

Mohammed Hussan Cawn

Khyrabad and Mhamdy

Mahommed Dulleil	6	71	5	4	428	6	2,568	0	0
Meer Abul Husan	2	54	8	—	109	6	654	0	0
Zulfikar Ally	4	50	—	—	400	6	1,200	0	0
Mahommed Ally Beg	5	66	—	—	320	6	1,980	0	0
Afud Ally Cawn	22	51	—	—	1,122	6	6,732	0	0
Sharuk Beg	3	48	5	4	145	6	870	0	0
Putty Ally Cawn, of Dypore	20	56	4	9	1,126	6	6,756	0	0
Putty Ally Cawn, of Barah	19	90	8	5	1,720	6	10,320	0	0
Meer Sharrut ul deen	3	64	10	8	194	8	1,552	0	0
Muckdoon Beg	14	48	—	—	672	6	4,032	0	0
Khyam Ally Cawn	44	73	14	6	3,252	—	23,256	0	0
Taqeer Ally Cawn	1	50	—	—	50	8	400	0	0
Wuzzee Beg	5	68	9	7	343	6	2,058	0	0
Mahommed Cawn Guger	25	24	—	—	1,320	6	7,920	0	0
Holafe Ray's brothers	4	93	8	—	374	—	3,940	0	0
Bethun Sing, Moonshy	3	40	—	—	120	10	1,200	0	0
Buffy Ram	2	—	—	—	—	—	2,300	0	0
Shaik Mahommed	5	62	6	5	312	6	1,872	0	0
Mahommed Beg	9	107	10	8	969	—	7,070	0	0
Meer Jaffier	2	45	—	—	90	6	540	0	0
Rustum Ally	4	89	—	—	356	6	2,136	0	0
Mahommed Ally	1	60	—	—	60	6	360	0	0
Mahommed Seyed Cawn	221	65	11	10	14,388	6	86,328	0	0
Munfuddies of the Fuzzeat	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,000	0	0
	502				33,184	1		2,21,450	8 0
Meer Ahmad Ally	80	35	4	10	2,824	6	16,944	0	0
Abdol Khandar	5	29	—	—	145	6	870	0	0
Saudack Beg Cawn	42	80	7	7	3,380	—	22,560	0	0
Saik Senna Owla	15	63	8	6	953	5	4,765	0	0
Ally Reza	3	51	5	4	154	6	924	0	0
Gholiam Hussan	3	88	10	8	266	6	1,596	0	0
Savack Ram	15	37	7	5	561	—	3,572	0	0
Khandar Dard Cawn	46	41	4	—	708	6	4,248	0	0
Bouluck Ram	2	51	—	—	102	6	612	0	0
Chittuck Sing	6	52	10	8	316	6	1,896	0	0
Mahommed Rosharr	4	64	4	—	257	6	1,542	0	0
Kheereeder Loll	1	37	—	—	37	8	2,600	0	0
Muddar Buxh	45	48	2	10	2,108	—	13,236	0	0
Ruddar Mun Shookel	50	63	3	4	2,686	—	12,958	0	0
Cazim Buxh	33	50	—	—	2,500	6	15,000	0	0
	320				16,458			1,07,323	0 0
Carried forward	6,18							18,00,145	4 0

Loll Mun Shookul

Ghoonda and Amora



Aumils Names.	Stations.	Names of the Ruffaut-laders.	Number of Men.	Actual Monthly Pay per Man and Horse.	Total per Month.	It is a Custom of Indostanny Princes to pay their Troop for only part of the Year; the Number of Months hereunder specified are those allowed the Vizier's Troops.	Expence of Cavalry stationed with each Aumil.	Total of Expence.
	Brought over		7,502				22,18,640 8 c	
Mirza Ahmad Beg	Sundeilce Milliabad	Synulla Beg	10	46 2 5	4,684 11 0	—	40,566 4 c	
		Ahmud Beg, the Aumil	84	55 12 1	4,681 0 0	—	35,976 12 c	
		Sauleh Beg	10	35 0 7	556 0 0	—	4,008 8 c	
		Gholaum Muddoom	5	85 0 7	428 0 0	—	3,480 0 0	
		Fukeer Ulla Beg	2	131 8 0	267 0 0	—	2,554 0 0	
		Nukky Ally	1	101 0 0	101 0 0	10	1,010 0 0	
		Gholaum Hussein	3	78 0 0	234 0 0	10	2,340 0 0	
		Mahommed Auzim	4	52 8 0	210 0 0	6	1,260 0 0	
		Rhaze Afrum	1	49 0 0	49 0 0	12	588 0 0	
		Serul Perkhud	3	39 6 4	118 0 0	—	980 0 0	
		Imam ul Jeen	5	70 9 7	398 0 0	—	2,853 0 0	
		Shujah Beg	5	69 7 7	347 6 0	—	2,757 0 0	
			23		12,374 1 0		98,473 8 c	
Mirza Atta Beg	Aziinger, &c.	Noor Beg	370	51 14 10	19,213 5 c	—	1,27,438 14 c	
		Bauker Beg	36	55 12 0	2,007 0 0	—	13,361 8 c	
		Ahruff Beg	88	47 1 7	4,145 0 0	—	27,530 0 0	
		Huffum Reza	10	48 7 4	484 10 0	—	3,027 12 c	
		Nunderam	1	92 0 0	92 0 0	16	920 0 0	
		Nabbee Buxh	2	86 0 0	172 0 0	—	1,002 0 0	
		Tajje Roy	1	23 0 0	23 0 0	—	170 0 0	
		Gunga Basha	2	59 8 0	119 0 0	8	952 0 0	
		Mahommed Ally	1	37 0 0	37 0 0	8	296 0 0	
		Dupa Roy	1	92 8 0	92 8 0	8	740 0 0	
		Gholaum Ally Cawn	2	22 8 0	45 0 0	—	320 0 0	
		Tacoor Sing	2	54 0 0	103 0 0	10	1,030 0 0	
		Fatty Ally	7	62 2 3	435 0 0	—	2,175 0 0	
		Omrad Sing	1	49 0 0	49 0 0	8	393 0 0	
		Bubber Ally	1	31 0 0	34 0 0	5	170 0 0	
		Fatty Ally Beg	9	54 9 11	4,969 15 c	—	29,774 13 c	
		Ally Eear Beg Cawn	10	65 2 10	10,655 4 c	—	71,974 4 c	
		Rudder Man Shookuls	11	78 14 1	867 11 0	6	7,678 8 c	
		Wholafa Sing	17	29 3 9	497 0 0	8	3,800 0 0	
		Ewaz Beg	57	51 8 1	1,746 0 0	—	10,220 0 0	
		Mahommed Eear Beg Cawn	3	83 8 8	250 10 c	6	1,503 0 0	
		Welle Mahommed	1	53 4 0	426 0 0	6	2,330 0 0	
		Fyzulla Cawn	1	68 0 0	68 0 0	—	408 0 0	
		Fukher Ulla	1	37 0 0	37 0 0	—	222 0 0	
			875		46,573 15 c		3,97,544 11 c	

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[illegible]



