insisting on its being done even without his concurrence.

I expect to be informed of his Excellency's determination on this subject to-morrow, and shall lose no time in taking my measures accordingly, and informing you thereof.

The Minister informs me that Meyhipnarain has not yet sent an Aumil to Khyragur, which causes great confusion in that Purgunnah; may I therefore, my dear Sir, beg to be informed whether it is your intention to continue the farm under Meyhipnarain, or restore it to the authority of the Vizier?

I am, &c.  
(Signed)

NATH. MIDDLETON.

THE HONOURABLE WARREN HASTINGS.

Lucknow, the 5th December 1781.

My dear Sir,  
THE inclosed letter from the Nabob, stating his situation relative to his claims to Furruckabad, I have had some days by me, waiting till I should learn your final determination upon this point from Sir Elijah Impey; and having now received this, I shall look to nothing but the enforcement of your wishes, by bringing the Nabob to expect the recovery of his dues from Furruckabad from your interference alone. In the mean time I forward his letter, that you may be fully acquainted with his former situation in that respect.

I am, &c.  
(Signed)

NATH. MIDDLETON.

To the HONOURABLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,  
THE Nabob Vizier having appointed an Aumil to take charge of the Begum's Jaghiers, she has, it appears, prepared a large body of troops, with a supposed design to resist him. A violent and threatening letter, which I have just received from the Begum, would seem to leave no doubt of her intentions to support the already declared licentiousness of her servants, in opposing the Nabob's orders; I have therefore been obliged to join my solicitation to the Vizier's, for obtaining a regiment from Colonel Morgan, to support the Aumil in the execution of his Excellency's commands; and I may add, that unless my judgment far misleads me, we shall be in want of still farther aid, before the measure of resuming the Jaghiers shall become fully established, and the country restored to that state of tranquillity and subordination which it enjoyed before the contagion spread by Chyte Sing's machinations.

I enclose copy of my letter to Colonel Morgan, and have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Lucknow,  
the 19th Dec. 1781.

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

(Copy)

To Colouel CHARLES MORGAN, commanding at Cawnpore.

Sir,  
Inclosed I have the honour to transmit you a letter from the Nabob Vizier, requesting a regiment of the native troops to assist the Aumil of Selon, &c. in establishing his authority, which is threatened to be violently disputed by an armed force. I must join my request to that of his Excellency's,





Jency's, as I am but too well assured of the great necessity there will be for a military force to re-establish a regular obedience to Government in many parts of this country; if you will therefore please to order a regiment here, I will take care to procure proper instructions for the commanding officer.

I have the honour, &c.

Lucknow,  
the 19th Dec. 1781.

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

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

I have been honoured with the receipt of your letter of the 19th instant; and in obedience to your commands, shall forward to you, by the first safe opportunity, your agreement with the Nabob Vizier, together with such other authentic papers as are connected with it; and have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Sir,

Lucknow,  
the 22d Dec. 1781.

Your most obedient, &c. &c.

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON,  
Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Lucknow, the 26th Dec. 1781.

My dear Sir,

I Have long been waiting with very great impatience for the arrival of Suftulla Cawn, who Sir Elijah Impey informed me you had dispatched to Lucknow, to adjust with me the account between the Vizier and Muzuffer Jung, and settle the future mode of payment of what might appear due from that Chief to his Excellency; but having heard of Suftulla's arrival at Furruckabad, and of his having, as he reports, by your authority, declared Muzuffer Jung exempted from all sort of dependance on the Vizier, I was unwilling to delay any longer the execution of your commands, and therefore pressed upon his Excellency and the Ministers the necessity of an immediate compliance with your requisition for the recall of Almás Ally Cawn from Furruckabad, which has accordingly been done; and I have now the honour to enclose you translate of a letter addressed to me by his Excellency on the subject.

Permit me, my dear Sir, in this place, to suggest to you the necessity of your writing in very peremptory terms to the Nabob Muzuffer Jung, respecting the payment of his dues to this Government, which I am more particularly anxious about, as the amount unavoidably has become a part of the funds assigned to the liquidation of the public annual claim upon the Vizier. As yet no security whatever has been offered for any part of the demand, nor any thing paid, although four months of the year are elapsed; and as neither his Excellency or myself have now any means of exacting payment, I am very apprehensive, that without the immediate and vigorous exertion of your authority, very little, if any thing, will be got from Muzuffer Jung. On this point, as the claim is considerable, and the Nabob, at your requisition, has given up the means he formerly had of enforcing it, I could wish, on your authority, to give him some satisfactory assurance, which I hope you will enable me to do.

As I understand you interested yourself in the welfare of a person by the name of Hadjee Mahmood Caudry, who some time ago visited this court in his way to Delhy, I beg leave to enclose you an article of curious intelligence concerning him, which has been transmitted by Luttarefut Ally Cawn. I have not heard what has been, or is likely to be, the consequence of the Hadjee's manœuvre.

I shall, to-morrow, do myself the honour of addressing you officially respecting the Bhow Begum, whose conduct, on the intended resumption of her Jagheer, has removed the veil by which her real dispositions have long been covered, and seems to render what I should before have recommended as a measure of prudence, at present an act of indispensable necessity—I mean depriving her of the power of doing mischief.

I am, &c.

NATH. MIDDLETON.

The Honourable W. Hastings.

From





From Latafut Ally Khan, to Nazir Collah Beg Khan, his Vakeel.

I have received the letters from the Nabob and Mr. Middleton, respecting Hadjee Shaw Mahmood Kaudrie; also one from yourself, mentioning the same person. On his arrival, I lodged him at my house, furnishing him with every thing necessary, and introduced him to the King and Nabob Nezif Khan, also obtained for him a grant of two lacks of rupees. On his taking his leave, I secured to him the compliment of a dothawlah and shawl handkerchief from the King; likewise from Nabob Nezif Khan five trays, in which were two pair of dothawlahs, four pieces of shawls, one piece of kumbkaub, and two shawl handkerchiefs; notwithstanding which, he has been guilty of the fraudulency of making out funnuds for the countries of Arcot and Hydernaig, in the name of Mahmud Ally Khan, under forged seals, promising to give the forged seal-cutter a thousand rupees, of which he paid only two hundred, withholding the balance, and proceeded to Dethnah, distant from Dhelly sixteen cois. There were four accomplices in the forgery, one of whom was the seal-cutter, and received the two hundred rupees. One out of the four has turned informer, and made the Nabob Nezif Khan acquainted with the whole, who seized the three other people, and sent them to the King. There were three of the King's Kismutgars, on whom the forged seals were found. The King tried the seals with his own hands on paper, when there was not to be perceived the smallest deviation on comparing with his own. The people are now in confinement. They say that the Hadjee promised them, that if they would make out the funnud for Arcot, and give it him, he would pay them ten thousand rupees; that, induced by this promised reward, and the Hadjee's persuasion, they have been guilty of this fraud. The king has directed Nazif Khan to apprehend the Hadjee, and take from him the forged funnud. In compliance therewith Nazif Khan has sent to Dornah.—Explain the whole of this affair to the Nabob Hyder Beg Khan and Mr. Middleton.

To the HONOURABLE WARREN HASTINGS, GOVERNOR GENERAL, &c. &c.

Sir,

THE very great inconvenience, loss, and indignities to which the Vizier has long been subject, from the authority and dominion assumed and exercised by the Jagheerdars with the support of armed force, and the impossibility of striking out any medium by which these evils could effectually be remedied, have induced his Excellency to resume all the Jagheer and Maroffee lands throughout his country, promising to such persons as have just or equitable claims to his bounty, or those guaranteed by the Company for the amount of their Jagheers, allowances in ready money equal to the net sum they shall appear to have annually realized from their Jagheers.

This measure, the utility, and I may say the absolute necessity, whereof will not be disputed by any one who has had an opportunity of observing the conduct of the Jagheerdars in general, and particularly some whose incomes enabled them to maintain armies not only superior to those of the Aumils of the country, who should properly be a check upon them, but even sufficient to resist the force of the state itself, has met with violent opposition from the Bhow Begum, who falls particularly under the last description, and whose power is rendered the more pernicious and dangerous. First, From its being wholly delegated to her servants, who have their own views of ambition and interest to answer, and in the next place from the reluctance with which the Ministers, and even the Nabob himself, interfere with any concerns of the Begum.

From these two circumstances, strengthened by the immense wealth in her possession, also intrusted to her two chief eunuchs, Bahar and Jowar Ally Cawn, and her unreasonable expectations of support from the English Government, of all which she and her servants avail themselves to the utmost, she is become one of the most serious internal evils that, among others, seems to bid fair to give great disturbance to this country.

The great awe in which the Nabob, and of course every one under him, stands of her displeasure, leaves without bounds or restraint the effects of her uncommonly violent temper. Death and destruction is the least menace she denounces, upon the most trifling opposition to her caprice.

By her own conduct, and that of all her agents and dependants during the Benares troubles, it may with truth and justice be affirmed, she forfeited every claim she had to the protection of the English Government, as she evidently, and it is confidently said avowedly, espoused the cause of Rajah Cheyt Sing, and united in the idea and plan of a general extirpation of their race and power in Hindostan.





Her agent at Taunda, who is the Cheyla, and adopted son of Bahr Ally Cawn, her principal Minister, treacherously turned his guns upon Lieutenant Gordon's detachment, and was by that Gentleman's account the sole cause of the loss of it. She gave every encouragement in her power to the adherents of Cheyt Sing by her agents; assisted them in raising troops in the town of Fyzabad, promised, and as is generally believed, actually advanced money to the rebellious Rajahs of the Vizier's country; raised troops to support them, and issued Perwannahs for their operations against the forts garrisoned by the Nabob's troops under the command of British officers; all which is fully stated in the depositions made by Colonel Hannay and the Gentlemen of his corps. Notwithstanding all these facts, upon the general resumption of the Jagheers I made the rents of her lands payable to me; under an engagement of making the amount good to her by such instalments as she might direct, in return for which I have received letters from her, containing the most gross abuse and the wildest threats that can be transcribed, copies of which I have the honour to enclose.

Her chief agent, Bahar Ally Cawn, has marched a considerable force into Nabob Gunge, one of her Jagheers, declaring, that if any attempt is made to resume it, he will lay the whole country of Goonda waste. These declared and repeated acts of rebellion are surely more than sufficient to forfeit all claim whatever to the interference in her behalf from our Government; and if some stop is not immediately put to it, it appears but too certain that she will light a flame throughout these provinces, which if not difficult to extinguish, will at least put a heavy bar to the Company's collections here. I cannot therefore avoid making these representations to you, or doubt but you will approve of the Vizier's immediately taking those steps which may be necessary for effectually establishing his Government and authority, and depriving the Begum of those great resources which she has shewn it would be extremely impolitic and unsafe to trust longer in her hands. On this subject the Nabob has communicated to me his sentiments in a long letter, copy whereof I have the honour to enclose you, in which you will observe he signifies his intention of prosecuting his legal claims upon her for the public treasure and effects belonging to his inheritance from his father, which the detainee from him, and squanders in such destructive purposes, while he is overwhelmed by public debts, principally incurred by his predecessor, and on account of his inability to discharge which, the Company have indispensably been driven to take upon themselves the burthen of a large military establishment hitherto entertained for their service at the charge of the Nabob.

On this head I think it unnecessary to offer any remark, since a reference to the established laws and customs of the country will sufficiently prove his Excellency's inheritant right to claim the property of his predecessor.

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

Lucknow,  
the 27th December 1781.

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

#### From the BHOWE BEGUM to the RESIDENT.

The underwritten particulars have just come to my knowledge—That the Nabob's orders to Meer Mahboob Ally are arrived, directing the resumption of Nabob Gunge on the other side of the river, and Bene Gunge my Jagheer, and for him to take charge thereof; also that the charge of Pergunnah Salone, my Jagheer, is given to Meer Nazir Ally; every thing respecting myself is specified in your Caulnama. Hitherto no interference has taken place by any one; I am at a loss to account for the present measure. On what plea has the Nabob resumed my Jagheer, or what are his intentions? While you are Resident can such proceedings be admitted? Express your disapprobation, that it may not be carried into effect. Before, application was made through Moloie Fuzzle Azeem Khan to me, for Lowanah Talook, my Jagheer, when I wrote to Hussein Reza Khan, and Hyder Beg Khan, on the subject, who silenced Moloie Fuzzle Azeem Khan—but now the resumption of my Jagheer is resolved on.

The Jagheer is not a grant of the Nabob, that he should resume it—let those who granted resume it. The Nabob has nothing to do with me. Let me have a speedy answer. Countermand the order to Meer Nazir Ally for the resumption of my Jagheer. The present state of matters is trifling, but the consequences shall be great.

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From the RESIDENT to the BHOWE BEGUM.

I have received your letter—recapitulated the content—The Nabob has thought proper, on account of the inconveniences, loss, and indignities he sustains from the authority exercised by the Jagheerdars throughout the country, to resume all the Jagheers in his dominions, in which yours is necessarily included; but as the amount of your Jagheer is confirmed to you by a written agreement between you and the Nabob, and guaranteed by Mr. Bristow in behalf of the Governor General and Council, it will be made good to you in ready money. If you will therefore be pleased to transmit me an accurate account of the amount you realized from your several Jagheers, Gunjes, Bazars, &c. as specified in the Caulnama, after deducting the expences of collection, februdee, and all other charges, I will pledge myself that the said sum shall be regularly remitted to you at such stated times, and in such proportions, as you shall prescribe:—As to any thing farther, his Excellency is Master.

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From the BHOWE BEGUM to HUSSEIN REZA KHAN.

I find that Meer Nazir Ally has been vested with charge of Pergunnah Salone, my Jagheer, which to me is unaccountable. From whence proceeds his Excellency's interference with my Jagheer? The Jagheer is not from his grant, that he should resume it; what his intentions may be, I am at a loss to form an idea of.—Note this, that if my Jaghire falls, the country shall not stand: remember this, and make the Nabob acquainted with it. It is not well that for a trifling matter much trouble should be occasioned.—Recall the aumil, to whom the charge of the Jagheer of Salone has been given, if not, it will not be well done. Hitherto I have been silent and patient, but I cannot continue so longer. Whence this resolution for the resumption of my Jagheer? Let me have your answer speedily.

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From the BHOWE BEGUM to the RESIDENT.

The particulars I have written you, respecting my Jagheers having arrived, will be read by you. The Nabob has sent aumils to take charge of them. The Caulnama under your seal is in my possession, in which all interference in my Jagheers is disclaimed, as well as all demands on me for money. Now the engagements of the Nabob are disregarded, although the English are at hand. I shall in ten days, the mohrum being over, proceed to Lucknow, where, having fully explained and adjusted affairs, I shall repair to wherever my will may direct. Your being at Lucknow will expedite the clearing and closing the affair. Let there be no interference with my Jagheer previous to my arrival at Lucknow, neither vexatiously interfere with my people. I am repairing to Lucknow; wherefore this precipitation? You are guarantee for the Caulnama. Should the country be lost to me, it shall be lost to all. I give you this intimation—note it.

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From the BHOWE BEGUM to the RESIDENT.

Having written to you particularly respecting my Jagheers, you are now acquainted therewith.—Now the Nabob's order to Meer Maboob Ally is arrived, directing the resumption of my Jagheers, Nabob Gunje, on the other side of the river, and Bene Gunje, and their amount collections, to be paid into the Treasury.—Whence this measure? You are acquainted with the purport of the Caulnama, disclaiming all interference with my Jagheers, and by the blessing of God are at hand for my benefit. Yet am I astonished with this proceeding. The Jagheers are not granted by the Nabob, that he should resume them. What has he resolved against me? The consequences shall be extremities. There has been a friendship of long date subsisting between the English Government and me. I understand aumils, for other of my Jagheers are in agitation. Interpose, and put a stop to such proceedings. Application was made before by Mooloie Fuzzle Azeem Khan, for Lowanah Talook, my Jagheer; on which I wrote to Hussein Reza Khan, and Hyder Beg Cawn, who explained the matter to the Moloie, and caused the matter to be dropped. Hussein Reza Khan and Hyder Beg Khan are my professed friends. The business I wrote to them on is effected. With them I am perfectly satisfied. I am now convinced this trouble is caused by Molve Fuzzle Azeem Khan. Make known to him your displeasure at it, that this affair may be relinquished, forbidding him ever to enter on the subject of my Jagheers, to prevent any further interference of this kind therewith.





## From the RESIDENT to the BHOWE BEGUM.

I had the honour to reply to your former letter yesterday, to the contents of which I must beg leave to refer you, as far as relates to securing to you the actual income of your Jagheers, Gungees, Bazars, &c. as set forth in the Cawnama subsisting between you and his Excellency the Nabob. I certainly am bound in duty to interfere, because the faith of the Governor General and Council, my masters, has been pledged to you for it; and I am ready, as I before informed you, to settle that point to your satisfaction; but as to continuing the lands, &c. in the form you have hitherto held them, his Excellency the Nabob is the Master, and I cannot oppose his pleasure. It behoves you to reflect well on this matter. I am equally the friend of you and your son the Nabob, and can have no prejudices in favour of one or the other. His Excellency declares, and I have myself seen too many proofs to doubt it, that the authority and dominion exercised by the Jagheerdars is extremely prejudicial to his revenue and Government. A medium, therefore, being proposed, by which you lose nothing, and his Excellency gains so much, I should wish you would not continue to reject it, since it is unquestionably the same to you, whether you receive the income of your Jagheer through the channel of an Aumil appointed under the Nabob's authority, or from the hands of your own immediate Agent. For the regular remittance of whatever net income you may heretofore have received from your Jagheers, I willingly make myself responsible; but I again repeat, that in all other respects the Nabob is master.—What more shall I say?

## From the BHOWE BEGUM to the RESIDENT.

I understand, from Hussein Reza Khan, that he has spoke to you concerning my Jagheers, and that you in reply should say that the Nabob's sending Aumils into my Jagheers was not of any consequence or prejudice. If these are your sentiments, I cannot but be much astonished. Had any other person expressed such, I should not have felt it, but imputed them to his ignorance. Since I heard that you should have declared such as the above, I have been in despair, as I cannot think the country any longer proper for my remaining in it, as those who bound themselves by engagements now disregard them. After the Mohrum is past, I shall repair to Lucknow, and take my leave of it to sojourn elsewhere, as necessitated by the Gentlemen at Lucknow, and as my inclinations once led me, and is now God's decree; though, should I be necessitated to quit the country, God grant that no foul may be able to remain in it in peace. The power of existence rests not with you, but God. You are a ruler of the country, and can take to yourself the Jagheers of others. Many are involved in distress. Pride is not commendable; it is not countenanced by God. How long is to be the period of your reign? Infamy is your due. The countries of Puttaghur, Owde, &c. yield four crore of rupees; if they are not sufficient to satisfy you, what can my Jagheers contribute towards it? And why, without my knowledge, should Aumils be sent into them? If you mean to proceed in this mode, send Aumils into Nezif Khan's country, &c. and try the consequences. While I do remain in the country, recall the Aumils from my Jagheers. Why so precipitate? Be assured I shall with expedition take my departure.

## From the RESIDENT to the BHOWE BEGUM.

A person assuming your name has just arrived here, with a letter under your seal, addressed to me; but as I cannot believe, either from the subject matter or the stile, that it can have been dictated by you, or written with your knowledge, I enclose a copy of it, that you may detect the forgery, and inflict a proper exemplary punishment on the person who shall have dared thus to abuse your confidence, and insult me.

## From the NABOB VIZIER to the RESIDENT.

I have received your letter, covering copies of letters from my Mother to yourself—recapitulated the contents.—She says her Jagheers were not granted by me. At the time of the late Nabob's death these Mahls were under the charge of Jowaur Ally Khan, on the footing of other Aumils, inasmuch that the accounts, &c. were lodged in the Dewan's office; these accounts, as they were delivered into the Dewan's office to the date of the Nabob's death, are forthcoming. After his death, I, as a dutiful son, made over these Mahls to her in Jagheer, that it could not be said I left my Mother unprovided. The business and Mahls of the Khalsa suffer considerably, and are much prejudiced by the authority and conduct of the Aumils of these Jagheers, Mahls, as also from the intolerance





tolence of the household Khajahs; witness the conduct of Bhar Ally Khan's Naibat Tondah. My life, estate, and dominions originate from the friendship of the English Government. Yet what knavery have not these household Khajahs been guilty of. As therefore it is not prudent that these Mahls should be continued in the charge of my Mother, or household Khajahs, I have appointed my own Aumils—receive the amount arising from these Mahls, and pay it to my Mother, after deducting the charges of collections, &c. absolute charges. I am ready to acquiesce in any thing for my Mother. As for the other parts of her letters, I trust in God they are dictated by the household Khajahs; and that I have not caused shame to myself from my conduct to God or my Mother. After the death of my Father, whatever was due from him to the Company, also to the troops, I took upon myself; but whatever effects there were, remained with my Mother. Some time since she gave some part to me, but it went no way in the discharge of the claims of the Company or troops. For these many years I have endured much inconvenience and trouble for the discharge of these; yet half is not made good, and I am in daily anxiety on this account, from a desire to discharge all just dues to the Company. It is my intention to proceed to Fyzabad in ten days, the Mohrum being over, when I mean to request of my Mother the whole of my Father's estate, to enable me to pay off all debts to the Company. Agreeable to the laws of God, all my Father's effects are my right, that I may make good all claims on him. If my Mother, from affection, consents, I shall be happy; if not, in whatever manner she may render it, I shall pay it towards the adjustment of the balance due to the Company. With respect to the household Khajahs, I shall confine and punish them, for the knavery and means they have used towards effecting a breach between my Mother and myself. You will in friendship cause this letter to be translated into English, and send it immediately to the Governor, desiring him not to listen to any one, or what my Mother may write, neither adopt her opinion, but direct me to receive money from her, towards the payment of the Company's demands. I am ready to defray and allow her for her expences—with respect to the amount collections of her Jagheers, after deducting all necessary charges of collection, you may receive and transmit it to her.

Lucknow, the 28th Dec. 1781.

My dear Sir,

I am this day honoured with your public letter of the 24th instant, and I do not lose a moment in informing you, that without a total seizure of the country, it is not possible to collect this year a larger sum than the Nabob has already granted, which altogether exceeds that of any other year, at a time when his collections have been greatly diminished by the misconduct of Raja Bowanny Sing, late Aumil of Bycewarrah, the insurrections across the Gogra, and in other parts of his country; and lastly, the heavy remissions he has been obliged to allow on the present year's rents, for the losses by drought and hail, which fell upon the close of the last harvest. Hence, my dear Sir, you will be able to judge how far it would be in his power to grant further Jaidads.

If your new demand is to be insisted upon, which your letter seems to portend, I must beg your precise orders upon it; as, from the difficulties I have within these few days experienced, in carrying the points you had enjoined with the Nabob, I have the best grounds for believing that he would consider it a direct breach of the late agreement, and totally reject the proposal as such; and I must own to you, that, in his present fermented state of mind, I could expect nothing less than despair, and a declared rupture.

He has by no means been yet able to furnish me with means of paying off the arrears due to the temporary brigade, to the stipulated term of its continuance in his service. The funds necessary for paying off and discharging his own military establishment under British officers, and his pension list, have been raised on the private credit of Mr. Johnson and myself, from the Shroffs of this place, to whom we are at this moment pledged for many lacs of rupees; and without such aid, which I freely and at all hazards yielded, because I conceived it was your anxious desire to relieve the Nabob as soon as possible of this heavy burthen, the establishment must have been at his charge to this time, and probably for months to come, while his resources were strained to the utmost to furnish Jaidads for its maintenance to this period. I therefore hesitate not to declare it utterly impossible for him, under any circumstances whatever, to provide funds for the payment of the troops you now propose to send him.

The wresting Furruckabad, Kyrague, and Fyzula Cawn's country from his Government (for in that light, my dear Sir, I can faithfully assure you he views the measures adopted in respect to those countries) together with the resumption of all the Jagheers, so much against his inclination, have already brought the Nabob to persuasion, that nothing less than his destruction, or the annihilation of every shadow of his power, is meant; and all my labours to convince him to the contrary have proved abortive. A settled melancholy has seized him, and his health reduced beyond conception; and I do most solemnly believe, that the march of four regiments of Sepoys towards Lucknow, under whatever circumstances it might be represented, would be considered by him as a force ultimately to be





be used in securing his person. In short, my dear Sir, it is a matter of such immediate moment, and involving apparently such very serious and important consequences, that I have not only taken upon me to suspend the communication of it to the Nabob, until I should be honoured with your further commands, but have also ventured to write the enclosed letter to Colonel Morgan—Liberties which I confidently trust you will excuse, when you consider that I can be actuated by no other motive than a zeal for the public service; and that if, after all, you determine that the measure should be insisted on, it will be only the loss of six, or at most eight days, in proposing it. But, in the last event, I earnestly entreat your orders may be explicit and positive, that I may clearly know what lengths you would wish me to proceed, in carrying them into execution. I again declare it as my firm belief, and assure yourself, my dear Mr. Hastings, I am not influenced in this declaration by any considerations but my public duty, and my personal attachment to you, that the enforcing the measure you have proposed, would be productive of an open rupture between us and the Nabob; nay, that the first necessary step towards carrying it into effect must be, on our part, a declaration of hostility.

There can, I apprehend, be no doubt, but such an extremity would end in the ruin of the Nabob, and I think he would have sense enough to see it; but, under the circumstances I have mentioned, and encouraged as he would be by all the malecontents of this Court, I am persuaded, as far as my own reason and judgment enable me to predict, that he would disregard all future consequences.

I entreat you will excuse the freedom with which I have addressed you on this subject. I have been obliged to write in great haste, to save the dusk, and consequently not so connectedly or fully as I could wish; but be assured I have given you the genuine sentiments of my heart; and as such I am persuaded you will receive them with indulgence.

I am, &c. &c.

(Signed)

NATH. MIDDLETON.

To Colonel JAMES MORGAN, commanding in the Field.

Sir,

Copy.

I was last night honoured with your letter, informing me that you had orders from the Governor General to furnish me with more troops, should I want them.

I have this day received information from the Governor, that he has ordered a large force to repair to Lucknow. If you have received such an order, I must beg you will suspend the order until I have received the Governor's reply to the representation I have made to him upon this subject, as such a movement at this juncture might be productive of the most serious consequences. While I make this application to you, I do not know how far it is in your power to comply; yet I deem it my duty to make the representation, whatever the result may be.

Lucknow,  
28th Dec. 1781.

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

NATH. MIDDLETON.

My dear Sir,

Upon re-perusing the translate of the Nabob's letter to me, respecting the Furruckabad business, I find a capital mistake was made in the statement of the sum due from Muzaffer Jung. I beg leave therefore to enclose you a memorandum to rectify it.

Lucknow,  
29th Dec. 1781.

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

NATH. MIDDLETON.

The Honourable Warren Hastings.

Memorandum :

The sum of 1,58,456 rupees, mentioned in the translate of a letter from the Nabob Vizier to the Resident, as due from Motzuffer Jung, should have been 7,58,456. This mistake was made in copying fair from the translate.

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To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

I HAVE herewith the honour to submit to you an account of my current claims for the present year, upon the Nabob Vizier, amounting to rupees 70,99,882, for which amount I have received assignments, as per the enclosed list, for rupees 76,38,114, in which I have been necessitated to include the Nabob's demand for the current year upon Furruckabad; and as his Excellency has now totally withdrawn his sizawal from the collection of it, as well as every interference whatever, I beg I may be honoured with your instructions, whether Muzaffer Jung is to pay the amount at the Presidency, or, as usual, to me: Khyragur is in the same predicament, the Vizier having no authority over the present Aumil.

The rest I have little doubt of receiving, for the large balance now due from the Nabob, I am given strong hopes of receiving assets from the funds expected by the recovery of the Nabob's paternal estate, hitherto withheld by his Mother, but which he has now demanded. The result is yet in suspense; as soon as any certainty of the grounds of this expectation can be determined, and may come to my knowledge, I shall not fail to impart it to you.

The new regulation, of refusing the Jagheers, is carrying into execution in every part of these extensive provinces, and when effected, will afford a very material encrease in the Nabob's revenues.

The order of 7 lacks upon them could not be encreased this year, as, before the seizure can be completed, the collections upon the first crop will be over; besides which, many of the Jagheerdars having strong family claims upon the Nabob, he has been obliged to assign ready money payment in lieu of the rents of the lands.

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

Lucknow,  
the 31st Dec. 1781.

NATH. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

ASSIGNMENTS received for the Year 1189, on the following Districts.

Rohilkund	—	—	—	—	—	31,00,000
Corah, Doaub, &c.	—	—	—	—	—	12,00,000
Furruckabad	—	—	—	—	—	7,58,114
Jagheers	—	—	—	—	—	7,00,000
Bahrach and Gorruckpore	—	—	—	—	—	6,50,000
Goonda	—	—	—	—	—	3,50,000
Allahabad	—	—	—	—	—	4,35,000
Kyragur	—	—	—	—	—	1,95,000
Azingur	—	—	—	—	—	1,30,000
Sundula Milliabad	—	—	—	—	—	1,20,000
						76,38,114

NATH. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

LIST of current Claims upon the NABOB, for the Year 1189.

Balances due to the Paymasters, as per their respective statements for 1188	—	14,88,304
Two months pay (as per stipulation) to Mr. Wombwell's office	—	3,00,000
Two and half months pay to the temporary brigade and cavalry	—	7,50,000
Subsidy	—	31,20,000
Extra regiment, as per agreement, at 25,000 rupees per month, for ten months	—	2,50,000
Abdulreheman Khan	—	3,30,000
Sadit Ally	—	3,00,000
Rohillas	—	61,578
Claims of Mr. Frazer, Mr. Marfack, &c.	—	5,00,000
		70,99,882

NATH. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

To





To NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Esquire.

Sir,

Benares, 1st January 1782.

I have been deceived, I know not yet by whom. The agreement which I concluded with the Vizier has yet served only to gratify revenge, or some concealed interest, and to make me odious to my own countrymen.

The temporary brigade is withdrawn, and its expence thrown on the Company, without any equivalent.

The English Officers and Pensioners dismissed.