 Aumils.		Stations.	Names of the Commanders.	Number of Men.	Actual Monthly Pay per Man and Horse.	Total per Month.	It is a Custom of Indostanny Princes to pay their Troops for only part of the Year; the Number of Months hereunder specified are those allowed the Vizier's Troops.	Expence of Cavalry stationed with each Aumil.	Total of Expence.
Brought over				—	11,562	—	—	—	—
With the Vizier	Lucknow	{	Jumheer Beg	—	902	41 6 3	37,375 0 0	10	—
			Khaujah Meamat Ulla	—	68	43 13 10	30,138 0 0	10	—
					13,152				—
41,85,476 7									
INFANTRY.									
Almas Ally Cawn	Corah, Eawa, & Jagdiseopore	{	Ally Bakh	2,126	—	6 15 5	14,808 0 0	10	1,48,080 0 0
			Mharaub, &c.	337	—	6 10 1	2,231 6 6	10	22,344 0 0
			Burruch Battalion	868	—	6 13 10	5,914 13 0	10	59,148 0 0
			Mirza Mahommed	980	—	6 14 5	6,764 6 6	10	67,644 0 0
			Seraufere	1,000	—	4 0 0	4,000 0 0	10	48,000 0 0
			Three Companies	300	—	3 0 0	900 0 0	12	10,800 0 0
			Muddee Cawn	1,000	—	6 0 10	6,054 6 6	12	60,544 0 0
			Lutf Ulla	1,602	—	7 7 0	11,917 3 3	10	1,19,172 0 0
			Hein Sing	515	—	7 4 2	3,741 9 6	10	37,416 0 0
			Loll Sing	247	—	7 0 10	1,742 7 6	10	17,424 0 0
			Mooty Sing	76	—	7 0 6	548 6 6	10	5,484 0 0
					9,051		58,625 10 3		5,96,056 0 0
Khaujah Aqin Ul deen	Rohilcund	{	Raifed by the Aumil	3,000	—	5 0 0	25,000 0 0	10	1,50,000 0 0
			Hussam Ally	92	—	6 6 6	589 11 0	10	5,896 10 1
			4 Batt. lions at Daranagur	3,400	—	8 13 2	30,000 0 0	10	3,00,000 0 0
		6,497		45,589 11 0		4,55,896 10 1			
Mah. Hussun Cawn	Khyrabad, &c.	{	Raifed by the Aumil	—	700	3 10 0	2,537 8 0	10	25,375 0 0
Loll Monhookul	Goonda and Amorah	{	One Company	78	—	7 1 9	554 8 0	10	5,545 0 0
			One Battalion	850	—	8 3 9	7,000 0 0	10	70,000 0 0
			Raifed by the Aumil	1,400	—	3 10 0	5,075 0 0	10	50,750 0 0
		2,328		22,619 8 0		1,26,295 0 0			



No.	Name	Post	Description	Pay	Gratuity	Pension	Total
1	Bareilly, Dalmow, &c.	Contingent charges	Two battalions For the battalions	1,763	1,763	8 2 9	14,407 4 -
2	Ahmety and Rampore	Alif Cawn	-	-	870	7 1 9	6,188 8 -
3	Rag Neer Mull Dofs	Sylak	{ Sumaunder Nudjebs Raifed in the Pergunnahs Taje Sing	79 502 600 1	- - - -	7 - 9 4 16 6 3 10 - 15 - -	556 8 - 2,212 13 - 2,175 - - 15 - -
4	Meer Saad ul Deen	Sultanpore	{ Odut Sing Raifed in the Pergunnahs	845 1,800	- -	7 1 10 3 10 -	6,011 12 - 6,525 - -
5	Mirza Ahmad Beg	Sandee Milliabad	Raifed by the Aumil	-	750	3 10 -	2,718 12 -
6	Mirza Atta Beg	Azingur, &c.	{ A battalion of Nudjebs The Burruch battalion Telingas Davy Sing Ruttan Sing	1,500 702 50 500 8	- - - - -	3 9 11 7 1 - 11 1 7 3 10 8 33 5 -	5,435 8 - 4,958 - - 555 - - 1,833 8 - 260 8 -
7	Mirza Behadre Beg	Ackberpore	{ Raifed by the Aumil Cedeo Aulin	1,000 131	- -	3 10 - 9 13 3	3,625 - - 1,287 8 -
8	Rajah Jao Loll	Sandy, &c.	Raifed by the Aumil	-	1,000	3 10 -	3,625 - -
9	Aniber Ally Cawn	Munnoabaury	{ A company Raifed by the Aumil	79 600	- -	7 3 9 3 10 -	571 9 - 2,175 - -
10	Gholam Surwar	The Sayer	{ Nudjebs A company Ram Sing	130 78 7	- - -	6 8 8 6 15 1 6 4 6	850 12 - 541 8 - 44 - -
11	Mahommed Seyed Cawn	Farruckabad	Raifed by the Aumil	-	1,000	4 - -	4,000 - -
12	New Auz Sing	Byfwarah	Nhwauz Sing	-	2,000	4 - -	8,000 - -
13	Ibnuel Beg	Allahabad	Raifed by the Aumil	-	2,000	4 - -	8,000 - -
14	Zulfihar Ally Cawn	Purtaub Ghur, &c.	Raifed by the Aumil	-	1,000	3 10 -	3,625 - -
15	Arhas Gurry	Lucknow	Raifed by the Aumil	-	150	3 10 -	543 12 -
16	Ally Khamud	Mohan	Hydayet Ulla	-	75	5 13 2	36 13 -
			Carried over	-	37,793		



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Aumils Names.	Stations.	Names of the Commanders.	Number of Men.	Actual Pay, Monthly.	Total per Month.	It is a custom of Hindostanny Princes to pay their Troops for only Part of the Year; the Months hereunder specified are those allowed the Vizier's Troops.		Total of Expense with each Aumil.		Total of Expense.	
C A V A L R Y.											
	Brought forward	— — —	13,152	—	—	—	—	—	—	41,85,476	7 2
I N F A N T R Y.											
	Brought forward	— — —	37,793	—	—	—	—	—	—	21,25,575	2 1
Rajah Soorut Sing	Goruckpore and Bairaitch	—	3,840	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,81,651	2 0
Auffrun Ally Cawn	Munnoobaury	—	300	3 10 0	1,087 8 0	—	—	—	—	10,875	0 0
Mirza Tuckee Beg, and Mirza Imnael Beg	Sahlone	—	2,200	—	—	—	—	—	—	50,000	0 0
Mirza Mhindy	Sooraugapore	—	575	—	—	—	—	—	—	41,106	12 0
	Mohan Sing	—	863	7 4 7	6,268 4 0	10 0	—	62,682	8 0		
	Hurry Sing	—	944	8 3 0	7,727 12 0	—	—	77,277	8 0		
	Hendoo Sing	—	903	7 3 4	6,596 12 0	—	—	65,167	8 0		
	Davy Sing	—	78	8 15 3	698 8 0	—	—	6,985	0 0		
	Mahommed Roihun	—	94	8 5 2	782 8 0	—	—	7,825	0 0		
	Shodee Sing	—	78	6 15 11	541 8 0	—	—	5,415	0 0		
	Doorgee Sing	—	69	10 8 2	699 8 0	—	—	6,995	0 0		
	Neamut Ulla	—	1	20 0 0	20 0 0	—	—	200	0 0		

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With the Vizier Lucknow

Jehaur Ally Cawn	1	—	15	—	15	—	150	—
Bowanny Sing	7	—	7	4	7	—	440	—
Wullee Mahommed	1	—	30	—	30	—	300	—
Musjerum Sing	78	—	7	3	10	—	5,650	—
Davy Sing	159	—	8	4	1	—	13,125	—
Seyed Abu Taleb	15	—	27	11	4	—	4,160	—
Myen Sing	170	—	8	5	8	—	14,210	—
Sawah Sing	7	—	6	3	3	—	435	—
Newauz Sing	2	—	10	—	—	—	200	—
With Jao Loll	97	—	8	1	11	—	7,885	—
Jumsheer Beg	268	—	7	11	—	—	21,240	—
Khaujah Neamat Ulla	172	—	10	6	2	—	17,856	4
		4,007					3,18,198	12
		48,715						28,27,406 12 1
ARTILLERY.								
At Lucknow, and with the Aumils	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,09,778	2 1
						Rupees	75,22,661	6 —

Errors excepted.

J WOMBWELL,

Accountant.

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ABSTRACT STATEMENT of the VIZIER's MOTTAYENNA, for the Fuffullee Year 1109.