The English Resident withdrawn from Furruckabad, to give place to a worse tyranny, and the Nabob afflicted and offended at my opposition to the latter.

The Nabob afflicted and desponding, because I oppose his invading Fyzoola Cawn, when he is confessedly unable to suppress the sedition of his own subjects.

The resumption of the Jaghiers, withheld for three months, now attempted against the Nabob's consent, although originally solicited by himself; a regiment of Sepoys, required for its execution, which you declare to be insufficient; and when I ordered a competent force, you countermand it, because the Nabob will not approve it.

It was stipulated, that a complete brigade should be stationed at Cawnpore, for the protection of the Nabob's paternal dominions; but that if he wanted a further aid, he should pay for it. He wants a further aid; I require that it shall be charged to his account; you tell me, that though it is wanted, you dare not let it come; and Mr. Johnson calls it "ordering the temporary brigade to be again put on the Vizier's list."

I wait your answer to my letter; but have written a letter to the Nabob, which I desire you to present to him, and tell him, that if he suspects the motive of my interference, I will withdraw it altogether, both the Resident and the army; but he must first pay the balance of his debts to the Company.—I will not hazard the Company's arms in scanty detachments, for services to which they are declared to be unequal; nor will I break the strength of the brigade while the Marrattas are yet on his borders, and the peace with them imperfectly concluded.

I agreed to the Nabob's requisitions from a desire to relieve him from a state of distress, and to enable him to discharge his debt to the Company. You know these were my only objects: have either of these been attained; or has any step been yet taken to attain them? If you say they have, let me know what has been done, or what attempted.

I must desire, that your letters, upon all official and public subjects, may be official. I cannot receive any, or avail myself of them, as private; and my reputation and character have been too far committed to admit of an intercourse which I cannot use as authority.

You will be cautious that the Nabob does not misconceive my letters as bearing any expression of displeasure towards him. I think him too deceived. I wish him to regard me as his friend, and to confide both in my faith and attachment. I am willing to give him undoubted proofs of both. I will do nothing for the preservation of his interests against his will; but I will not hazard the safety and honour of our arms, nor sacrifice the Company's interest and rights to the caprice of his advisers.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.  
(Signed)

WARREN HASTINGS.

To MR. MIDDLETON.

Sir,

Benares, 2d January 1782.

I have received your letters of the 30th December, and shall reply to them fully. It has afforded some relief to the anxiety which I have felt. If you have not already declared to the Nabob the explanation which I desired you to give him, of the sentiments expressed in my letter, I desire you to defer it till you hear further from me. In the mean time you may assure him, that whatever is written in the agreement concluded between us at Chunar shall be literally and firmly observed on my part. I shall immediately compare it, for that purpose, with the measures now under consideration.

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

WARREN HASTINGS.





To NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Esquire.

Sir,

Benares, 3d January 1782.

I have already acknowledged the receipt of your letter of the 30th, and am determined, by the assurances and promises made to me in it, to return to Calcutta, and shall leave to you the charge and execution of the measures necessary to the execution of the agreement concluded between the Nabob Vizier and myself in September last.

Willing as I am to trust to your declarations, I cannot avoid yielding to the doubts suggested by the inconsistencies of your representations of their grounds. You, in a former letter, told me that the Nabob had required the assistance of a regiment of Sepoys to enforce the resumption of the Jagheers, but that it was your opinion that a much larger force would be required for it, as a powerful opposition was prepared against it: I in consequence ordered a strong detachment to perform this service; you then wrote that the Nabob would not allow it, that you durst not communicate it to him, and that you knew he would even oppose it by force, and that the payment of the detachment would be a breach of treaty; and now you write, that the Nabob's subsidy alone are equal to this service, and that it will be but a fortnight's work to accomplish it. These are absolute contradictions.

But I am most affected by your declaring, that you did not understand it to have been my intention that the reformation of the Nabob's military establishment should take place this year; and that nothing has been done in the new settlement of the revenue, for the same reason.

These are fresh instances of what I have had too frequent cause to complain of, your total inattention to my instructions. The like inattention is manifested in a former letter, in which you tell me that you did not know that I expected a present supply to the Company's Treasury.

In my instructions I premise, as a matter well known to yourself, "that the chief object of my negotiations has been to induce and assist the Nabob to bring this government and finances into regularity, as to prevent his alliance being a clog to the Company, and to enable him to discharge his debt to the Company in the shortest time possible."

It adds, "I shall expect that the whole of the excess (of the Jagheers beyond the estimated amount) be appropriated to the discharge of the Nabob's debt to the Company."

The order in which the measures necessary to the execution of the agreement shall be taken is prescribed in the following words:

"After settling the amount of the personal disbursements of the Nabob Vizier and his household, the next point that will require your exertions, towards the general arrangements of the public charges, is the reform of the established and Muttaiena troops, &c. &c."

The only point which is left for future adjustment is the establishment of the Courts of Justice.

The reformation of the Nabob's troops, I considered as a point which neither required nor admitted delay—that his Muttaiena troops were almost wholly fictitious, and his regular establishment scanty in numbers, and in long arrears. And I considered and stated this reformation as one of the means of reducing the Nabob's expences, and enabling him to pay his debts to the Company.

I have clearly explained my intention to be, that the first receipt of the current revenue should furnish the stipulated amount of the Nabob's private expences; that his assignments for the Company's debt, and other charges defrayed by them, should remain as usual; and that the whole of the excesses of the Jagheers should be appropriated to the same account: I require no more; nor can I add either explanation or comment on the instructions which have been originally given to you, that can more clearly express, or more fully, than the words of the original text.

I have carefully perused the agreement itself, and the former treaties existing with the Nabob Vizier, but can find no clause in any of them, which either expressly or by implication gives him a right to employ the Company's forces, except those of the subsidiary brigade, without indemnifying the Company for their expences. The brigade itself is expressly declared to be for the defence of his dominions, and therefore has always been stationed on the frontier nearest to invasion. It was never intended that its strength should be dissipated in little detachments, and its discipline ruined by employing it to suppress the insurrections of his reits, and to enforce the payment of the collections, although a discretionary power has been given to you, in cases of great emergency, to call for the aid of detachments from it for the former services. And you know, that had our other exigencies permitted it, it was intended to remand the whole of Sir John Cumming's detachment to Bengal, and





and to leave no more than the subsidiary brigade, and the regiment appointed for Lucknow, in the Vizier's dominions. If the opposition proposed by the Begum is so formidable as you represented it when you first intimated it to me, your employment of the Nabob's schundy to suppress it would only serve to make it a serious and protracted war; which my order was intended to prevent, by suppressing all attempts instantaneously. I shall now revoke my orders; but I must positively forbid you to employ the aid of the regiment, which has been required and sent, on any service to which you shall judge it not fully equal. This is no part of the agreement.

I meet with a captious expression in your letter, which, as it is not warranted by any in mine, I deem unbecoming.

Alluding to Sir John Cumming's detachment, you desire, "my determination on the future payment of the troops, which I may still think necessary to keep up to regulate the Nabob's internal government."

It is not my intention, nor ever was, to keep up troops to regulate the Nabob's internal government, but solely to defend his country against invaders, unless he should require occasional and temporary aids to restore internal peace and order to it, to enable him to acquit himself of his debt to the Company, and thereby recover the whole and unparticipated regulation of his internal government. If he conceives my design to be any other than this, it is now your duty to undeceive him.

I now refer you back to the agreement concluded by me with the Nabob, and my instructions delivered in consequence of it. These are to be your sole guide; nor do I mean by any thing which I have since written, whether in this or any former letter, to revoke or change a title of what is written in them. On these I ground the whole of your present responsibility, except what I have written concerning the additional claims made on the Begums, and which I consider a virtual part of my formal instructions.

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

WARREN HASTINGS.

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that the Nabob marched to Fayzabad on the 1st instant, and that I follow him, conformably to your orders, to-morrow morning, having yesterday ordered away the 8th regiment to be ready to arrive with me on the 6th instant at Fayzabad. The 20th regiment, under the command of Major Martin Gilpin, which was detached some days ago from Cawnpore to enforce the Vizier's order for the resumption of the Begum's Jagheer, I have thought it necessary to station at Lucknow, in lieu of the 8th regiment, until my return from Fayzabad, when I shall be better able to judge how far, and what force it may be necessary to employ against the agents of the Begum, who I understand have all received the most positive injunctions to oppose, by every means in their power, the execution of the Vizier's orders respecting the Jagheers.

I have the honour, &c. &c.  
(Signed)

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,  
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,  
the 3d January 1782.

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

I arrived with the Nabob at Fayzabad two days ago, and his Excellency has made his demand upon the Bhow Begum; but nothing final or decisive having yet taken place, I defer writing fully or entering on the subject until to-morrow, when I hope to be able to do it with some certainty as to the result.

I was honoured with your letter of the 1st instant on the road, as also your subsequent commands of the 2d and 3d, to which I shall pay the most submissive obedience; and at present trouble you with no other observations on the points they contain, excepting a paragraph in the first, to which it is indispensably incumbent on me immediately to reply, lest an accusation it implies, though not absolutely applied, nor, I am persuaded, meant to be imputed to me, should by any misrepresentation or misconstruction be attempted to be forced upon you against me.

I do not know that any other Gentlemen than Mr. Johnson and myself were employed between you and the Nabob in the agreement you concluded with his Excellency at Chunar; we therefore jointly subscribe to the following attestation, which we shall be ready at any time to confirm by a more formal oath, if desired.

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"We





" We do most solemnly declare before God, and upon our honours, that we never have, either of us, in fact or idea, received, or been tendered or promised, directly or indirectly, any benefit whatsoever, by any person living, in consideration of any one or the whole of the articles specified or contained in the agreement concluded between you and the Nabob Vizier of the 19th September last."

" NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,  
" R. JOHNSON."

If the above solemn asseveration can have effect in counteracting any misrepresentations, which it is possible may have been made or suggested to you on this subject, we cheerfully and voluntarily offer it.

I have the honour, &c. &c.

Fayzabad,  
the 10th January 1782.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,  
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

P. S. Your letter of the 31st ultimo, through your military Secretary, I can return no answer to, as I am utterly unable to express what I feel and have felt upon it. I enclose a copy of it, still willing to indulge a flattering hope, that, upon re-perusal, it may appear to you more severe than my conscience tells me my conduct in the instance alluded to has merited.

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

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON.

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

I was this day honoured with your commands of the 10th instant, informing me of the military station you have established at Juanpore, with the liberty you grant the Nabob Vizier of claiming their aid to quell any disturbances in the adjacent parts of his provinces. I have accordingly communicated it to his Excellency, who with great justice was highly pleased with the disposition, as in truth the districts bordering upon the Zemindary of Benares have for a long period of time been of all others the most turbulent and disaffected, and nothing less than the arrangement you have now formed could effectually secure the peace and tranquillity in that neighbourhood, so essential to the prosperity of the Nabob's government and revenues.

With respect to the business here, I have the honour to inform you, that yesterday finding that the temporizing and indecisive conduct of the Nabob seemed to promise an issue very different from that expected in your commands of the 26th December last, and that the only use the two leading Eunuchs under the Bhow Begum made of the delay, was to assemble and call in armed men from all quarters, which when united with the large force already in the town under their direction, would, in all probability, have brought the matter to a much more severe and arduous test than it at present could admit of—I found myself necessitated to take the most immediate and decisive interference which the force with me was capable of; and accordingly, having the Nabob's written requisition, marched the 23d regiment, under the command of Major Naylor, with a detachment of his Excellency's own troops, against the Kella: and had the happiness to succeed in putting the Nabob's party in possession of it without any effusion of blood; the armed men retiring from it on the approach of our troops, and drawing up with their guns in a large broad street before the house of the old Begum, to which the Bhow Begum and her two principal Eunuchs had retired the preceding evening. This effected, the Nabob issued his peremptory orders for the immediate departure of all armed men, excepting his own troops, beyond the precincts of the town, threatening them with an instant attack if they disobeyed. This order, after many evasions, was promised to be complied with, and the two Eunuchs, Bahr and Jowar Ally Cawn, at the same time coming in, and delivering themselves into the Nabob's custody, the armed men, amounting to between three and four thousand, evacuated the town and dispersed. I have since learnt, that had the Nabob's troops alone attempted the seizure of the Kella, a very desperate resistance was resolved upon; which appeared very probable from the state in which the armed men was found, being the preceding evening furnished with a large store of ammunition, and now drawn up in regular order, with loaded pieces, and their matches lighted; but they were prudent enough to think themselves unequal to the united efforts of his Excellency's troops, supported by an English regiment, and by this conviction much mischief has happily been prevented.





To-morrow I hope to be able to inform you of the effect of the present advantageous situation, and in the mean time have the honour to remain,

&c. &c.

Fayzabad,  
the 13th January 1782.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,  
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

P. S. I have the honour to enclose you a letter from the Vizier, in reply to your last to his Excellency.

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To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I WAS duly honoured with your commands of the 12th and 22d December last; the former respecting a seizure which has been made by Khoja Bahr Ally Cawn of some cloths, manufactured at Tanda, on account of Gualdafs and Bolanaut, Merchants of Benares, under pretext of their being the property of Ram Laulla, whom he had confined on a charge of debt; and the latter recommending Gopaul Dofs in particular terms for his services to our government, and the punctuality with which he has acquitted himself of all his engagements and transactions with it. To this, Sir, be assured, I shall pay the most attentive regard, and always give his house that preference to which it has so just a claim, in all remittances which may pass through my office.

I immediately, on my arrival at Fayzabad, made a strict enquiry into the complaint of the above-mentioned seizure; and finding, from a variety of evidence, the fact precisely as it had been stated to you, I caused the cloths to be released, and delivered over to the Gumaftah of Gualdafs and Bolanaut, who attended here for that purpose.

It having also been intimated to me, that Ram Laulla, a Shroft, and relation of Gopaul Dofs, had been imprisoned by Bahr Ally Cawn, on pretences equally vague and unjust (which I had reason to believe was the case, from my having failed in my endeavours to procure his enlargement, near a twelvemonth ago, although solicited on an offer of the security of Gopaul Dofs, and my own, if desired, for the payment of whatever sum should appear due from him on an adjustment of their accounts) I determined also to take this opportunity of enquiring into that matter, and procuring the man justice; for which purpose I applied to Bahr Ally Cawn to send him to me, and repeated the offer of security which I had before made; he however thought proper to decline, or rather evade, compliance with my demand, and, to testify his resentment at the application made for my interference, he instantly doubled the guards on his prisoners, dispatched an escort to bring his family from Tanda, and by every means in his power increased the rigour of his confinement. In this situation he remained until the day after the seizure of Bahr and Jowar Ally Cawn, when he was brought to me by my own people loaded with irons; which I had immediately taken off, and, setting him at large, have desired him to deliver me a statement of his account with Bahr Ally Cawn, which I shall take care to see equitably adjusted.