CSL

Aumils Names.	Stations.	CAVALRY.		INFANTRY.		Expence of Artillery.	Total Expence of Mottayenna with each Aumil	Total of Expence.
		Number of Men.	Amount of Expence.	Number of Men.	Amount of Expence.			
Almas Ally Cawn	Corah, Etawa, Jagdiseopore, &c.	3,556	9,83,954 14 —	9,053	5,96,056 — —	90,639 0 0	16,76,649 14 0	
Khaujah Agun ul Deen	Rohilkund	1,749	4,96,616 14 —	6,492	4,55,896 10 1	47,000 0 0	9,99,513 8 1	
Mahommed Hufun Cawn	Khyrabad and Mhaumdy	502	2,21,450 8 —	700	25,375 — —	51,503 12 0	2,98,329 4 0	
Loll Mun Shookul	Goonda and Amorah	320	1,01,323 — —	2,328	1,26,295 — —	14,070 0 0	2,41,688 0 0	
Rudder Mun Shookul	Bareilly, Dalmore, Riddowley &c.	339	77,825 6 —	1,763	1,44,492 8 —	4,535 0 0	2,26,852 14 0	
Fuzzul Azeen Cawn	Ahmety and Rampore	181	73,412 4 —	870	68,619 — —	18,356 4 0	1,60,387 8 0	
Roy Neer Mull Dofs	Sylaach	115	32,402 — —	1,182	49,593 — —	8,996 10 1	90,991 10 1	
Meer Saad ul Deen	Suttanpore	749	2,55,655 10 —	2,645	1,12,317 — —	15,000 0 0	3,82,972 10 0	
Mirza Ahmad Beg	Sundelee Milliabad	231	98,473 8 —	750	27,187 — —	5,085 0 0	1,30,745 8 0	
Mirza Atta Beg	Aringur, &c.	875	3,07,544 11 2	2,760	1,30,485 — —	21,400 0 0	4,69,429 11 2	
Mirza Behadree Beg	Ackberbore	400	1,19,407 — —	1,131	49,125 — —	16,434 0 0	1,84,966 0 0	
Rajah Jao Loll	Sandy and Shahabad	218	54,642 — —	1,000	36,250 — —	10,472 0 0	1,01,364 0 0	
Amber Ally Cawn	Ameh Sundelee Milliabad	40	9,180 — —	679	27,466 — —	5,741 0 0	42,387 0 0	
Gholaum Surwar	The Sayer	18	5,127 8 —	215	14,362 8 —	— —	19,490 0 0	
Mahommed Seyed Cawn	Furruckabad	100	24,000 — —	1,000	40,000 — —	— —	64,000 0 0	
Mewauz Sing	Byfwarah	276	54,976 — —	2,000	80,000 — —	24,412 0 0	1,59,388 0 0	
Mirza Ishmael Beg	Allahabad	209	62,700 — —	2,000	96,000 — —	10,000 0 0	1,68,700 0 0	
Zulfehar Ally Cawn	Purtub Gur and Dyjose	250	90,000 — —	1,000	36,250 — —	12,757 8 0	1,30,007 1 0	
Agahus Gurry	Lucknow	5	1,821 12 —	150	5,437 8 —	— —	7,2 9 4 0	
Ally Hamud	Mohan	3	1,135 — —	75	4,368 — —	— —	5,603 0 0	
Rajah Soorut Sing	Goruckpore and Bharaitch	688	2,06,648 — —	3,840	2,81,651 2 —	32,000 0 0	5,20,299 2 0	
Auffran Ally Cawn	Munnooa Bawry	74	7,323 — —	300	10,875 — —	7,000 0 0	25,198 0 3	
Mirza Tuckee Beg. and Mirza Ismael Beg	Shalone, &c.	272	8,940 — —	2,200	50,000 — —	3,000 0 0	1,40,940 0 0	
Mirza Mhindy	Noorangeopore	123	31,647 8 —	575	41,105 12 —	6,799 0 0	79,553 4 0	
Meer Boorzoorg Umied	Bidgenore, Dewah, &c.	87	99,040 — —	—	— —	— —	99,043 0 0	
With the Nabob Vizier	Lucknow	1,590	6,75,130 — —	4,007	3,18,198 12 —	1,04,577 0 0	10,97,905 12 0	
Total		13,152	41,85,476 7 2	48,715	28,27,406 12 1	5,09,778 2 1		75,22,661 6 —

(Errors excepted
J. WOMBWELL,
Accountant,



To John Bristow, Esquire, Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 1st instant, inclosing the Vizier's order; and your letter to Almas, which I shall forward to him immediately.

This morning my hircarrah returned from Kanaoge, and informed me, that Goorahy's people were the offenders, and that he himself was gone to take a fort at Muhrimnagur.

As there is a considerable force belonging to Almas in the Dooab, it is most probable they would assist his naib Goorahy, were I to attempt apprehending him. I could not therefore send less than a regiment with four guns on that service; such a measure might perhaps bring matters to extremities, and involve the Vizier's government in some difficulties. For this reason I shall defer executing the Vizier's orders till we know what steps Almas will take, in consequence of your letter, and the Nabob's order to him. However, if the Vizier repeats his order, and you are of opinion that the measure is advisable, I will immediately detach a force to apprehend the offender; though without cavalry I have little hope of succeeding in the attempt.

I am, Sir,

Camp at Fatty Ghur,
3d December 1782.

Your most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) JOHN CUMMING, Colonel.

(A true copy.)

John Bristow,
Resident at the Vizier's Court.

*EXTRACT of the Secret Proceedings of the Honourable the Governor General and Council, dated
19th May, 1783.*

The Governor General.

I beg leave to remind the Board of the papers which I laid before them on the 21st April respecting the complaints preferred by the Nabob Vizier against Mr. Bristow. The facts, as stated in these complaints, are certainly usurpations of the authority, and even of the sovereignty of the Nabob Vizier.

They are affirmed to have been justified by an appeal to my instructions; it therefore becomes me most particularly to endeavour to redress them, or to remove the grounds on which they are said to have been produced; for which effect I do in the first place disavow having given him any instructions intended for such purposes; and in the second, I do, as it is my duty, move the Board to transmit to Mr. Bristow the papers containing the charges against him, to require him to reply to them. And in the mean time, if he shall have appointed any person or persons to the charge of the offices appertaining to the Administration of the Nabob Vizier, that he do immediately revoke the appointments, and confine himself solely to the charge of such affairs as appertain to the Company, in the department specially allotted to him, leaving to the Nabob Vizier the entire and uncontrouled management of his own concerns.



Messrs. Stables, Macpherson, and Wheler, deliver in their opinions as follow, upon the subject of the Governor General's minute, entered on the proceedings of the 21st ultimo.

Mr. Stables.

I have read and attentively considered the letters from the Navvaub Vizier and his minister Hyder Beg Cawn, referred to me in the Governor General's minute. Also the instructions to Mr. Bristow, read by the Governor General to the members of the Board, and his answers to them.

I am of opinion, that an exact translation of the several letters from the Vizier and his minister, authenticated by the proper officer of this Board, shou'd be sent to Mr. Bristow, and that he should be called upon to answer to the charges against his conduct as our Minister at the Vizier's Court.

In the letter from the Vizier to the Governor General, received the 28th March, he says, "If you are solicitous to promote my prosperity, confer upon me discretionary power over my country, and for the payment of the monies due to the Company." In his second letter, he says, "If you will please, as a mark of your friendship, to recall Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cooper, and confer upon me discretionary authority for the management of my country, and for the payment of the Company's monies, &c."

The Minister, in his letters, joins in the request, and adds, "at the same time so far favour me, as to appoint me from yourself to the management of affairs here."

The above quotations clearly point out to me the great object the Vizier has in view, assisted by his minister, in preferring their complaints to the Governor General to lay before the Board, against our Resident and his deputy, and is a reason with me to have the complaints seriously enquired into by the Board.

In justice and candour to the Navvaub Vizier, and his minister, I think the Board ought explicitly to declare, that they cannot on any account comply with the Vizier's request, to grant him discretionary powers over his country, while such heavy debts remain due to the Company. His minister also should be acquainted of this declaration.

The characters of the Navvaub Vizier, and his minister Hyder Beg Cawn, are clearly delineated in the 4th instruction from the communicated through the Governor General to Mr. Bristow; and the high respect I have for the opinion of the Governor General, and the members of the Board, has great weight in guiding my judgment on this subject.

Mr. Macpherson.

I have perused with great attention the translations of the Vizier's letters received the 28th of March and 7th of April, and the translations of the letters of his minister Hyder Beg Cawn, received the 3d and 28th March, and 7th of April, addressed to the Governor General, and which he laid before the Board on the 21st April for their consideration and determination.

I have likewise referred to the Governor General's instructions to Mr. Bristow, as our minister at the Court of the Vizier, under date the 23d October last; and I have considered with particular attention the 4th and 5th articles of the said instructions, and the 17th, or concluding article.

I have likewise perused Mr. Bristow's letter to the Governor General of the 12th of December, and his letter of the 4th of March, in which he states to the Governor General his transactions in the execution of his orders relative to the institution of public offices in the Vizier's government.



The Governor General in his minute, in which he introduces the Vizier's letters, and those of the Vizier's minister, states very properly the peculiar delicacy of the situation in which he stands, both with respect to the Nabob Vizier and Mr. Bristow, on an occasion like the present; and he wishes to follow the line which the members of the Board may recommend, rather than propose any resolutions to them on the subject of the complaints in the Vizier's letters.

It is my opinion, upon a principle of common justice, as well as from a regard to the Company's regulations, that copies of the Vizier's letters, and of those of Hyder Beg Cawn, containing complaints against Mr. Bristow, should be immediately sent to him for his information, and to prepare his defence against the complaints.

But in the mean time, as the Governor General has very truly observed, in the 4th article of his instructions to the Resident, "That there can be no medium in the relation between the Resident and the Minister: but either the Resident must be the slave and vassal of the Minister, or the Minister be at the absolute devotion of the Resident;" and as the Vizier is confessedly under the influence of his Minister, who can never consider that influence complete while the Resident has the power to check it; and as the Resident is now under heavy accusations, probably for a necessary exercise of that power; so it is evident that the authority of our Government will stand in suspense, if it is not rendered ineffectual at the Court of Oude, during these contentions between the acting Minister and our Resident.

The season of the collections in the upper provinces, and the particular situation of this Government at present, being in deep arrears to the army, with an empty treasury, and no prospect of resources for some months to come, unless from Oude, render any counteraction to the influence of our Government in that quarter full of public consequences.

To counteract those consequences, and to remove all possible grounds of misconception between Hyder Beg Cawn's ideas of the object of our Government, and the Resident's ideas of his own responsibility, it occurs to me, that much good might arise from a full and authoritative communication to Hyder Beg Cawn of the Governor General's instructions; and as the Resident may have likewise misconceived the Governor General's instructions as absolute authority for measures which this Government might wish, but would not proceed to exert with indelicacy or violence; so I could wish that the Governor General would draw the line more clearly, where the Resident may, from an idea of his own responsibility, have transgressed the letter of his orders.

In the letter of the Vizier and of the Minister, two parts are solicited; not only the recall of the Resident and his deputy, but what they state a discretionary power to the Vizier over his own country, and the monies to be paid to the Company; promising, at the same time, that if such a power is granted, they will pay the Company's claims regularly and fully.

I much, for this is not a time for motiving such an experiment—and here I would wish to observe, to obviate prejudices in Europe, which might be raised against the instructions which were given to Mr. Bristow, and that determined authority with which this Government was obliged to interfere in the affairs of the Vizier, that our embarrassments were great when those instructions were dictated. A rebellion prevailed in the Vizier's dominions, of which he seemed insensible as well as his Minister, but which would have speedily involved these provinces had it not been checked; and what may be alledged by some as too violent a tone in an instruction, was suited to the occasion, and had humanity and peace for its object.

I shall be happy to meet the sentiments of the other members of the Board on these objects; and of all differences of opinions would wish to avoid that most which relates to the management of Oude, or the situation of a Resident there.

Upon this principle, and as the Board have been of late much occupied with the general arrangement of our affairs, I have hitherto avoided to press an examination into the conduct of the late Residents at Oude, and the complaints which were advanced against them, and which were the subject of my minute of

The Secretary has been directed to make out the charges against those gentlemen. An investigation of those charges, some of which originated from the Vizier's Minister, may throw light upon the complaints of the same Minister against the present Resident. Fortunately for the Company's interests, the heavy charges against those gentlemen have no ground in the present instance; for the peace of the Vizier's dominions, and the regular payment of our troops there, seem fully



attended to by the present Resident, and I doubt much if these great public purposes would be equally secured, if Hyder Beg Cawn's request, in his letter, received the 7th of April, were indulged by this Government.

Mr. Wheeler.

May 15th, 1783.

I have perused the several letters and papers transmitted by the Nabob Vizier, and his Minister Hyder Beg Cawn, to the Governor General, and compared the same, both with the instructions given to Mr. Bristow, and likewise with his letters to the Governor General on the subjects which gave rise to the complaints made by the Nabob Vizier and his Minister.

From these letters Mr. Bristow, I think, appears not to have been deficient in attention to the instructions delivered to him by the Governor General; but on the contrary has given, from time to time, very full information on the different points which he was particularly directed to examine and explain.

The Vizier, it is true, brings to his charge the appointment of a Sezawal to Furruckabad, contrary to his inclinations; and although in this instance the Resident has not acted in conformity with the Governor General's instructions, yet the urgent necessity which impelled him to this measure has been represented to the Board in terms which would seem to justify his deviation from them.

The next and principal ground of complaint stated by the Vizier is the appointment of a Treasurer and Comptroller, by the Resident, of his own choosing, to receive the amount appropriated to the Vizier's household expences, and to superintend the disbursement of the same. It does not appear, by the Resident's letter of the 4th March, that he has carried his interference in this matter so far as is here represented. He tells the Nabob, that it is the Governor General's wish his income should be at his own disposal; and though he recommends Tipper Chund for the office of Treasurer to the Vizier's household, yet when this recommendation is rejected by the Nabob, the Resident declares his perfect indifference as to the person who shall be appointed, but strongly urges the Nabob to make choice of a proper officer for that department. Indeed the representations of the Vizier and his Minister, and of our Resident upon this subject, are so very different, that I feel myself at a loss to give a decided opinion on Mr. Bristow's conduct in this business. The Board, I think, should immediately determine whether it is necessary for the Nabob to establish such an office, and in that case to direct Mr. Bristow not to interfere in the recommendation or appointment of the person who is to be put in charge of it.

The Nabob Vizier and his Minister, in the course of their correspondence with the Governor General, accuse Mr. Bristow, not only of treating the Nabob with disrespect, but even with indignity; it must, however, be remembered, that while the former closes his address with a hope, which he has long cherished, of being relieved from the residence of any person on the part of this Government at his Court, the latter concludes with a request to be confirmed in the appointment which he now holds, of Minister to the Vizier, and to be entrusted with the management of the Company's concerns with him. It is but reasonable, therefore, to suppose, that the representations against Mr. Bristow are, from these circumstances, rather overcharged. Upon the whole, I am of opinion, that it will be proper for this Board to afford the Resident an opportunity of replying more fully to the charges brought against him by the Nabob and his Minister, before they finally decide upon the propriety or validity of those charges.

A true Extract.

E. H A Y,

Acting Secy. to the Secret Department.



EXTRACT of the Proceedings of the Honourable Governor General and Council, in their Secret Department; dated 22d May 1783.

The Governor General lays before the Board the following letter and papers from Hyder Beg Cawn.

From Hyder Beg Cawn to the Honourable the Governor General : Received May 1st 1783.

Usual Introduction.