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

Fayzabad,  
the 15th January 1782.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,  
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

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To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I have been honoured with your commands of the 8th and 14th instant; and in reply to the first have to inform you, that having represented to the Nabob the improper treatment which Dewanjee Punt met with from the officers of government at Allahabad, on his way to you, strict orders have been issued to the Phougedar of that province to prevent any impediment or molestation to him on his return to the Deekan; and I also, in obedience to your commands, signified to the Nabob's Ministers your sentiments and disapprobation of a conduct which reflected so much disgrace on his Excellency's government. Their reply was, That the washing duties, or tax levied upon all persons coming to bathe at the conflux of the rivers Ganges and Jumma has long been an established thing, and at present forms a considerable article of revenue in the Tohud of the Farmer of Allahabad; that it shall be their care to prevent, as much as possible, any abuse of this privilege during the remainder of the current year, and at the period of the new annual settlement to abolish it altogether, if it is your wish that it should not exist.

I had the honour to address you under date the 13th instant, inclosing you the letter from his Excellency the Vizier, for which you inform me you are waiting, and acquainting you with the measures which had been taken here towards accomplishing the object of your commands. I have

hitherto





hitherto withheld any farther communication, in the expectation of shortly being able to inform you, with certainty, what would be the issue of our proceedings; a subject on which I have been extremely unwilling to touch, until I could do it on such grounds as could not mislead your hopes or expectations: until yesterday the business was in no form that could enable me to pronounce, or even conjecture, what would be the result.

It very early appeared, that the Begum, with the assistance of her Cojahs, had disposed of and secreted her wealth in such a manner, as to elude almost the possibility of obtaining possession of it by mere force of arms; and whatever rigorous measures it might be proper for the Nabob ultimately to adopt, it seemed, at all events, in the first instance, highly expedient that we should pursue the course which promised, with the greatest certainty, the accomplishment of his first object, in which the interests of the Company, and your desires, were too much concerned for me to hesitate a moment in giving my concurrence to a temporary forbearance, which I had reason to believe was the most advisable, and if it did not succeed, could be attended in the issue with no worse effect than a few days delay in closing the business.

Your letter to the Begum, which I had the honour to receive and forward to her yesterday, having destroyed a reliance, which, notwithstanding the part I have avowed and acted with respect to her, she probably placed in the support and mediation of our government, has given a very favourable turn to the business, and afforded me a well-grounded hope that in one or two days more I shall be able to inform you of a satisfactory conclusion of it.

I have the honour, &c. &c.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

Fayzabad,  
the 18th January 1782.

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

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

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

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Fayzabad,  
the 20th January 1782.

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

I had the honour to address you, under date the 25th instant, acquainting you of the Vizier's having, from the treasure delivered up to him by the Bhow Begum, commenced on the payment of his debt to the Honourable Company. I have now the pleasure to inform you, that I am this day in possession of a sum equal to the liquidation of his bond for the balance of 1187; and he further gives me hopes, that he shall be able shortly to begin payment of the 12 lacks due for the balance of 1188, of which I shall in due course give you information.

I have the honour to be, &c.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

Fayzabad,  
the 27th January 1782.

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I HAD the honour to address you yesterday; and this morning I was favoured with your commands of the 27th ultimo.

You are already apprized, by my address of yesterday, and my preceding letters, of the promised issue of the business at Fayzabad, as well as of the state in which I left it; both which I hope will be satisfactory, as they seem to leave the matter in that state of suspense in which you wish it to remain, until





until the Board or yourself should have been advised of the amount of the treasure recovered from the Begums, and signified your further pleasure.

The Nabob has concluded no settlement whatever with the Begums, but left Fayzabad some hours before me, without taking leave of them, upon their agents having agreed to complete the 55 lacks, which appeared due to the Company upon the closing of my accounts for the last year, and the Begums declaring that this was the extent of all their possessions, including down to their table utensils, which they have, and are still delivering, and no proof has as yet been obtained of their having more. I shall, as you direct, use my influence to dissuade his Excellency from concluding any settlement until I have your further commands.

Lucknow,  
the 6th February 1782.

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

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,  
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

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To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I had the honour to address you, under date the 6th instant, informing you of the state in which I had left the business at Fayzabad, and the hopes I entertained of a speedy completion of it; permit me now to acquaint you, that, of the remaining balance engaged to be made good by the two Eunuchs Bahr and Jowar Ally Cawn, I have this day had advice of the receipt of between five and six lacks, which is now on the way to Lucknow; and the residue I have every reason to believe will be realized before this letter reaches your hands: so that I have now to repeat my request, that I may as soon as possible be honoured with your final commands respecting the conduct it is your wish should be pursued with the Begum and her Eunuchs.

The services of Major Naylor's regiment being required to the eastward of the river Gogra, as well to support the authority of the Nabob's government in that quarter, as to be ready to join in the plan of operations which may be determined on, in obedience to your commands, against Futty Saw, I have sent one battalion of Major Gilpin's regiment to relieve Major Naylor at Fayzabad; which I hope you will approve.

I have the pleasure to inform you, that the 8th regiment, which I left to escort the treasure from Fayzabad, arrived this day, and safely delivered its charge. Upon its arrival, I immediately dispatched to Colonel Muir the sum requisite for the payment of the arrears due to his detachment; I am now forwarding to Colonels Morgan and Sir John Cumming, the amount upon which they have called upon me, after which I shall lose not a moment in remitting the residue to the Presidency.

Lucknow,  
the 8th February 1782.

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

(Signed) NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,  
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

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To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I have had the honour to receive your commands of the 22d ultimo, through your military Secretary, informing me of your instructions given to Mr. Charters for the seizure of Futty Saw, and your directions, that I should apply to the Vizier to give the most positive injunctions to the Aumils, and other officers of his government, to afford no shelter or retreat to this rebel, but in general to give every assistance they can to the detachment acting against him. I beg leave to acquaint you, that, in obedience to your commands, I have applied for, and obtained, his Excellency's instructions, and have further written to Major Thomas Naylor, whose regiment is employed on service in the Gorruckpore country, to co-operate with the detachment under the direction of Mr. Charters, and to use every means in his power to promote the success of the expedition.

Lucknow,  
the 10th February 1782.

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

(Signed) NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,  
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

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To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,  
Inclosed I have the honour to forward your addresses from his Excellency the Vizier and his Ministers.

In justice to the latter, it is incumbent upon me to inform you, that during the progress of the business at Fayzabad, I received from them the most willing and zealous support; and that to their exertions I consider myself greatly indebted for the complete success which attended that business, as well as for the fruits of it being solely applied to the liquidation of the Nabob's debts to the Honourable Company.

Under those circumstances, it would afford me great satisfaction, and, I conceive, tend to promote the public service, were they honoured with some testimony of your approbation and favour, which would be particularly acceptable to them at this period, as their conduct in the transactions at Fayzabad, and in the resumption of the Jagheers, has excited the inveterate resentment of the Begum, and many persons of the first consequence about the Court, whose interests have been affected by the latter measure, and created a far more powerful combination against them, than they have ever before had to oppose. In short, Sir, they are considered, not only by this party, but by the Nabob himself, as the actual dependents of the English government; which they certainly are, and it is by its declared and most obvious support alone, that they can maintain the authority and influence, which is indispensably necessary to enable them to discharge the trust reposed in them, either with credit to themselves, or advantage to the public.

Lucknow,  
the 11th February 1782.

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

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,  
I have the honour herewith to transmit a letter addressed to you by the Nabob Vizier, informing you of his compliance with the only points that remained unfinished of his part of the late agreement made with you, by having changed the mode of the receipt of his revenues now ordered to be all paid at the Huzzor to the Ministers, by whom all Tuncawdars and Mooteyanah, &c. are to be paid, the Nabob first paying himself the expenses of his private purse, estimated at the medium receipts of the last three years.

I have, in confirmation of the above-mentioned letter, received one from the Minister, informing me of the accomplishment of this reform; from which, with the total resumption of all Jagheers, which is now perfectly completed, I have every reason to hope for the most beneficial result, and that every part of this government will now be in a state of regularity and tranquillity scarcely ever before experienced.

I also trust that you will now deem every wish, expressed in your instructions, to be fully performed.

Lucknow,  
the 11th February 1782.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.  
(Signed) NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,  
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,  
I have just received intelligence, which I think may be relied on, of the death of the Nabob Nudjiff Cawn.

It is impossible to pronounce, with certainty, what may be the immediate consequences of this event. The ultimate ones, I have no doubt, will be the total subversion of that extensive government, acquired alone by his powerful influence and high military character, and by which, rather than any effective force, he has been able hitherto to maintain it. I do not know any one of his Partizans, whose talents, activity, or superior influence over the rest, are likely to create an absolute and permanent authority; dissensions therefore among the principal officers of his army may be expected to ensue, and those Rajahs and Chiefs, who have been deprived of their territorial possessions, will scarcely omit so favourable an opportunity of attempting to recover them.

Abdulah'd





Abdollah'd Cawn, the last Minister, will probably be reitared to office; and his object will naturally be the extinction of every shadow of Nudjif Cawn's power.

Upon the whole, however, I do not apprehend any consequences which can affect the Honourable Company's interests, or the security of the Nabob Vizier, unless Zabitta Cawn, who, it appears, has long entertained views of attempting the recovery of his former possessions in Rohileund, should be prevailed on to consider this a favourable occasion to prosecute them. In such an event, I should think it very probable he would be joined by Fayzula Cawn, who, there is strong reason to believe, is by no means well affected to the Vizier's government, and who has of late made such preparations, and such a disposition of his family and wealth, as evidently manifest either an intended or expected rupture.

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

Poppamow,  
the 24th February 1782.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,  
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

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To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I had the honour to transmit you, a few days ago, intelligence I had received of the death of the Nabob Nudjif Cawn, which, from the authentic channel through which it came to me, I thought might be relied upon; but I have since been informed the report was premature; and late accounts from Dehly mention that the violence of the Nabob's disorder had so far abated, as to give him hopes of his recovery.

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

Jawnpore,  
the 28th February 1782.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,  
Resident at Court of the Vizier.

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To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

Upon the spirit of your former orders, relative to the appointment of a detachment under Sir John Cumming for the support and protection of the Vizier's internal government, and your subsequent letters declaratory of your sense of the footing on which the subsidiary brigade must be understood to remain with his Excellency, I have had repeated conversations with the Ministers, endeavouring to shew the impropriety of making detachments from the frontier brigade, originally intended solely for the defence of the Nabob's dominions against a foreign enemy, for the assistance of the Aumils, or other ordinary services of the collections; and to convince them of the impossibility of continuing that practice, now that the whole effective force of the country was reduced to one brigade, without perverting this obvious design of its establishment, and thereby risking consequence to the Honourable Company's arms and his Excellency's government, which it equally behoved them and myself to avoid; as from the frequent calls for such aid, and the nature of the service, and the very remote distance to which the troops were occasionally sent, neither the necessary attention to their discipline could be paid, nor their re-junction effected upon any emergency which might call for the immediate exertion of the whole force of the brigade.

Having succeeded in the impression which I wished to make on the Ministers, and the reduction which has been made in the Nabob's Mooteyna troops strengthening the grounds I had agreed upon, I availed myself of this opportunity to propose an establishment of the Honourable Company's troops, which should at once obviate the necessity of applying to the subsidiary brigade for assistance, and enable the Nabob to make still further reductions in his mooteyna and secondary establishments: three regiments, with their guns and complete artillery establishments, I am of opinion, would answer this purpose; and the Ministers are now so thoroughly convinced of the utility of it, that they have authorized me to submit the measure to your consideration, with an assurance that they will cheerfully co-operate with me in carrying it into immediate execution, should it meet with your approbation.

To leave as little as possible for future discussion, and that no dispute might arise about the payment of this establishment, I proposed a subsidy of 25,000 rupees per mentem for each regiment, or 75,000 for the whole; which terms will be agreed to, and I hope be deemed satisfactory by you, as they will be fully adequate to every possible expence of the establishment without Staff or Commanding Officer, which I presume you will not consider necessary, as the regiments must of course always be stationed and employed separately, to make them answer the purposes for which they are intended.





I do not a moment, Sir, in communicating this proposed arrangement to you, in its present stage, that I may immediately receive your sentiments and commands upon it; and I am happy in the opportunity which it at the same time affords me of evincing to you the attention which has been paid to your orders respecting the reduction of the Nabob's mooteyna, as well as the instant beneficial effect of them, since the expence of the establishments I now propose, is to be defrayed from that fund, without the smallest additional charge to the Nabob's government.

Lucknow,  
the 10th March 1782.

I have the honour to be, &c.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,  
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

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To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

In further explanation of the plan which I submitted to you yesterday, I now beg leave to inclose a draft of a G. O. which is drawn up conformable to the sentiments and wishes of the Ministers, and calculated to obviate an evil they seem most to apprehend, which is accumulating charges upon the Nabob over and above the amount stipulated for the three regiments.

The 8th, 20th, and 23d regiments are now upon service in these provinces, and of course will by far be the easiest to leave here upon the new plan; which, exclusive of saving the time and expence of marching fresh troops, will at once, by shewing how they are to be employed, preclude the danger so much dreaded here of having any Commanding officer or Staff appointed to these regiments.

They most probably never can be employed together, as the present dispersed position of them evinces.

The Staff expence, and inconveniency of controul in the disposition of these regiments, were what the Ministers seemed most fearful of, and probably constituted the greatest objection they had originally to the plan. I have taken upon me to assure them, their wishes on this head, as they appeared to me not unreasonable, would be attended to; and I shall be happy to find this assurance confirmed by you.

I have been guided by the terms of your last agreement with the Nabob, in proposing the period of relieving these regiments; but as the nature of the service on which they are employed may not always admit of a strict attention to this rule, I could wish to have the discretionary power of dispensing with it, when it shall appear necessary.

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

Lucknow,  
the 11th March 1782.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,  
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

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G. O. The Nabob Vizier having stipulated to pay a fixed and limited sum for the use of three regiments, which his Excellency has applied for towards the support of his aumils and collections, this is to direct that no officer going upon such service shall, under any pretence whatsoever, claim or receive from the Nabob or his agents, any sum of money whatever, either for himself or any contingent expence he may incur, but shall transmit any claim he may have, through the usual and established channels, to the Paymasters and Commissary General, as the payment made by the Nabob includes an amount equal to all charges to which service is liable.

The first regiments appointed for this service are the 8th, 20th, and 23d; which are to be relieved, in like manner with the Lucknow regiment, every three months, upon the application of the Resident, who alone can determine whether the service they may be engaged upon can prevent it.

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To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

Previous to the receipt of your commands from Patna, of the 22d January, relative to the expulsion of Fatty Saw, I had caused the strictest injunctions to be laid on the officers of the Vizier's revenues in Govunthpore, to render every assistance in their power towards the effectual reduction of this notorious disturber of the Honourable Company's government; and had given Mirza Abdoolah

Beg,





Beg, the Fougedar of Gorruckpore, a letter to present to Mr. Greme on this subject; and I take the liberty of troubling you with a copy of that Gentleman's acknowledgment of the willing disposition which has been testified by Abdoola Beg to promote the success of this necessary service.

Lucknow,  
the 16th March 1782.

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

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,  
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

To NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Esquire, Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

Sir,

I have been honoured with your letter of the 20th ultimo, which was sent to me by Mirza Abdoola Beg, the Aumil of Gorruckpore, who, I have the pleasure to acquaint you, has manifested the most earnest desire to fulfil the wishes of this government, and of the Vizier his Master, for the apprehension of Futy Saw. Some time before the receipt of your letter, he sent a person to me with proposals for executing this purpose, which I immediately concurred with him in; and, a plan of operations having been concerted in consequence, I communicated it to Major Lucas, commanding the Company's troops at Burrangong, who approved, and instantly took all measures for carrying it into force. Though the project was planned with all possible secrecy, the march of the detachment from this place appears to have been known to Futy Saw, who changed his ground the evening before the time fixed on for making the attack, but could not evade entirely the effects of the expedition; for Lieutenant Lally (with two companies of Major Lucas's regiment, which were stationed at Bogga) having received intelligence of this motion of Futy Saw's, marched directly to the spot where he was encamped with about three hundred men, attacked and slew about twelve of them, and was very near taking Futy Saw himself.

It would be unjust to Mirza Abdoola Beg, if I omitted to communicate to you the testimonies I have received of his good behaviour. Major Lucas, in his first letter to me, after their junction, expresses himself as follows:

"The Phouzdar and my parties have met just as we could wish; he has ordered out both horse and foot, and seems to be the man you represent. We have agreed to join heartily in the cause, and hope yet to prove successful, &c." And again, in his letter of the 22d instant, he says, "I have halted to-day by desire of the Phouzdar, who promised to join me; but as he has the country to settle as he goes on, he has again requested to see and consult before I go farther. As he seems inclined to prove himself the man you represented, I wish to have his advice in this critical situation, particularly as I do not think the service I am on can be hurt by this (seeming) delay; for it is now certain that Futy Saw, with his present small party, may evade every effort of the most vigilant and numerous troops, in a country like this."

Whilst a good understanding (which has never heretofore been the case) continues to subsist between the officers of the revenue in these districts and those of the Vizier in Gorruckpore, I think I may venture to assert, that Futy Saw will never have it in his power to disturb the peace of either.

Burrangong,  
28th February 1782.

I am, &c. &c.

CHARLES GRAME,  
Collector of S. Saron, &c.

A true copy.  
(Signed) Nath. Middleton.

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that, in consequence of some mismanagement having again intruded in the mint of Lucknow, I have been under the necessity of appointing a Sezauul on my own behalf to check and examine every rupee that may be issued from it.

I hope this unavoidable interference with the Vizier's officers will meet your approbation; as the preservation of the standard here is extremely material to the interest and convenience of the Honourable Company.





In order to complete the check you have directed over the Mooteynah, and their payment, I have been necessitated to appoint an Aumeen to receive and remit to me the collections of Letafut Ally Cawn's Jaidads, the net amount of which I have pledged myself to send to him; and, to prevent the misappropriation of these funds, which he heretofore so notoriously was guilty of, I have appointed a Mutfer Master and Pay Master to his corps at Dehly.

The person I have chosen for this duty is Cazem Ally Cawn, whose abilities must be known to you when formerly employed in Bengal as Phoufdar of Houghly; I therefore hope this step will also meet with your sanction. Since the above arrangement was adopted, I have learned from certain intelligence, that Letafut Ally Cawn has entered into the pay of Nadjif Cawn, from whom he has received jaidads for the maintenance of his troops. It of course follows, that the Vizier can no longer retain them in his pay and service; upon which I have this moment received a message from the Nabob, but have waved a reply until I should receive your answer to the following question.

Whether you think it most adviseable, to the better arrangement and oeconomy of the Nabob's finances, to take this favourable opportunity of stopping the large expence incurred upon this head; or, as our interest and politics must necessarily be connected more or less with the Court of Dehly. Whether you think it best to have any person of declared attachment to our interest recommended to the Vizier to fill the station vacated by the delinquency of Letafut Ally Cawn?

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

Lucknow,  
the 20th March 1782.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON.

Resident at the Vizier's Court.

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To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I have received the honour of your commands under date the 27th February.

I had carried the original treaty down with me, in obedience to your orders of the 19th December; but, having determined, upon receipt of your first above-mentioned letter, to return immediately to my station, I have brought it back with me, and shall now forward it by the first safe conveyance.

In obedience to the explanation you require, of the general assertion, That the objects of the late treaty have been fulfilled, I now proceed to recapitulate unitedly, what I have hitherto in detached letters taken the liberty of submitting to you; and, for regularity, I shall take up the paragraphs of your instructions, accompanying the Chunar treaty, in the order they stand.

Par. 1. Requires the execution of the several articles of the treaty, being five in number.

The first has been fully effected by the complete payment of all arrears, and the march of the temporary and cavalry brigade into the provinces.

Nothing remains but the return, or adjustment, of the value of the stores furnished by the Nabob when the temporary brigade was first established; of which only nine pieces of field artillery have yet been returned by Colonel Morgan. The inclosed is a letter from the Nabob upon the subject.

Mr. Wombwell's office has been fully paid off and discharged, and all the arms and stores of the different corps delivered to the Nabob, and assets for the payment of the extra regiment stationed at Lucknow included in the assignment for the current year.

The second article relates to the resumption of the jaghire lands. This has been fully effected. The three most considerable are now under my charge—the Bow Begum's, Salar Jung's, and Letafut Ally Cawn's; a measure I was driven to enforce, on account of the mode in which the first resumption of the Jaguires was conducted; which, by leaving the resumed lands in the farm of those who before held them on behalf of the Jaguirdars, little more than a shadow of the intended change was effected.

The third article, which includes the Jaguire of Fizzulla Cawn among the rest, has hitherto been deferred by the postscript to your general instruction, which forbids it, until circumstances may render it more expedient and easy to be attempted than the present more material pursuits of Government make it appear.





However, I beg leave to repeat, that a stipend or allowance in ready money, to that Chief, in lieu of his Jaguirc lands, situated and peopled as they are by his own tribe, in vicinity to three capital territories of the same cast, would be far more conducive to the interests and security of this Government; and, as such, permit me to recommend it to your consideration.

The 4th article, as far as regarded this office, was fulfilled here.

The 5th and last article being only a provision for a future eventual contingency, was liable to no exertion here.

The counterpart of the treaty, being the arrangements which the Nabob pledged himself to effect, towards introducing economy into his finances, consisting chiefly in three points—The reduction and regulation of his Mooteyenah troops—the separation of his private purse from the public funds—and placing the latter under the separate management of the Ministers.

The first of these measures is in as great forwardness as it is possible; Pay and Muster Masters having been appointed to the whole, and the saving already made produced a fund equal to defray the established charge of three regiments, as proposed in my address of the 10th instant. The other, of separating and limiting the privy purse, was immediately effected upon my return here from Chunar, and with that the separate public funds placed under the Ministers.

I now proceed to the continuation of the paragraphs of your letter of instructions.

The 2d is only claiming my implicit obedience to what follows: to fulfil which has been, and shall be, my constant study.

The 3d paragraph is a recapitulation of the chief object of the treaty, being the shortest possible liquidation of the Nabob's debt to the Honourable Company. To this purpose I have secured assignments, which I deem adequate to the full discharge of all demands by the end of the present Fullullee year; which, considering the greatness of the aggregate amount, is, I apprehend, as soon as could be expected.

The 4th paragraph is partly answered above; the reduction has chiefly been in the infantry, so as to bring in our troops to supply the deficiency; upon which subject my proposal is before you. The corps under this denomination here, are chiefly Nudjeibs, and employed for the garrisons of the Aumils, Forts, Kutcheries, and Tanahs. The corps of cavalry could not so easily be diminished, or immediately reformed. They consist mostly of Mogols, entertained for the state and personal security of the Aumil, who they generally attend in person; and, such is the refractory disposition of the people, who have never yet been properly controuled, that, was not some immediate visible standing force with the Aumil, at his command, to enforce his orders, he would neither be respected or obeyed, and consequently unable to fulfil the duties of his charge.

The Sebundy is a separate establishment from the two above-mentioned, being a charge of generally about 4 per cent. upon the collections of the different Aumils, for a duty executed by a set of Peons, not military disciplined men, who are stationed upon the crops and fields all over the country, for their protection. These, from the nature and present state of this Government, appear to me absolutely and indispensably necessary for the collections, and can neither be embodied or farmed into any regular fixed establishment; but the new year will afford an opportunity of reducing their numbers, and of bringing this part of the plan into greater perfection.

The 5th paragraph, regulating the mode of paying the Mooteyanah, has been completely established, notwithstanding the complaints and obstructions brought against it by the Aumils; who are by it subjected to a check and controul which they are not pleased with, and deprived of an ideal proportion of authority over their men, by the interference of the Pay and Muster Masters.

To the 6th paragraph, which regards the Nabob's choice of officers, I have only to observe, that no vacancies have occurred, which can have afforded room for an exertion of its clause.

The 7th, regarding the choice of Aumils, can only come under execution at the commencement of the year, when the Aumils are named.—The few instances of change, which have accidentally occurred by the resumption of the Jaguircs, have been conducted under the spirit of this order.

Upon the 8th paragraph I have written a strong letter to the Nabob, recommending most earnestly to him to establish courts of justice throughout his dominions, beginning by a Sudder ul Hukk at the capital, of the effect whereof I shall hereafter inform you; I have not urged an





tant adoption of the plan, as it appears more mentioned as a point you wish to be brought about by degrees, than expect to see immediately enforced; nor is the Government here yet sufficiently regulated, to promise just now those beneficial consequences, which are the objects of such an institution.

The 9th paragraph conveys a discretionary power, eventually to be exercised; an occasion for which hath not hitherto occurred.

The notice directed by the 10th paragraph, has been publickly given to every person coming under its description, and who have signified their having received the order.

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

Trusting that from this explanation you will be satisfied that I have done all that the time I have had, and the circumstances I have been under, would admit,

Lucknow,  
the 25th March 1782.

I remain, with profound respect,  
&c. &c.

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

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NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Esq. Resident at Lucknow,

Fort William, 24th April 1782.

Sir,

As I understand that there are still remaining at Lucknow, or in other parts of the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, many persons subject to our Government, or possessing an influence from their connection with it, besides the Company's covenanted servants attached to your department, and the officers and followers of the army, contrary to the agreement made by me with the Nabob Vizier in the month of August last, it is my positive order that you give them fresh notice to depart, and on failure of their immediate compliance, that you apply to the Nabob for his authority for their removal by force. Lieut. Colonel Polier, and Major Martin, are excepted from this order, having received permission of the Board to remain, provided they have the Nabob's licence; and Mr. Thomas, to whom the like permission has been granted, at the Nabob's express request.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

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Lucknow, the 9th May 1782.

Sir,

I HAVE received, through a channel of seeming authenticity, the following intelligence; which it is my duty to communicate to you, whether or not you may consider it of importance.

A Frenchman, whose name I cannot learn, but who is said to have been of some note at Dehly, has lately been sent from that Court, on a supposed deputation from the present Administration to Hyder Ally Cawn, and the French commandant on the coast, and thence to the Government at Mauritius; for which latter purpose a frigate was to be ordered for his reception at Mangalore.

He arrived at Agra on the 20th of last month, and staying only one night there, pursued his journey by the route of Bundelcund, towards Naugpore, where it is surmised he has also some dispatches to deliver for the Mahratta State.





If you think the matter of sufficient importance, an early intimation to the Resident with Madajee Boufala, might be the means of intercepting this agent, or at least of ascertaining the truth or falsehood of the intelligence.

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

The Honourable  
the Governor General.

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON,  
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I have received the honour of your commands of the 24th ultimo, which I have again signified to all dependants of the Honourable Company's Government resident in the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, falling under the described predicament; who, I hope, will shew an immediate obedience, but should it prove otherwise, your further orders shall be strictly attended to.

There are two Gentlemen of my family, whom I hope to be indulged with permission to exempt from an immediate effect of the above order, holding myself entirely responsible for their conduct, so long as they may be allowed to remain with me; the one is Mr. John Pendred Scott, my private book-keeper, and sole agent for the management of the salt petre provided in these provinces on account of the Honourable Company, whose removal therefore would subject me to very great inconvenience and difficulty; the other is Mr. James Orr, who is in the monthly pay of my office, and occupied wholly in transferring the accounts laid by me before the Honourable Board, the Superintendent of the offices, and the Accomptant General.

The loss of this Gentleman's services, which could not be replaced here, would be extremely inconvenient to me, as the business of accounts is what very few are conversant in, either from the want of practice, or from never having made it an object of their particular study; I must therefore trouble you with my solicitations, in favour of these two Gentlemen, and hope for your indulgence.

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

Lucknow,  
the 10th May, 1782.

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

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, &c. &c.

Sir,

Having, in obedience to your commands, prepared, and in your behalf invested the Ministers with the khelats you consented to bestow upon them, as a token of your protection, I have now the honour to forward you their acknowledgments on that occasion; and am, with the most profound respect,

&c. &c.

Lucknow,  
the 12th May 1782.

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

Sir,

Inclosed I have the honour to forward you an address from the Nabob Muzuffer Jung, of Furruckabad, in acknowledgment of a letter of yours to him, lately forwarded to me by Mr. Markham, with your commands; and that I should cause it to be delivered into the Nabob's own hands, which was accordingly done.

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

Lucknow,  
the 21st May 1782.

NATH. MIDDLETON.

The Honourable the Governor General.

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CSL

To Mr. NATHANIEL MIDDLETON.

Fort William, 2d June 1782.

Sir,

I desire that you will not leave your station at a greater distance than Patna, as the Board will have occasion for your presence there speedily, for the adjustment of the accounts of this, and for framing the assignments of the ensuing year. Instructions are preparing for you on both subjects.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

WARREN HASTINGS.

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To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 2d instant; and, in obedience to your commands, I shall not leave my station at a greater distance than this place, but hold myself in readiness to return with all possible expedition, to execute any orders you may be pleased to transmit me.

Patna,  
the 15th July, 1782.

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

(Signed)

NATH. MIDDLETON.

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To Mr. NATHANIEL MIDDLETON.

Fort William, 24th July 1782.

Sir,

Notwithstanding the faith of Government pledged to the Nabob, for the removal of all unlicensed Europeans from his capital, and from his country, and notwithstanding my repeated injunctions to you, I am informed that numbers yet remain at Lucknow, and the Nabob himself has made it the subject of a formal complaint. He undoubtedly conceives them to be under protection; and as it is your duty, so I must again desire that you will undeceive him; that you will represent to him that my credit and the dignity of our Government is hurt by this contempt of its authority; but that he is the Magistrate of his own country, and that it is incumbent on him to remove those who have been forbidden to remain in it. If they will not remove, why does he not use force to compel them? Why does he not cause them to be arrested, and transported beyond his borders, with orders to his Aumils not to permit them to return?

I have been much solicited to let Mr. Scott stay; and his advocates have assured me that he had your promise. I cannot permit it; and if he has not left Lucknow, I must insist on his leaving it instantly.—I am told that Captain Marfack is still there. Why do you, and why have you suffered it? for I know that it is not with the Nabob's connivance.

I some time since read a letter from Captain Darell, requesting to be permitted to continue at Lucknow, for the recovery of his health. If the Nabob will consent to it, I will not object to his staying till the end of the rains, if he shall find it necessary, but no longer.

I must desire that you will send me a list of all the English Gentlemen, of every denomination, who shall be at Lucknow, or in any other parts of the Nabob's dominions, when you receive this letter, and of the means used for removing those who have no right to be there.