The situation of affairs here, from the behaviour and conduct of Mr. Bristow, I formerly represented to you; what has since occurred is as follows:

His Highness last year appointed Moulavvi Mubeen, a man learned in the laws, to preside over the Court of Adalat, and from that period all suits between contending parties have been determined by him agreeably to the Shurra; and the dairy of such suits and decisions thereon by him is forthcoming. To establish his authority over every department of government, and to annihilate that of his Highness, are the objects of Mr. Bristow: He has appointed Mr. Cooper Dawrogeth of the Adalet, and Mr. Cooper, with the authority of a superior lord or master, has wrote his awards, or duffkhut on the petitions of complainants, such as concerned the Aumils, to execute to them, and such as belonged to the city of Lucknow, to the Vizier; and these petitions, thus superscribed by him, he sent to me, directing me to cause the seal of the Nuvvaub to be affixed to them. I answered, that I would represent the matter to his Highness. I represented it accordingly, and shewed him the petitions superscribed by Mr. Cooper: His Highness said, that they were evidently the instruments of his dishonour, and of the extinction of his authority; inasmuch as he had superscribed the petitions of the country complainants with his duffkhut, directed to the Aumils, and those of the inhabitants of the city to him, as if he were the cutwal of the city of Lucknow, and that he would never submit to it: Desiring that these circumstances might be written to you, that whatever might be your pleasure in his behalf, you might act agreeably thereto. I waited on Mr. Bristow, but did not inform him of my representation to the Vizier; I only told him that such petitions, so superscribed with the duffkhut of Mr. Cooper, had been received, and that Mr. Cooper had required the Nuvvaub's seal to be affixed to them; adding, that if he had ordered me so to do, I would represent the business to the Nuvvaub. He replied, that it was not in fact necessary to inform the Vizier; whenever he should settle and arrange the plan of the Adalat, I might represent it to him. After this he asked me if I had received any intelligence from Calcutta: I replied in the negative. He then spoke of affairs in Europe, that the Governor General, and other Gentlemen of the Council, were dismissed; and he then proceeded to reflect on your conduct in such a manner, that neither at the time had I the power to endure his reflections, nor have I now the heart or the hand to write them. I said, on this occasion, what my tongue enabled me to say, respecting your qualities; observing, that owing to your appearances were supported and kept up towards the Chiefs of Hindostan: and that if, which God forbid, you should go to Europe, even those appearances would remain no longer, and that a world would be involved in ruin. Mr. Bristow was offended at this observation; he said, that he had not spoke of the Governor, but at the time when he was dismissed, if he had not been dismissed he would not have mentioned these things. He then proceeded to say, that in the same manner as the government at Calcutta had been new modelled, in the same manner the government here should be new modelled; adding, "Enter into engagements with me, I also, on my part, will give a coul Nauneh to you under my hand, and we will jointly new model this government." I demanded to know in what manner: He replied, "I will send out other Aumils over the Nuvvaub's country, Soorut Sing, the dewan of the furcor, is grown old, I will appoint a new dewan; I will take the duffer accounts of the revenues of the furcor into my own hands; I will have the whole military establishment, by the forming of new troops, under my own authority; I will appoint another treasurer, and keep the public treasury in a separate building, under the charge of my own people; and I will issue to the Vizier in specie as much as may be actually necessary for his expences; when I shall require it, you shall advance ten or twelve lacks of rupees, to defray expences, from your private property; and you must engage not to write on affairs here to Calcutta. We, English gentlemen, are all united together as one person, and in the end it will not be well for you so to do. If you will enter into engagements with me agreeably to these conditions, so much the better; we will act in concert in the manage-

meat



"ment of affairs; if not, I will, on the strength of my own power, do as I have declared; and "you must not again complain that I have deprived you of the execution of your office." I, who was stricken dumb, and confounded by what he had said respecting you, replied, that I would return home, and having weighed and considered the business would reply to every particular. At my two succeeding visits to Mr. Bristow, he again renewed the proposal respecting the Coul Namee; to which I replied, that I was subordinate to him; that with respect to the management of the affairs of government in concert, I would, in subordination to him, and to the utmost of my power, fulfil his commands; that no other engagements but those of obedience ought to be entered into by an inferior with his superior; he was offended at this answer. At this juncture his Highness took leave of Mr. Bristow, and went on an excursion to hunt. Mr. Cooper again sent me a message, importing that his Highness being absent from Lucknow, I should affix my own seal to the petitions which he had superscribed, that the awards might be carried into execution. I waited on Mr. Bristow, and represented these circumstances relative to the execution of the business of the Adawlet, &c.: Mr. Bristow made me no answer. Two days after he wrote me a letter, to which I replied, I have sent copies of both, they attend your perusal. He tells me his Highness has no knowledge in these matters; that all these evasions come from me: Mr. Cooper issues his dastkhats to the Nuvvaub, as to an Aumil, or the Cutwal of the city; in addition to which he says, "What does the Nuvvaub know of these matters?— "You must enforce them without his knowledge." His Highness deemed it derogatory to his honour, and subversive of his authority, refuses to comply. I have been raised from the earth to rank and honour by you, and am every way prepared to fulfil your pleasure. Mr. Bristow is determined, in his resolutions respecting Mr. Cooper's authority over the Adawlet, the appointment of a dewan to these sobahs, the taking possession of the duster accounts of his Highness's surcor, and the appointment of a new treasurer, that he may have the general treasury of the whole country, under his distinct and separate authority: Whatever may be your orders with respect to these affairs, those I will obey; I will not evade compliance with your commands; such is the conduct of Mr. Bristow. He says that whatever measures he directs I must execute, without regard to the necessity of informing the Vizier: otherwise he is of his own authority will execute them. His Highness, from a regard to the preservation of his honour and authority, refuses his consent. Thus circumstanced, whatever shall be your orders, those I will obey, requesting permission to represent them on your part to his Highness, who considers his prosperity and well-being to depend upon you.

Concludes as usual.

From Mr. Bristow to Hyder Beg Khaun; written the 14th of Jummaud ul Awul, 1197.

Copy enclosed in Hyder Beg Khaun's letter to the Honourable Governor General; received the 1st of May 1783.

"Some days have elapsed since Mahomed Hoseen Attare Khann waited upon you from Mr. Cooper. He brought back from you a message, that after you had represented the business to his Highness, the order shall be carried into execution. I sent a verbal answer to you, "that "in such matters your seal affixed to the petitions, or your perwanehs or letters directed to the "Aumils, would be sufficient." Since then I have received no reply from you. As it does not certainly appear that his Highness's return will be speedy, as the crowd of complainants is great, and those and other affairs are at a stand, I therefore trouble you to write perwanehs or letters under your own seal, to the Aumils against whom the petitioners have exhibited complaints, that there may be no delay in the execution of necessary business; in case there should be any objections on this ground, inform me of them plainly: In every business your friendship is my first object. It appears to me, that you are possessed of discretionary authority in such affairs; notwithstanding you keep them in suspense until his Highness's return. I regard from my heart and soul the preservation of the respect due to his Highness, and there are many things which it is certainly improper to do without his approbation; but to write orders to the Aumils to investigate matters of equity, and cruelty, and oppression, which are purely calculated for the happiness and prosperity of mankind, and is a business which will occur daily; in such affairs there will be no end to the applications for permission to his Highness. It is moreover the wish of my heart, that agreeably to the orders and commands of the Nuvvaub Immaud ul Dowleh, the



the Governor General, that, acting in concert with you in the execution of measures, affairs may be happily conducted and arranged. For these ten days past I have been somewhat indisposed, and am therefore going to Nutturee Ghaut for the benefit of the air: God willing, I shall return at the end of three days, when we shall have the pleasure of meeting. This I have written for your information.

From Hyder Beg Khaun to Mr. Bristow; written on the 14th Jummaud ul Awul 1197.

Copy enclosed in Hyder Beg Khaun's letter to the Honourable the Governor General; received May 1st, 1783.

I have been favoured with your letter on the affair of the complainants, your directions corresponding with Mr. Cooper's requisition respecting his dufkhauts. On all occasions obedience and attention to your pleasure are the objects of my regard. When Hoofen Attan Khaun brought me a message from Mr. Cooper, that I should cause his Highness's seal to be affixed to those petitions, superscribed with his (Mr. Cooper's) dufkhut, I then told you, that if you directed me so to do, I would apply to the Vizier for his seal to be affixed to those petitions superscribed by Mr. Cooper. You replied, that until you had settled the plan of the adawlet business, it would be unnecessary to represent it to his Highness. After his Highness had set out on his hunting excursion, Hoofen Attan Khaun brought me a message to affix my own seal to them; I then said, that after representing the case to you, I would give an answer. I informed you, that Moulvi Mubeen was the dawrogeth of the addaulut, and that all suits were determined by him agreeably to the shurra; and that the dairy of such as had been determined for some time past had been transmitted to me; that others were depending; that from the time that the Mouluvvi had been appointed to the conduct of the business of the Adaulut, he had decided on all subjects of litigation, and that what he awarded, as agreeably to the shurra, had been carried into execution; and with respect to the complaints of people against the Aumils; the greatest part of them are exhibited by battalion sepoy, respecting the non-enforcing the collections from their runkhaw lands, &c.; formerly of those who came, some received shocchahs from the presence, to others letters were granted; on every occasion, and every where, that which appeared equitable was done the same mode is still subsisting, I will now be more particular in my injunctions than before. I am no way deficient in obedience and submission to you; but this is a delicate and important business, which has been brought forward: Inasmuch as Mr. Cooper, in the style of a superior lord, superscribes the petitions of the complainants with his dufkhut, addressed, those which concern the Aumils to them, and those which relate to matters in the city to the Vizier; if I have your directions I will apply to his Highness respecting this manner and mode, under his dufkhut, that the same may be adopted.

Your intentions in going to Putturee Ghaut will, I hope, be fulfilled. I pray God to restore your health. If any important matter should occur for communication, I will attend you there or wait upon you, and represent every thing on your return to Lucknow.

NARRATIVE of Conversation between Mr. Bristow and Hyder Beg Khaun written by Hyder Beg Khaun.—Copy received 4th of May 1783.

Mr. Bristow came in the evening: His conversation first turned upon affairs in Europe; that other gentlemen were coming, in consequence of the dismission of the Governor and others; that

the person who was coming in the place of the Governor, who was a Chief of high rank, was related to Mr. Cooper; that the idea which lately existed, that by the appointment of a former minister, who was the friend of the Governor, the Governor's stability would be secured, was at length known to be erroneous; for that the Governor's misconduct was now plainly proved and ascertained in Europe: "Therefore," he said, "it is my wish that you and I should enter into mutual engagements; for by acting in concert with each other, affairs will be effectually conducted. I have been recommended in Europe to these gentlemen who are coming, and my heart is every way at rest with respect to my own affairs."

I asked him for what particular purposes it was, that he required such securities from me? He replied, "for the well-modelling the Vizier's government; and furthermore, that you shall not enter into engagements with any one but me."

I asked, what his plan for modelling the Vizier's government was, in the execution of which he was desirous of my acting with him? He repeated verbally some articles. I called for pen and ink, and wrote them down as he repeated them (vide Articles, No. 5.) and then asked, whether those were all, or if there was any thing more? He replied, "This plan, after this manner, is agreeable to the orders of the Governor and the Gentlemen of the Council, directed to be carried into execution, which, at the time of my coming here, they gave to me personally, and delivered to me in writing. Their orders for the establishment of the Persian duffer have been lately written, and received by me; and I have written to the Gentlemen of the Council, that the settlement for the present year was made before my arrival, but that I will carry it into execution at the beginning of the next."

I said, "Since such a plan is to be carried into execution by the order of the Governor General, I will not in any manner hesitate to obey his orders; but your disposition is to doubting and suspicious, that the sincerity and uprightness of my intentions have been useless, and of no avail." That, respecting his directions, declared by him to be the orders of the Governor, that such things were not to depend on the Nuwaub's being informed of them," from an apprehension for my honour; as he had said, "That any evasions or objections which might arise, would not be the Nuwaub's, but mine," I had executed them. That now, from the introduction of the present plan, the authority of his Highness would be annihilated altogether. If the Nuwaub should hesitate to consent to this plan, what were his intentions in that case?

He replied, "I will not suffer it to depend on the Nuwaub's compliance or non-compliance, I will carry it into execution." I answered, that I would not in any manner whatever dispute the Governor's commands, for that I was declaredly a dependant on him, and was satisfied that whatever he should order, must be right in every respect; but desired, that in case I should, agreeably to his (Mr. Bristow's) orders, execute this business in opposition to the inclinations of the Nuwaub, he would procure, for my security and satisfaction, a letter from the Governor directed to me, importing, that I must act agreeably to whatever he (Mr. Bristow) might direct, and that I must not suffer my compliance to depend on assent or dissent on the part of his Highness, as in that case, if his Highness should be offended, I shall on this side be sure of protection and support; nay, that it appeared necessary, moreover, that these articles should be written and transmitted to me.

He replied, "I tell you that the Governor is dismissed; of what use is it then to require letters from thence?" I answered, that I was a dependant on the Governor; as long as he continued at Calcutta I would act in obedience to his pleasure; and whenever the period for his departure should arrive, I would go to him, and would then do as he should direct.

He replied, "All this labour and trouble is unnecessary; I offer you the securities necessary, being perfectly satisfied and secure myself with respect to the gentlemen who are coming. I will give you a coul naumeh, binding myself to support and promote your interests both in Calcutta and in Europe."

I answered, that he must not consider my declarations of dependance on the Governor as a matter of profession only, but be assured to a certainty, that whenever positive information should be received that he was about to depart for Europe, I would wait upon him; and in whatever manner he should direct, so I would act.



"It appears then," he said, "that you will withdraw yourself from the management of affairs here?" I replied, that I executed the duties of my office, in fact, through the influence of the Governor's support: When he was gone to Europe, through the influence of whose protection was I to manage affairs?—That I would not continue.

He was offended at this declaration, and replied, "I am every way ready to give you security and satisfaction. Such confidence in the disposition of the Governor, or in his intimates and dependants, is idle and ill-founded. It is impossible to place dependance on the Governor's word or declarations." I said, that hitherto, from the beginning, his kindness towards me had been always increasing; I had never experienced any deficiency or alteration in his disposition towards me; and "that human nature is the slave of kindness," was amongst us a proverb.

Much conversation of this sort passed between us; after that he had said, "I will cause the orders I have received respecting the modelling of this government, to be translated into Persian by my Moonshiee, who is a trusty worthy person, and deliver it to you: You will do well to follow the example of Mokhtur ul Dowlah, and enter into a written engagement and agreement with me."

In order to know of what nature Mokhtur ul Dowlah's *concl naumeh* was, I proposed to him to give me a copy of it, that I might consider it; but added, that security on the part of the Governor was absolutely necessary, in the first instance. That he (Mr. Bristow) asserted, that the Governor was undoubtedly dismissed; in consequence of which, my faculties and understanding were no longer in the state necessary to do business.

He encouraged me, by assurances of his own stability; and said, "The day after to-morrow I shall go to Puttoree Ghaut, there I shall have leisure: I will remain there two days. I will cause the translation of the orders for the modelling and arranging of affairs here to be written, and give it to you on my return."

Considering a respite of three or four days as an advantage gained, I expressed the greatest approbation. Again I repeated the question on this point, "Whether these were the orders, that whether his Highness should be satisfied or dissatisfied, at all events the business must be done?" He said, "Yes: The orders are absolute. If his Highness should prove obstinate, I will not advance any thing for the expenses of his Surcar; I will suspend the payment of his stipend. When he shall be distressed for his necessary expenses, he will acquiesce of his own accord."

He then opened to me the real object of yesterday's conversation, saying, there were certain points on which, on the arrival of the new gentlemen, caution will be necessary. I asked him, on what points? He said, "Such as the business of Colonel Cummings, in which a *shoecah* was written without the Vizier's knowledge, and others of the like nature, which may have taken place: This circumstance has proved highly disagreeable to the gentlemen of the Council.—Whenever his Highness shall assert that these things have been done without his knowledge, blame will fall upon you."