Col. Polier and Col. Martin have been excepted by the Board from the general order; but their continuance must be with the entire option of the Nabob, or they must also be required to depart.

I am, &c. &c.

(Signed)

WARREN HASTINGS.

To Mr. Nath. Middleton,  
Resident at Lucknow.

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Sir,





Patna, the 17th August 1782

Sir,

I was duly honoured with your commands of the 24th July, which a necessary reference to Lucknow prevented my replying to before.

I have already had the honour to inform you, that your orders had been repeatedly notified to all the unlicensed Gentlemen residing at Lucknow, who severally assured me of their obedience; and when I left that place, the end of June last, some had taken their departure, and the rest appeared to be preparing to do it with all possible speed. I learn from Mr. Johnson, that on receipt of your letter, Messrs. Scott, Orr, Marfack, Carvalho, and Darell, were yet at Lucknow; the two former Gentlemen were positively to depart by the end of this month at farthest, and Messrs. Marfack and Carvalho were then on the point of setting out. Captain Darell, whose health I am informed is in a very indifferent state, having your permission, is to remain to the end of the rains.

Besides the above-mentioned Gentlemen, Mr. Robert Grant and Mr. Bird are, I understand, resident at Furruckabad; but I have not signified your orders to them, being uncertain how far they might be considered to fall under their description. These are all the dependants of our Government, that I know of, residing within the Vizier's jurisdiction, without public appointments, on the express licence of the Board.

I beg leave to assure you, Sir, that I never made any promise whatever to Mr. Scott, or gave him any hopes of continuing at Lucknow, excepting such as he might have derived from my consenting to forward a recommendation to you in his behalf.

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

NATH. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Vizier's Court.

To the Honourable the Governor General.

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To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I had the honour to receive your commands of the 10th August, previous to my departure from Patna, and delayed the acknowledgment of them until my arrival at Lucknow, only that I might be enabled to yield you the fullest information and satisfaction on the subject of their contents.

I have had the pleasure to find, upon my arrival, that the report of Almas Ally Cawn's flight from the Vizier's dominions was premature. His conduct for some time past, no doubt, indicated such an intention, and appearances at one time warranted a belief that his resolution was decidedly taken; but although he withdrew himself and his Naibs from the charge of the country, he never broke off his correspondence with the Court, or manifested any disinclination to return to his duty under his Excellency's Government, whenever he might be assured he could do it on terms of undoubted security to himself.

The hasty and ill-founded alarms, with which the misrepresentations of the enemies of the Vizier's and our own Government had impressed him, having been removed by the fullest assurances of security and protection, he has resumed the charge of the districts he before held; and I trust his future conduct will merit your forgiveness and continued patronage.

I must entreat, Sir, that you will suspend your judgment upon the state of the Vizier's administration, until I shall be able to lay before you a review of the measures already adopted, and now in agitation, for the regulation of this country, which I have not a doubt will afford the most satisfactory evidence of the happy effect of your arrangements.

Upon the last paragraph of your commands, I must beg leave to refer you to my address of this date to the Honourable Board, which I confidently trust you will receive as an acquittal of the responsibility with which you charged me; and, as you have candidly rested your decision on my conduct on the ultimate effect of my exertions to realize the Honourable Company's balance, conformably to the assurances I had repeatedly given on that head, I am encouraged to hope for that testimony of your approbation which it has ever been equally my study and ambition to merit, and which with me must ever constitute an essential part of any satisfaction I could look for in the most successful discharge of my duty.

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

NATH. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,  
the 7th Sept. 1782.

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Sir,





Lucknow, 9th September 1782.

Sir,

In the course of the discussion with the Nabob and the Ministers, upon the further claim of the Honourable Company, as stated by the Accomptant General, they mentioned the right, which they conceived his Excellency derived from the treaty, to charge the Company with the expence of Abdul Rahaman Cawn's corps, and seemed to intend making it the subject of an immediate public address to you; I have however, for the present, taken upon me to prevent such an application being made, wishing to be favoured with your previous sentiments upon it.

If the Honourable Board are disposed to admit these pretensions, no embarrassing consequence could attend the public assertion of them; but if, on the other hand, they deem it inexpedient to admit the claim, and wish to avoid a public decision upon it, I apprehend it would be most advisable to stop it altogether here; which I have no doubt I should be able to effect, if you are pleased to approve of my so doing. At all events, I flatter myself you will approve of the motive which induced me to trouble you with this intimation; and that you will believe me, with the greatest respect, &c. &c.

NATH. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

The Honourable the Gov. Gen.

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &amp;c.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that all the unlicensed Gentlemen formerly resident at Lucknow have, in obedience to your orders, taken their departure, excepting Mr. Orr, Captain Darell, and Mr. Scott.—The former acquaints me, that he has received an authority through Mr. Wombwell to continue at Lucknow.—Captain stays only until the rains are over, for which he has your permission; and Mr. Scott (from whom I beg leave to lay before you a letter, with surgeon's certificate) is preparing with all possible expedition, consistent with the reduced state of his health, to fulfil your commands.

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

NATH. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,  
16th Sept. 1782.

RICHARD JOHNSON, Esquire, acting Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Sir,

In obedience to the Governor General's orders (which I did not conceive extended to my removal, before I received replies from Calcutta) the beginning of last May, I have since then been using every means to clear my concerns, in order to withdraw myself from his Excellency's dominions.

This I would have accomplished ere now, had it not been for the bad state of health I have laboured under since February last. My disorders Mr. Murchison has attended to with the most attentive care, without being able to remove them; but gives me hopes, from the present change of season, they may come to a crisis. He imagines my removal from immediate assistance may be attended with danger to my life, before he sees a probability of my recovery; and as such he has given me his sentiments, which I have inclosed you. I beg leave to request you will inform the Governor General and his Excellency, that as soon as I can be moved with any safety, that I shall, in obedience to their orders; hoping that they will afford my people every just support for their collecting my outstanding advances, which were made before I ever knew of such an order intended to be published. This makes my situation peculiarly hard, and leaves me every reason to dread I shall sustain loss of more than my own property, the fruits of 15 years unwearied toils in business. The balances now outstanding amount to very near four lacks of rupees.

Any enquiry you choose to make into the truth of my assertions, shall with cheerfulness be laid before you, by,

Sir,

Your most obedient, &amp;c.

JOHN P. SCOTT.

Lucknow,  
12th July 1782.

Mr. John Pendred Scott having for many months been afflicted with various complaints, and being now in a very infirm state of health, I am induced to believe, from what I have known of his case, that his undertaking a journey in his present situation might be attended with fatal consequences; and I therefore strongly recommend to him not to remove from hence, till the effects of a course of medicines and regimen now prescribed for him can be ascertained.

Lucknow,  
July 13th 1782.

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K. MURCHISON,

Surgeon.

LETTER





## LETTER from MR. HASTINGS to the NABOB HYDER BEG CAWN.

WHEN I prevailed upon the Nabob Vizier to commit the entire charge of his revenues and the administration of his finances to his Ministers, of whom you are the acting and responsible person, with the concurrence of the Resident, Mr. Middleton, I had so sure a reliance on your integrity, diligence, and abilities, which are universally known, and no less on the same qualities of Mr. Middleton, that I departed with a mind perfectly at ease, expecting that order would be restored to the Nabob's affairs, capable and trust-worthy Aumils appointed to the superintendence of the districts, the forces duly stationed for the security of peace and the confirmation of the authority of the Sirkar, and that the past and growing debt of the Company would be completely discharged in the course of the year, and that I should receive the thanks of the Nabob, your Master, for the effects of my solicitude for the support of his dignity and ease. The event has proved the reverse of these hopes;—an accumulation of distress, debasement, and dissatisfaction to the Nabob, and of disappointment and disgrace to me.—Every measure which he had himself proposed, and to which he had solicited my assistance, has been so conducted, as to give him cause of displeasure; there are no officers established, by which his affairs could be regularly conducted; mean, incapable, and indigent men have been appointed Aumils of the districts, without authority, and without the means of personal protection; some of them have been murdered by the Zemindars; and those Zemindars, instead of punishment, have been permitted to retain their Zemindaries with independent authority; all the other Zemindars suffered to rise up in rebellion, and to insult the authority of the Sirkar, without any attempt made to suppress them; and the Company's debt, instead of being discharged by the assignments and extraordinary sources of money provided for that purpose, is likely to exceed even the amount at which it stood at the time in which the arrangement with his Excellency was concluded. The growth of these evils was early made known to me, and their effects foreboded in the same order and manner as they have since come to pass.—Added to these, I this instant learn, that Almas Ally Cawn, to whom you had entrusted the greatest portion of the collections, without any pledge or security for his fidelity, has thrown off his allegiance, and quitted the Nabob's dominions, taking with him an immense treasure, the fruit of his embezzlements and oppressions, and an army raised for its protection. This too was long since foretold, and ought to have been suspected.

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

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

## EXTRACT of BENGAL SECRET CONSULTATIONS, 7th September 1782.

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

The papers now laid before the Board contain information, whether true or false, of such an alarming nature, as to require some immediate and effectual measure to prevent the possible consequences of the circumstances therein contained. In the present instance, delicacy to Mr. Johnson cannot be regarded; a whole province may be thrown into convulsions by it, and those of the Company be involved in the general confusion. The Governor General himself has no doubt of the truth of the information; and if such violent measures could be necessary to the interests of the Company, it was Mr. Johnson's duty to have communicated that necessity, and his motives for such





conduct, together with the steps he had taken, to the Board;—but such information has never been given to us by him, and he must therefore thank himself for consequences arising out of his own remissness and inattention to his duty.

Sir,

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

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

I endeavoured to encourage Hyder Beg Cawn to a reliance on your justice, by assuring him that you would not hold him responsible for measures which had been dictated to him by an influence he could not oppose, and by explaining to him your intentions respecting the subjects contained in your letter to him. But before your protection can be extended to him, he may be ruined by the power and malice of Johnson, and I am afraid that his natural timidity will impel him to some precipitate resolution of fatal consequence to the Vizier's affairs.

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

Lucknow,  
24th August 1782.

I am, &c.  
(Signed)

WILLIAM PALMER.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from HYDER BEG KHAWN to MAJOR WILLIAM DAVY; received September 6th, 1782, at Calcutta.

Usual introduction.

I have wrote you two letters previous to this, which I hope are arrived. The former language and carriage of the acting Chief here have again been revived, and in such manner, that in consequence thereof we can no longer know each other. His conduct has turned out extraordinary indeed, and is all the offspring of artifice. I repeatedly hinted to you when at Lucknow, that he was not unwatchful of his object, and that he was meditating my ruin, inasmuch as every mark of favour conferred upon me by the Governor has been displeasing to him; and the circumstance I apprehended has now come to pass, for he has caused letters of reprimand to be written to me by the Governor. I am on all occasions ready to fulfil the Governor's pleasure: this declaration I have repeatedly made to you, and I doubt not but you will represent the same to him. With respect to the advantage he (Mr. Johnson) has taken in accusing me, I am now silent; I will first pay off the balance due to the Company, and then, relying on the kindness of the justice of the Governor, I am ready to answer to every particular. At the end of two days I will write you fully of the plan now in agitation for discharging the debt. It is well that he has taken the lead in accusing me; I shall now also do my duty in representing my situation; as soon as the money due to the Company is paid, I will inform the Governor in the fullest manner of his conduct with respect to me, and I will write particularly to you on the same subject from thence; the propriety or impropriety of my conduct will be made known. In fact he has, in order to render me contemptible, appointed the Aumils of his own choice, and in such a manner, that no one either attends the Presence of the Nawaub, or comes to visit me. Sitting in his apartment, he sends for whatever summands or orders he thinks proper; without remedy I write and deliver them: he moreover





moreover directs the funnuds to be sent on his own part to the Residence of the persons for whom they are made out, as if such matters had no connexion with the Sircar of the Nawab. As soon as the debt is discharged, every thing shall be related. His complaints also to the Governor, that by the continuance of Major Palmer, the Company's affairs, such as the receipt of the balance, &c. are retarded, are all written for the purpose of securing and establishing himself for no such obstructions to the Company's concerns have ever been produced by the presence of Major Palmer; on the contrary, in the confidence derived therefrom, several affairs have been brought to a conclusion. After payment of the balance, when the state of things here shall be communicated at large, it will be understood that, owing to the encouragement and confidence given by Major Palmer, affairs have been concluded, and that no impediments have ever arisen therefrom. All these are the contrivances of Mr. Johnson, who is the all-powerful here. The Vizier has no power in this place, nor the Naib of the Vizier, nor Mr. Middleton; the sole master of affairs is Mr. Johnson: whatever he writes to Mr. Middleton, that Mr. Middleton writes to Calcutta, otherwise it is not Mr. Middleton's disposition to traduce any one without cause. In a word, that which I foretold to you respecting him has come to pass; by the blessing of God the whole will be known in a few days. You may speak on these affairs with confidence; the Governor's pleasure shall be fulfilled; there shall be no neglect upon me; and some measure be taken, otherwise I will not now continue in this society. As soon as the Company's money is paid, I will wait upon the Governor. I have in such manner continued to devote myself, both in life and fortune, to the service of the Company, that all mankind here have become my enemies; but owing to Mr. Johnson, my endeavours have been converted into misdemeanors.

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

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

Resolved that the following letter be dispatched to him.

MR. RICHARD JOHNSON.

Sir,

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

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

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

Fort William,  
7th September 1782.

We are, &c. &c.

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TO MR. N. MIDDLETON.

Sir,

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

Fort William,  
7th September 1782.

We are, &c. &c.

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To Colonel JAMES MORGAN, commanding the Troops at Cawnpore.

Sir,

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

Fort William,  
7th September 1782.

We are, &c.

EXTRACT of BENGAL GENERAL CONSULTATIONS, the 23d September 1782.

RECEIVED the following Letter from the Governor General.

Gentlemen,

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

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

Upon the same occasion I observed to you, that the obstacle which opposed itself to the nomination of Mr. Bristow to the Residency at Oude no longer existed; it was removed by my having vindicated what must ever be esteemed one of the necessary privileges of this government: I had the pleasure of finding, upon the most impartial enquiry, that the conduct of Mr. Bristow, during his former residence at the Court of the Vizier, had been proper and attentive. I accordingly wished to recommend him to succeed the present Resident, provided the Vizier had no reasonable objections to his appointment.

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

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

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

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

WARREN HASTINGS.

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

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The





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

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

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

The following Letters are accordingly written :

Sir,

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

Fort William,  
the 23d September 1782.

We are, &c.  
(Signed) Governor General and Council.

Sir,

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

Fort William,  
the 23d September 1782.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) J. P. AURIOL, Secretary.

#### MR. MACPHERSON.

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

The conduct of Mr. Middleton in various instances appears to me highly reprehensible. His negligence in not informing this government of the confusions, if not general rebellion, in the Vizier's country; and his dilatoriness in realizing the heavy debt due by the Vizier to the Company, appear to me, in the present crisis of public affairs, as crimes against the state, and as such they should be rigidly investigated. Mr. Johnson's conduct, as acting Resident, appears to me to be subject to a similar impeachment; but as I should be equally sorry to condemn the conduct of any servant of this government, before he has every fair power for vindication given him—as I would be rigid in enforcing a just punishment after condemnation, so I shall move, upon the return of Messieurs Middleton and Johnson to the Presidency, that they may be called upon to account for their mismanagement at Oude, and that the complaints made of their conduct, both by the Vizier and his acting Minister, be taken into consideration. If ever there was a period in the distress of any government, when neglect of duty or corruption in servants in high station is superiorly criminal, it is the present crisis of the Company's distresses; critical situation, with their few allies and numerous enemies!

(Signed) JOHN MACPHERSON.

#### EXTRACT of BENGAL SECRET CONSULTATIONS; 18th November 1782.

READ the following Letter from Mr. Richard Johnson.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

I am honoured with your commands through your Secretary of this date, requiring information upon the nature of bills received from Mr. Middleton to the amount of l. k. s<sup>d</sup> 21,50,000.

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

This remittance was negotiated in the following manner:

The last collections of the balances of the assignments, annually granted to the Honourable Company at Lucknow, usually run two months into the new year, which time elapses before the Amils can adjust their old accounts at the capital, and be ready to depart with their new agreement; in order therefore to prevent the Nabob from appearing to have failed in his part of the execution of the treaty of Chunar, by which he was to liquidate his debt to the Company within that year, and to the performance of which this accustomed delay would have given a false appearance, this argument joining in its issue with an advantage to the Honourable Company by a more speedy payment, it was mutually agreed to raise the amount of the outstanding balances from the Shrofts; they to grant bills or pauts, as wanted, for payments at Lucknow, or remittances to the Presidency, in exchange for, or in advance upon, the balances which thenceforward became payable to them; the Nabob allowing the Shrofts interest for their money, while they might be out of their money by the advance. The Shrofts, upon the faith of the English agency, accepted the proposal, and accordingly issued the bills, and completed the whole balance, as brought to account in Mr. Middleton's account, to the last day of August, now before the Board. The deed for the security of the Shrofts was sealed by the Nabob, Ministers, and Resident.

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

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

Fort William,  
22d October 1782.

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

EXTRACT of BENGAL GENERAL CONSULTATIONS, 25th November 1782.

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

To JAMES PETER AURIOL, Esquire, Secretary.

Sir,

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

Calcutta,  
20th Nov. 1782.

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

R. JOHNSON.

Honourable





Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

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

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

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

R. JOHNSON.

Calcutta,  
20th Nov. 1782.

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

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

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

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#### EXTRACT of BENGAL SECRET CONSULTATIONS, the 12th June 1783.

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

#### CHARGES against Mr. NATHANIEL MIDDLETON.

1st. For leaving unexecuted the several articles of the Governor General's peremptory orders and instructions to you, dated at Chunar, the 20th September 1781, notwithstanding those instructions enjoined and commanded your strictest obedience, and were, both by the Vizier's formal agreement, on which they were founded, and by the tenor of them, intended to be carried into immediate effect, the object of them being the reduction of the Vizier's debt to the Company, which was in a constant state of accumulation, and a consciousness of it seemed implied in your first letter from Lucknow, dated 4th October 1781, which contained the following words: "We have not yet been able to enter on any business of moment, but you may rest assured no time shall be unnecessarily consumed;" and in your letter of the 12th October, where you write in the most pressing terms for the recall of the late temporary brigade, as being a part of the reform. Notwithstanding the Governor General, on the 26th December following, finding that you had not to that time taken any steps towards accomplishing the treaty, in the points in which





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

2dly. For giving not only precipitate and unwarranted assurances as above quoted, but contradictory information of facts; for by your letters of the 11th February 1782, to the Governor General, you say you inclose one from the Vizier, "informing him of his compliance with the only points that remained unfinished of his part of the late agreements," &c. and add, "I have, in confirmation of the above-mentioned letter, received one from the Minister, informing me of the accomplishment of this reform, from which, with the total resumption of all jagheers which is now perfectly completed, I have every reason to hope for the most beneficial result, and that every part of this Government will now be in a state of regularity and tranquillity scarcely ever before experienced."

"I also trust, that you will now deem every wish, expressed in your instructions to me, fully performed."—Again, in your letter to the Governor of the 10th March following, you say, "Having succeeded in the impression which I wished to make on the Ministers, and the reduction which has been made in the Nabob's Mooteyana troops strengthening the ground I had argued on, I availed myself of this opportunity to propose an establishment of the Company's troops."—In your letter to him of the 20th of that month, you say, "In order to complete the check you have directed over the Mooteyana and their payment, I have been necessitated to appoint an Aumeen to receive and remit to me the collections of Litaput, Ally Cawn's Jaidads, &c."—And in your letter of the 25th March 1782, addressed to the Governor General, you defined the particular manner in which the several parts of your instructions had been carried into execution; but by your letter of the 17th September 1782, addressed to the Board, you only then declare, that you had stationed an agent of your own in each Aumildarry throughout those provinces, as Muster Master of the Mooteyana troops, and say, that you "could not with propriety have taken so decisive a line in this business at an earlier period, as the Nabob and Ministers returning to the capital so late as the month of October, found themselves obliged to continue the Aumils already in employ in their respective trusts, or risk by new appointments at that advanced season, the loss of the whole collections on the kharreeff or first crop, amounting to two fifths of the annual revenue, and the same circumstances involved the necessity of leaving their agreements nearly in the form in which they stood in the preceding year. Hence it became difficult and dangerous to take any immediate steps for the introduction of the Governor General's arrangements, beyond laying the foundations of a future reform, which was duly attended to; and these I can now securely build upon, as, by availing myself of this early period, every Aumil is apprized of the terms on which he embarks, and left without excuse for any failure in his engagements."—And thus deferring till September 1782, what you thought it too late in the season to carry into execution in October 1781, although you had urgent and positive orders for doing it immediately, and although you had reported the actual performance thereof to have passed in your letters above quoted.

3dly. For these and other contradictions and inconsistencies, particularly pointed out to you in the Governor General's letters, dated 1st and 3d of January 1782.

4th. For not reporting to the Governor General, or the Board, the progress which you had made from time to time in your endeavours to comply with his instructions; and if you meet with any





any impediments in the execution of them, for omitting to state those impediments, and to apply for fresh orders upon them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

11th. For loading the Vizier's revenues in like manner with the further usurious charge of 2 per cent. per mensem, in order to anticipate the liquidation of the excess of disbursements beyond the amount which you had received assignments for, at the beginning of the year 1189, by mortgaging to the Shroffs the balances of the assignments uncollected at the end of the said year 1189.

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

13th. For afterwards pursuing measures to encrease the power of Almas Ally Cawn (already too formidable for a subject) by procuring for him, on his return to Lucknow, a grant of additional districts





difficulties, on the condition of his becoming bound to the Shroffs for the payment of their tunkaws or assignments in their favor, and thereby releasing your own security to them for the liquidation of those Tunkaws.

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

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

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

#### CHARGES against MR. RICHARD JOHNSON.

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

2dly. "By exacting funnuds, and orders from the Presence, at your own pleasure, and issuing the funnuds on your own part, as if his duty had been held independent of the Vizier's authority."

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

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

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

6thly. For applying on different occasions to Colonel Morgan, commanding the brigade at Cawnpore, for military aid to enforce the orders of government, and quell disturbances in different parts of the Vizier's dominions, without any reference, or even information, given to the Board of such applications, or the occasion for them.

7thly. But particularly for detaching, by the means of your application to the Commanding Officer at Cawnpore, one regiment from that brigade, to enforce the Vizier's demands upon the Nabob of Furruckabad, notwithstanding the positive prohibition of any interference from the Resident





dent in the Vizier's claims upon that Nabob, and notwithstanding the further positive prohibition of detachments being required from the brigade, except in cases of extreme necessity; and on all these important occasions, for neglecting to make any communications to this Board.

To MR. MIDDLETON.

Chunar, 21st November 1781.

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

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

1. An account of the sums due to the end of the last month of the Fuzulee computation from the Nabob Vizier to the Company, on account of each separate charge.

2. An account of the disbursements made and due for the last Fuzulee year for every different department paid by Mr. Wombwell, viz. The temporary brigade, Major Martin's arsenal, Colonel Hannay's corps, body guard, pensions, and salaries, and the actual expence of Captain Osborne's corps for the last year of his command.

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

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

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS.

My dear Sir,

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

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

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

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

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

Lucknow,  
25th November 1781.

I am, &c.  
NATHANIEL MIDDLETON.





To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS.

Lucknow, the 2d December 1781.

My dear Sir,

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

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

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

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed)

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,

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

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS.

Lucknow, the 6th December 1781.

My dear Sir,

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

In the Nabob's account current, dated and forwarded to you the 30th ultimo, I purposely particularized, as far as my judgment could point out, any division or detail in it. The sum of rupees, 32,78,613. 11. after deducting 10,000 rupees for an error, was the balance of the year 1187, agreeably to Mr. Purling's account, arising from short payments of the claims made upon the Nabob for that year, and occasioned by the total collections of the country not having proved adequate to the Nabob's own wants and our annual claims; and upon these considerations I found myself obliged, upon my adjustment with his Excellency for the year 1188, to take a bond for that amount, of which I duly informed the Honourable Board. The army donation, rupees 10,50,000, was under the same circumstances, as the unavoidable claims of the immediate pay of the established troops, and other indispensable disbursements, fully engrossed all the funds that could be set apart from





from the Nabob's absolute wants, after deducting the usual charges of collection. For this, therefore, I was obliged to accept a bond, the Honourable Board being informed of it, and sanctifying it by their concurrence. Both these bonds I separately particularized at the foot of the Nabob's account for 1188, and added the actual balance of rupees 12,09,876. 9. 8. for which new assignments were receiving.

Believe me, my dear Sir, if this explanation does not answer your purpose, it is not owing to the want of inclination to take any pains to afford you complete satisfaction, but to my ignorance of any clearer mode of stating it, or any other elucidation of which the account is susceptible; I must therefore entreat you will do me the favour to inform me, what question, unanswered by my explanation, can be asked upon it, and I will instantly do my utmost to make it more clear and explicit.

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

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

Finding the Nabob wavering in his determination about the resumption of the Jagheers, I this day, in presence of and with the Minister's concurrence, ordered the necessary perwannahs to be written to the several Aumils for that purpose, and it was my firm resolution to have dispatched them this evening, with proper people to see them punctually and implicitly carried into execution; but before they were all transcribed, I received a message from the Nabob, who had been informed by the Minister of the resolution I had taken, intreating that I would withhold the perwannahs until to-morrow morning, when he would attend me, and afford me satisfaction on this point. As the loss of a few hours in the dispatch of the perwannahs appeared of little moment, and as it possible the Nabob, seeing that the business will at all events be done, may make it an act of his own, I have consented to indulge him in his request; but, be the result of our interview whatever it may, nothing shall prevent the orders being issued to-morrow, either by him or myself, with the concurrence of the Ministers. Your pleasure respecting the Begums I have learnt from Sir Elijah; and the measure heretofore proposed will soon follow the resumption of the Jagheers. From both, or indeed from the former alone, I have no doubt of the complete liquidation of the Company's balance.

I am, &c.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON.

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The Honourable WARREN HASTINGS.

Lucknow, the 7th December 1781.

My dear Sir,

I had the honour to address you yesterday, informing you of the steps I had taken in regard to the resumption of the Jagheers. This morning the Vizier came to me according to his agreement, but seemingly without any intention or desire to yield me satisfaction on the subject under discussion; for after a great deal of conversation, consisting on his part of trifling evasion and puerile excuses for withholding his assent to the measure, though at the same time professing the most implicit submission to your wishes, I found myself without any other resource than the one of employing that exclusive authority with which I consider your instructions to vest me: I therefore declare to the Nabob, in presence of the Minister and Mr. Johnson, who I desired might bear witness of the conversation, that I construed his rejection of the measure proposed as a breach of his solemn promise to you, and an unwillingness to yield that assistance which was evidently in his power towards liquidating his heavy accumulating debt to the Company, and that I must in consequence determine, in my own justification, to issue immediately the perwannahs, which had only been withheld in the sanguine hope that he would be prevailed upon to make that his own act.





which nothing but the most urgent necessity could force me to make mine. He left me without any reply, but afterwards sent for his Minister, and authorized him to give me hopes that my requisition would be complied with; on which I expressed my satisfaction, but declared that I could admit of no further delays, and unless I received his Excellency's formal acquiescence before the evening, I should then most assuredly issue my perwannahs; which I have accordingly done, not having had any assurances from his Excellency that could justify a further suspension. I shall, as soon as possible, inform you of the effect of the perwannahs, which, in many parts, I am apprehensive, it will be found necessary to enforce with military aid; I am not, however, entirely without hopes that the Nabob, when he sees the inefficiency of further opposition, may alter his conduct, and prevent the confusion and disagreeable consequences which would be too likely to result from the prosecution of a measure of such importance, without his concurrence. His Excellency talks of going to Fayzabad, for the purpose heretofore mentioned, in three or four days: I wish he may be serious in this intention, and you may rest assured I shall spare no pains to keep him to it.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed)

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON.

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS.

Lucknow, the 9th December 1781.

My dear Sir,

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

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

Sir Elijah Impey has signified to me your final commands respecting the Nabob of Furruckabad, and Ishmael Beg; in both which instances rest assured they shall be implicitly obeyed. I wait only the arrival of Sultulla Cawn, whom Sir Elijah informed me you had dispatched to me, to withdraw every shadow of interference in the government of Furruckabad. Ismael Beg's accounts with the Nabob should be investigated in the manner you direct, and full information transmitted you the moment I can spare time from the two important objects to which you have directed my first attention.

Under this date I have dispatched to you, at the Nabob's desire, two elephants, with an ambarry and howdah, four horses, a palenquin, a maulah scerpeach, and caulgah, appertaining to the dress, &c. you did him the honour to accept at Chunar.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed)

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON.

To MR. MIDDLETON.

Benares, 26th December 1781.

Sir,

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

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I have





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

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

I now demand and require you most solemnly to answer me. Are you confident in your own ability to accomplish all these purposes, and the other points of my instructions? If you reply that you are, I will depart with a quiet and assured mind to the Presidency, but leave you a dreadful responsibility if you disappoint me. If you tell me that you cannot rely upon your \* power, and the other means which you possess, for performing these services, I will free you from the charge; I will proceed myself to Lucknow, and I will myself undertake them; and in that case I desire that you will immediately order bearers to be stationed, for myself and two other gentlemen, between Lucknow and Illahabad, and I will set out from hence in three days after the receipt of your letter.

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

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

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

I am, &c.

(Signed)

WARREN HASTINGS.

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From the NABOB VIZIER to the RESIDENT.