I replied, that in obedience to him I had caused it to be done. That he had repeatedly asked me, "Why I introduced the name of the Vizier?"—that I must act as he directed—that especially in the business of the *shoecah* to Col. Cummings, he had importuned me for three days; and that from a regard to the preservation of my honour, I had caused it to be written without the Vizier's knowledge—that the same had been done with respect to the *tuncaw* of the *turk-fewars*, and other matters.

He replied, "It is on this account I say to you, that now that you and I are about to be united, you must consider any thing injurious to my reputation which shall befall me as befalling yourself; and thus, any thing of that sort happening to you, I shall consider as happening to me. You replied angrily to my letter, that, by my desire, you had affixed the seal of the Vizier, without his knowledge, to the *shoecahs*, and delivered them."

I replied, that this was not written in anger; that he had accused me of disobeying the orders of the gentlemen of the Council, and his pleasure; that I, in reply, had inserted the particulars, which I had done in obedience to the orders communicated by him, and to his pleasure; That if I had not inserted them, I should have appeared guilty of the disobedience charged upon me; that if I had written any thing not founded in fact, he would have accused me of it at the time; or he could do it then, and demand my reasons for such and such false assertions.



He replied, "The things which you write are of such a nature that a fair and direct answer cannot be given; but in certain affairs, which may prove the subjects of enquiry or accusation against me, it will be better to keep silence." I answered, that with respect to what he said to me verbally, I would act agreeably to his pleasure; but that when he thought proper to put his sentiments upon paper, and give them in writing, if I did not answer them faithfully and fully, I myself should be subject to accusations.

He answered, "I will be careful in this respect for the future, and not write. Silence, however, on this subject is necessary (on your part) that it may not be known to the gentlemen who are coming that the Vizier's seal has been affixed to papers and shocchahs without his knowledge." I said, that when the new gentlemen should arrive, and I should continue here in the management of affairs, I would act in whatever manner he should please to direct.

His object is, that it may not *now* be discovered that the Vizier's seal has been affixed to shocchahs without his knowledge. He did not plainly and directly say it, but obliquely and secretly he hinted as much; and said, "The complaints and reflections which have lately been exhibited against me at the Board, have been disapproved, and that which I have written has met with approbation; but such matters must not be made known to the new gentlemen."

Much more he said, containing reflections on the gentlemen in the Governor's confidence, advice respecting the execution of the plan, and the deceiving of the Vizier, so that, by throwing him off his guard, the business might be effected; adding, when it is once done, how will his Highness then be able to remedy it? "Thus it was that Mokhtaur ul Dowlah and I in concert, carried our points, by representing matters as trivial, or advantageous, or by holding out temptations of various descriptions to the Vizier; and when the business was once executed, he was silent, nor knew or foresaw the ultimate consequences which would follow." In the same manner you must now advise the Nuwaub, as I shall direct you; and having by artifice obtained his approbation, carry into execution.

This conversation he spun out to a prodigious length; to attempt to write it would be endless. I said thus much in reply, that with respect to the execution of measures contrary to the inclination of the Vizier, as intended by him, that I would not hesitate to obey the Governor's orders, communicated to me as such; but that, to procure a letter of assurance from the Governor to the purport already mentioned, was absolutely necessary, that I might be secured from the consequences of the Nuwaub's repentment.

He replied, I will cause a Persian translation of the orders to be made, and give it to you, and we will after that talk again. Assurance or security from the Governor is unnecessary, since in a short time he will set out for Europe. I repeated my former answer. It remains to be seen hereafter, what the next conversation will produce.

ACCOUNT of the Articles for the Regulation of the Country and Habitation of his Highness, which Mr. Bristow caused to be written.

Having appointed a new Treasurer, I will establish the general treasury of the country in two places; one for the Surcor of the Company, the other for the expences of the Nuwaub's household and household establishments, for the tuncaw and jageerdars: What shall be necessary for the Nuwaub's expences, &c. I will issue in money. I will keep the Persian duster of the governmental officers and the mootafuddies, and will appoint a Dewan to superintend the same.

Having dismissed the Aumils appointed by his Highness, I will appoint other Aumils.

I will keep the cavalry and the infantry under my own authority; and what other troops may be necessary, I will raise them also by my own authority.

I will keep the business of the Adawlut under my authority. Such expences for superfluous elephants and horses in the Nuwaub's dowaub, and for provisions dressed, are unnecessary—let him diminish them.



I will take the old duffurs and papers which are in the furcor of his Highness.

Having dismissed the great Aumils, I will appoint separate inferior Aumils in their place.

The Sharra
Duffkhat of Mr.
Cooper, in the writing of his
Moonflee.
Let orders be given to Takur Chand not to
injure and oppress without cause; but let the sons-
in-law Hajee Ankan Mahommud at liberty, and
write an account of the circumstances respecting them
to the presence.

ER ZEE to Mr. Bristow.

Sets forth, That the two sons-in-law to Hajee Ankan Mahommud have been confined in prison during the whole of the last year. From the time of Fakeer Chund's appointment, he has treated them with the utmost severity, even to the prohibiting their food from being brought to them. We had rented the Purgunnah of Aaligunge for three years; four months of the Fuf-ful of Hurreef remained when we were turned out: all that was received to that period was paid; and if we had continued through the Hurreef Fufful, the remainder would have been paid. We are in no shape guilty—we hope, from your favour and goodness, that in your kindness to the poor and the helpless you will set them at liberty, &c.

Signed the Erzee of the Family
of Hajee Ankan Mahommed.

The
Sharra Duffkhat
of Mr. Cooper, in the
writing of his moonflee.
Let orders be issued to Janai
Beg, not to molest the habi-
tations of the widows,
but to make good the
injury he has done them.



ERZEE to the Nuwaub, the Dispenser of Justice, &c.

Sets forth, That Jauni Beg unjustly, and by force and violence, hath seized upon the dwellings of certain widows—You are the protector of the poor—whatever may be your determination in behalf of the widows, be pleased to declare it;—we have no other refuge but you, &c. He formerly pulled down four or five houses, and he has now prohibited water from being carried to four or five others, &c.

Signed, Erzee of the Widows.

The Governor General having seen the minutes of the other Members of the Board, recorded on the 19th instant, delivered the following opinion thereon, which was sent in circulation :

The Governor General.

I mean not to condemn Mr. Bristow, nor am I his accuser. It is highly proper and regular that he be furnished with the complaints which have been preferred against him, and his defence received, or time allowed to make it, before any measures be taken with respect to him personally, or his office.

The Nabob Vizier is also entitled to some degree of tenderness, although it has been too much the custom to regard and treat him as a vassal of the Company, and the mere political instrument of this government. He has accused Mr. Bristow of assuming the tone of command in his personal addresses; of appointing a Treasurer and Comptroller of his domestic expences; of sending requisitions in the Nabob Vizier's name for military detachments, without the Nabob's authority; of writing letters in the Nabob's name, for the receipt and disbursement of money, and compelling the Vizier's Moonshie to affix the Vizier's seal without his authority; of disbanding his troops without consulting him; of nominating and stationing sezawuls at Furruckabad and other places, without the Nabob's authority, and using his own in instances in which the Nabob Vizier has refused to grant it: And from papers subsequently received, and which I have laid before the Board, a fresh charge appears against Mr. Bristow, of having conferred on Mr. Cooper the chief administration of justice over the Nabob Vizier's dominions.

These charges are true, or they are false. If they are true, they are grievances of the most inveterate kind; and the faith and interest of the Company, and of this government, are concerned in redressing them; and the first step necessary to this end is to pass an order for revoking the acts on which they are founded, and which contrive them such. If the charges are false, the order will prove ineffective, and, at the worst, will do no harm.

This is not a time to try Mr. Bristow's acts by the test of his instructions. I certainly did not mean to give Mr. Bristow an authority to do what I never would dare to do myself; and am pleased that there are proofs on record of my principles with respect to the Nabob Vizier, which are most repugnant to every species of violence and usurpation.