I HAVE received the Governor's letter, directing me to withdraw my Naib from Nabob Mozuffer Jung, leaving the Bundebust to be settled by him; I have accordingly been waiting for a responsible person on the part of Mozuffer Jung, to attend and account with you for the Company's assignments, that I might then recall my servant from thence, and after that address the Governor respecting my humiliation. Hitherto no one from Mozuffer Jung has appeared for that purpose. Mozuffer Jung, on receipt of the Governor's letter, sent a copy of it to Almas Ally Khan, which I now enclose you. It being my wish to give satisfaction in all respects to the Governor, I relinquish all interference with Mozuffer Jung's dominions. The particulars respecting Mozuffer Jung, from the beginning, are these:—On the death of Ahmud Khan, the brothers and family of Mozuffer Jung attempted to deprive him of the musnud, when my father sent his troops to support him, who engaged with the Patans of Mhow, &c. who were in opposition, and established Mozuffer Jung in his accession. Since this, I have protected him against his brothers, Meerbaun Khan, &c. household slaves, allotting, at my own charge, one thousand troops and artillery for his guard; the truth of which enquire of others: you will know in what manner he has made good during these five years, the tribute promised for these services. From the beginning, when every thing was in his own power, by his indolence, and the knavery of his servants, nothing was received; I therefore was reduced to the necessity of appointing a responsible man; and in the same manner as I settled the collections of my own country, causing engagements or bonds to be written by my Aumils for the

\* A blank is left here in the original.





Company's assignments, and payment of the same, to you, so Mozuffer Jung took engagements on bonds from his Aumils, to secure the payment of the Company's assignments to him; but from the ignorance of Mozuffer Jung, and knavery of his servants, the assignments have not been paid, which will appear from the balance accumulated during the collectorship of Mr. Shee. Thus circumstanced, I appointed Almas Ally Khan, that having adjusted every matter respecting Mozuffer Jung to his satisfaction, he might effectually settle the Bundeest of the country.—Now the Governor writes me, not to have any one there—his pleasure is the line of my conduct.—There is due to me from Nabob Mozuffer Jung, to the end of the year, rupees 1,58,456;—this I will assign to the Company towards the payment of my debt to them, which, if satisfactory, to be received from Mozuffer Jung, you will give me credit for the same in part payment of the Company's claim on me, and I shall recall my servant from thence, not meaning to offer any excuse. This being settled, I shall address to the Governor on the subject of my present and future humiliation. If I hesitate, the Governor may deem it an opposition to his will: if I recall my Aumil, it will be considered by Mozuffer Jung as a relinquishment of my claim. Do you, therefore, my friend, take immediate satisfactory steps for the recovery of the debt, that I may withdraw my Aumil in obedience to the Governor's orders. It is notorious that his friendship and connexion with me exceeds that of any other Prince of Hindostan; and in return for which, my life and fortune are devoted to him. The particular and declared object of my application for the removal of Mr. Shee, was to obtain the uncontrouled management of Furruckabad, which was granted me accordingly, and made an article of my last agreement. What has led the Governor to alter his sentiments on this point, I am at a loss to conceive. My humiliation will reach Dehly. When you shall have taken the necessary steps for securing payment of the claims from thence, let me know, and I will recall the Aumil, and then I will write the Governor.—My elevation or disgrace remains in his breast.

Lucknow, 28th December 1781.

My dear Sir,

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

Your letter of the 24th is just arrived, ordering the temporary brigade to be again put on the Vizier's list, which the late treaty had just eased him of. Nothing less than blows can effect this; for he is not even able to pay off the arrears still due to it for the last year, which, with the two and a half months stipulated by the treaty, amount to nine lacks, by Mr. Day's statement. Upwards of twelve lacks have been paid to Mr. Wombwell, besides remittances made to the second brigade and Colonel Muir, and scarce six lacks have yet been collected: a hard strain of private credit alone has made these large extra payments, and total ruin must inevitably be the consequence of any interruption in the recovery of the money advanced. However, this is merely a private consideration, and therefore cannot weigh in public measures; but in a public light, the troops being all in arrears, and no possibility of present payment, so large a body assembled here, without any means in hand to check or controul them, nothing but disorder could follow. As one proof that the Nabob is as badly off for funds as we are, I may inform you that his cavalry rose this day upon him, and went all armed to the palace, to demand from 13 to 18 months arrears due to them; and were with great difficulty persuaded to retire, which was probably more effected by a body of troops getting under arms to go against them, than any other consideration. Without troubling you with detail of arguments, I may venture to pledge myself to you, that the additional demand you propose making cannot this year be obtained without a total reform of his government, which, if brought about by a campaign against him (by which alone it can be done) would, at the same time, stop at once all resources of collections; so that, admitting success, our situation, in point of finance, would be worse than before. As I feel confident of your full credit to this assertion, I shall add nothing further upon the subject, excepting, that the troops hitherto called for by the Vizier have been solicited under that article of the late treaty which authorizes him to remove the subsidiary brigade where he pleases, with the concurrence of the Resident; which power is still more fully explained in the letter of instructions:—both papers can only allude to the troops which they stipulate to remain within the Vizier's dominions. Whenever you no longer may chuse to permit his detaching the brigade, he must then of course conduct his measures by his own subsidy, or be driven to make new proposals from himself for the aid and pay of our regiments.

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





which is equal to seven battalions of 780 men, which formed the temporary brigade, as stipulated to be paid by the Nabob.

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

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

&c. &c.

R. JOHNSON.

Benares.

30th December 1781.

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c. &c.

Sir,

**T**HE solemn call you have made upon me, in your commands of the 26th instant, with which I was honoured yesterday, demands from me the most unreserved and decided reply; and that I might not advance any thing hastily, I took all yesterday to deliberate upon my reply: for the sake of perspicuity, I have thought it best to recapitulate the several paragraphs of your letter, and arrange my answers to them respectively in the same order.

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

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

2d. I have waited thus long, in hopes of hearing that some progress has been made in the execution of the plan which I concluded with the Nabob in September last; I do not find that any step towards it has yet been taken, though three months are elapsed, and little more than that period did appear to me requisite to have accomplished the most essential parts of it, and to have brought the whole into train. This tardiness, and the opposition prepared to the only decided act yet undertaken, have a bad appearance.

In reply to the second paragraph, I beg leave to refer you to my former letters, stating the turbulent state of the country. Three months is a period in which the changes you allude to probably might have been effected in times of perfect tranquillity; but when all the districts across the Gogra were in arms, and all the Jagheerdars (a very numerous and powerful body) were very little short of the same state in every district, and for the regulating and reduction of whom the aumils were principally to be applied to—could a general change or attack upon those aumils with ease have been undertaken? I think not; but I put this argument of the practicability or impracticability out of the question, as it was not that consideration which prevented me from enforcing the measures recommended by you to the Nabob in the treaty;—the fact is this: I did not understand, at the period of executing the agreement between you and the Vizier, that your intention

was,





was, that the whole of the reform proposed was in its fullest extent to take place this year, nor indeed at all, if the Company's debt became liquidated; I conceived your interference in the Nabob's Government tended solely to establish the means of the most speedy payment possible of the Company's debt; and that whenever this should be accomplished, every shadow of interference was to be desisted from, which I stated to the Nabob and the Ministers—and I believe upon the faith of that assurance principally was his Excellency's acquiescence obtained. For the prosecution of these measures, I looked to the occasional assistance of the regiments of the subsidiary brigade, as permitted in the treaty, and your subsequent instructions, and intended employing the aumils and their subundy in the first instance for the reduction of the Jagheerdars, that I might not have the whole country to attack at once. This mode of proceeding threatened no interruption to the collections, but an immediate increase of means in hand to defray the charges of the troops, without which previous point even our own army must be useless. The measure of resuming the jagheers involved many and some very powerful interests, subject to such odium, from the disappointment of the parties, deprived of their means of subsistence, and in such extensive dominions, under a Government so irregular in its constitution, and so shaken as this is, it could not be effectually accomplished in a day.—However, it is now effected nearly throughout, with the Nabob's sanction (which at the point of execution there was the most alarming difficulty to obtain) and in a very few days I trust it will be completely enforced; and, bad as the appearance of opposition may be, I trust to be able to execute the whole reform, without delay, upon the grounds I shall state in my answer to your paragraphs successively.

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

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

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

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





gross revenues to the Ministers, and to receive the pay of their troops, being reduced into regular mustered establishments, from the General Treasury; and should he refuse, I will issue my own, together with those of the Ministers, to that purpose, as I did in a former instance, when the Nabob refused his perwannahs for the resumption of the jagheers; and shall further enforce the execution against each disobeying aumil, by marching against him, and displacing him. These three points complete the heads of your recommendations to the Nabob, the fourth article, which was the separation and limitation of his own disbursements, to the medium of his receipts for the last three years, having already taken place; and then no assignments will remain upon the country, but those of the Company, as expressed in the treaty.

5th. I now demand, and require you most solemnly to answer me: Are you confident in your own ability to accomplish all these purposes, and the other points of my instructions? If you reply that you are, I will depart with a quiet and assured mind to the Presidency, but leave you a dreadful responsibility if you disappoint me.—If you tell me that you cannot rely upon your power, and the other means which you possess, for performing these services, I will free you from the charge, I will proceed myself to Lucknow, and I will myself undertake them; and in that case, I desire that you will immediately order bearers to be stationed for myself and two other Gentlemen, between Lucknow and Illahabad, and I will set out from hence in three days after the receipt of your letters.

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

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

To the 5th I confidently reply, That I am fully competent to undertake and effect the completion of the reform, upon the grounds stated in my answer to the 4th paragraph; and therefore again repeat, that your coming here is unnecessary; and that, as far as regards the duties of my station towards the execution of your orders, you may depart, in conviction, that neither activity or firmness shall be wanting in the exertion of every means within my power: and those means I can foresee no deficiency in, upon the permission I have of calling upon Colonel Morgan for aid, and the receipt of assets at Fyzabad.—For these reasons, therefore, I have not thought it necessary to lay the bearers that you conditionally ordered.

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

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





of the subsidy, and the real expences of the brigade; say, ————— 12,00,000

The money paid from the Treasury at Calcutta, to Abdulrahman Khan 3,30,000

And the payment made in like manner to Mirza Sadit Ally ————— 3,00,000

Besides the full payment of such stores as the Company occasionally issued to the Nabob

Sun. Rupees ————— 18,30,000

or about 20,00,000 of current, which never yet has been the case from the annual jaidads, or current collections—consequently the plan was a fallacy; for the difference between this amount and the remittances to the Presidency, was an actual loss that the Company annually sustained, instead of a supposed advantage of a brigade of infantry and cavalry being totally defrayed by the Nabob; from this therefore I may safely conclude, that the remission to the Nabob of this insufferable burthen, was a profit to the Company whenever the extra troops paid by the Nabob shall be disbanded, or quartered upon other neighbours, who are protected by our power, and the debt put into a probable state of speedy liquidation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lucknow,  
the 30th Dec. 1781.

Lucknow, the 30th Dec. 1781.

My dear Sir,

I have this day answered your public letter, in the form you seemed to expect. I hope there is nothing in it that may to you appear too pointed. If you wish the matter to be otherwise understood than I have taken up and stated it, I need not say I shall be ready to conform to whatever you may prefer, and to take upon myself any share of the blame of the (hitherto) non-performance of the stipulations made on behalf of the Nabob; though I do assure you, I myself represented to his Excellency and the Ministers, conceiving it to be your desire, that the apparent assumption of the reins of his Government (for in that light he undoubtedly considered it at the first view) as specified in the agreement executed by him, was not meant to be fully and literally enforced, but that it was necessary you should have something to shew on your side, as the Company were deprived of a benefit without a requital; and upon the faith of this assurance alone, I believe I may safely affirm his Excellency's objections to signing the treaty were given up. If I have understood the matter wrong,





wrong, or misconceived your design, I am truly sorry for it; however, it is not too late to correct the error; and I am ready to undertake, and, God willing, to carry through, whatever you may, on receipt of my public letter, tell me is your final resolve.

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

I am, &c. &c.

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON.

The Honourable Warren Hastings.

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

Honourable Sir,

SOME business of importance, which the Resident had to settle at Fyzabad, occasioned my suddenly joining him there. After my arrival, a couple of days passed in negotiation, but without effect; and the party in the town collecting, and hourly gaining strength, at length, after mature deliberation, it was resolved that I should, with my regiment, and four guns, storm the town, which I effected the 12th in the morning. I very soon got possession of the Kella, in which is the palace and Zenanah, and as there was not only several gates, but openings in the walls, as I entered on one side they escaped at the other; but shortly after the party returned again, headed by the two principal eunuchs, Bahr Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn, and drew up opposite, and within sixty yards of one of my posts, with three guns, and added the most aggravated behaviour; however, as they did not fire, or offer any other acts of hostility; and when I reflected on the consequence that would attend a contested dispute in the streets of the town; of the Zenanah, &c. being subject to be plundered even by themselves, which would have been attributed to me; and being so situated for the safety of the female part of the family on one hand, who were under the most dreadful apprehension, and for the support of his Excellency's authority on the other, who was waiting the result on the outside of the town, I was for a short time doubtful how to decide; however, as I had Mahomed Affrein Cawn along with me, a person in high favour with the Nabob, and well acquainted with both parties, I desired to circulate lenient advice, pointing out how fatal an attack would be to them, and inevitable ruin to those they appeared so zealous to support. It had the effect; the two eunuchs immediately surrendered, their people instantly left the town, and I ordered their guns to be dragged away.

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

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Z. NAYLOR.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, &c.

To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

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

In the present instance, it was more in appearance and expression, than in fact, that any deviation was made from your orders of the 26th December; for although I was constrained, from my





strict regard to the accomplishment of what I considered the first object of this undertaking, to admit of a temporary forbearance, for the reasons assigned in my address of the 18th ultimo, the Begums were at that time to be considered as entirely at the mercy of the Nabob, their Jagheers were in the possession of his aumils, their troops dispersed, and the Kella of Fayzabad, which included also the Bhow Begum's own habitation, under the guard of his Excellency's and our troops.

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

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

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,  
the 15th February 1782.

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TO MR. NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Resident at the Court of the Nabob Vizier,  
Lucknow.

Sir,

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

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

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

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Such explanations as are intended solely for the satisfaction of the Nabob, and coming from myself, I have directed Major Palmer to communicate separately to him, but in doing this, to use every precaution to avoid any diminution of your authority or influence.

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

Fort William,  
May 7th, 1782.

I am Sir,

Your obedient, &c. &c.  
(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

TO MR. NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Resident at Lucknow.

Fort William, 10th August, 1782.

Sir,

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

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

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

Patna, the 17th August 1782.

I am, Sir, &c.

Copy Proceedings and Correspondence relative to the State and Condition of the Country of Oude, and its Dependencies, and of the Reigning Family thereof, including the Charges made by Mr. Hastings against Mr. Bristow, late Resident at the Court of the Nabob Vizier; also Correspondence, &c. relative to Almas Ali Khan; the Proceedings relative to Mr. Hastings's last Deputation to Lucknow; and the Correspondence of Major Palmer, together with his Instructions.

COPY of the TREATY of CHUNAR.

THE Nabob Vizier Ul Mummalie Afoph Ul Dowlah Afoph Jaw Cawn Behadre having repeatedly and urgently represented, that he is unable to support the expences of the temporary brigade, cavalry, and English officers, with their battalions, as well as other Gentlemen who are now paid by him under the denomination of Sebundy, &c. &c. and having made sundry requests to that and other purposes; and as the constancy and firmness of his alliance with the Company entitle him to every consideration and relief that may depend upon us, I, Warren Hastings, Governor General,

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