I do therefore repeat the motion which I have already made to the Board, That Mr. Bristow be furnished with copies of the papers containing the charges against him; that the Board require him to reply to them; and, in the mean time, if he shall have appointed any person or persons to the charge of offices appertaining to the administration of the Nabob Vizier, that he do immediately revoke the appointments, and confine himself solely to the charge of such affairs as appertain to the Company, in the department specially allotted to him, leaving to the Nabob Vizier the entire and uncontroled management of his own concerns.

20 May, 1783.

The Members of the Board deliver their opinions upon the Governor General's motion as follows:

Mr. Stables.

In answer to the question referred to me in the last paragraph of the Governor General's minute, 20th May.

In justice to the character of our Resident, I cannot accede to the revocation of any appointment of officers or arrangements that he has made, till he is heard in his defence, against the charges brought against him by the Nabob Vizier.

When his answer is received, the matter will be fully before the Board; and I hope it will be the subject of debate, whether his conduct is justified by the instructions he has received, or whether he has exceeded the powers he was intrusted with.

Mr. Macpherfon.

I cannot agree to the two last propositions in the Governor General's minute of the 20th of May. The 4th and 5th articles of our instructions, of the 28th October last, through the Governor General to our Resident at Oude, were very strong; and it is my opinion, for reasons alluded to in my former minute upon this subject, that the Resident should be heard in defence of any arrangements he has taken in consequence of our directions, before those arrangements are ordered to be revoked. The line to separate the Vizier's concerns from those of the Company, cannot easily be drawn; and this government, and not the Resident, can alone define it. I wish our distresses would permit us to render it easier to the Vizier.

Mr. Wheler.

Let it be examined, whether the orders on which the Resident is said to have usurped an authority over the Nabob, were given for special or for general purposes; if for special, whether those purposes are yet realized; if for general, whether the same motives, which induced this government to deviate from their common and ordinary form of instructing the Resident at the Nabob's court, may not yet justify that deviation; or, in other words, whether the views of this government are equally attainable under another set of instructions, which at one and the same time tend to the enlargement of the powers usually exercised by the Nabob's minister, and to the diminution of the influence of the Company's Resident. The instructions in question point out

the



the consequence of the alteration proposed, in terms that amply supply the want of local knowledge, and on my mind imprint the necessity, which at this time urges us, with uncommon pressure, to uphold the influence of our Resident, in preference to that of the Nabob's minister.

I have already acceded to the proposal made by the Governor General, of transmitting all the charges that have been exhibited against the Resident and his assistant, in order that they may answer them; till then, in my opinion, no further measures should be taken.

If it shall hereafter appear that, under the present existing orders, the Resident shall have ventured to make appointments, which are neither justified by them, by policy, or by necessity, such appointments must be reversed; but on the contrary, if appointments said to have been made by the Resident, shall upon enquiry appear to be conformable to the letter and spirit of his instructions, and consonant also to the good government and prosperity of the Nabob's dominions, as well as to the support of his authority, it will surely be considered as unbecoming the dignity of this government to permit the intrigues of a dependant on the Nabob to frustrate a plan judiciously and wisely calculated to extricate the Vizier from his present difficulties, and the India Company from a very precarious demand upon his country, almost at the hour when they may hope to realize the amount of it. I cannot, therefore, in this stage of the business, assent to that part of the Governor General's minute, which proposes, that "if the Resident shall have appointed any person or persons to the charge of offices appertaining to the administration of the Nabob Vizier, he do immediately revoke the appointments, and confine himself solely to the charge of such affairs as appertain to the Company in the department specially allotted to him."

Resolved, and Ordered, That a copy of the charges exhibited in the letters from the Nabob Vizier, and from his minister Hyder Beg Cawn, against the Resident, Mr. Bristow, be sent to him, and that he be required to deliver his answer to them.

Resolved, That the question, viz. And in the mean time if he (Mr. Bristow) shall have appointed any person or persons to the charge of offices appertaining to the administration of the Nabob Vizier, that he do immediately revoke the appointments, and confine himself solely to the charge of such affairs as appertain to the Company in the department specially allotted to him; "leaving to the Nabob Vizier the entire and uncontrouled management of his own concerns," be carried in the negative.

The Governor General desires it to be recorded, that he protests against the resolution of the Board, and will assign his reasons at large hereafter. He also desires that as the instructions given by him to Mr. Bristow have no longer any force, and as he solemnly disavows their authority, under any construction, for Mr. Bristow to exercise any controul over the Nabob Vizier, or participation in the sovereignty of the Vizier's dominions, the Board will be pleased to cause such new instructions to be drawn out, and transmitted to Mr. Bristow, as they shall think proper, to regulate his conduct on the principles which they have laid down for the maintenance of the relation of this government to the Nabob Vizier.

A true Extract.

E. H A Y,

Acting Secretary to the Secret Dept.



Received the following Letter from Mr. Bristow.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Esquire, Governor General, &c. Members of the Supreme Council, Fort William.

Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

As by the instructions I received from the Honourable Governor General, shortly after my appointment, negotiations of the last importance to these provinces, and to the interests of the Company, have been entrusted to my conduct; and as, at the same time, I am charged with a heavy responsibility in case of failure or mismanagement, you will not, I flatter myself, Gentlemen, deem this address, however prolix, impertinently obtruded upon your attention; or be displeased that a narrative, dictated by truth, should be delivered with freedom.

The character of Hyder Beg Cawn, and his conduct antecedent to my appointment, were so fully understood, and have been so ably delineated by the Governor General, that no testimony of mine could illustrate or explain them further; but it is a duty incumbent upon me to declare, that during the period this Minister's conduct has been last under my observations, I have discovered no favourable change in his disposition, or any one symptom of penitence or reformation; and the indulgence shewn him by your Government has served only to animate and encourage him to a more determined systematic resistance. Agreeably to the letter of my instructions, I have given Hyder Beg Cawn repeatedly and unequivocally to understand that the Governor was very well disposed to pass over in silence the errors of the past, provided his future conduct should not provoke an enquiry. At the same time, and to facilitate the early and complete accomplishment of all the great objects of my mission, I endeavoured, by the frankest offers of my friendship and confidence, and by every art of persuasion, to engage him to unite heartily and cordially with me. Under these circumstances, perhaps, it will not be easy to explain the reasons of his contumacy; and I must, Gentlemen, submit it to your better judgment to decide, whether, it is in a misconception of your lenity they are to be sought, or whether, notwithstanding my assurances, the Minister's fears may not have surmounted his faith, and persuaded him into an opinion that every new arrangement would probably be followed by some new discovery, and at last induce an inquiry into his conduct, which might end in his being made responsible in his own person for all the mischiefs and all the ruin of his Ministry; or lastly, whether his haughty spirit might not revolt at the first attempts to set bounds to an authority, which long impunity had taught him to think was no longer subject to diminution or control. Be his motives what they may, certain it is, he has hitherto uniformly opposed every innovation, however salutary, with the most unyielding obstinacy; and though his language is all humility and submission, he has still availed himself of every influence he derived from his power, his talents, and his wealth, to impede or frustrate my designs; never surrendering a single point which he judged it of importance to contend, however pressing I might urge the necessity of compliance, on the strong and very serious ground of your positive and indispensable commands. Thus, Gentlemen, after an ineffectual struggle, far from seeing the Minister at my devotion, I have the mortification to find him still in the character of a haughty rival; and I am confirmed in my opinion that the degree of ascendancy necessary to make my situation at this Court respectable and efficient is, under the circumstances I now stand in, not easily attainable. As I have been some time since convinced of the Minister's disposition, it will be proper I should explain why I did not, at an earlier period, solicit on this subject the interposition of your authority. My reasons were these: The Governor General's own letters had announced to Hyder Beg the only conditions upon which he would be permitted to continue in office. I had also, by the most explicit declarations, laboured to convince him of Mr. Hastings's unalterable determination, and urged to him the folly and temerity of resistance. I knew he had sense enough to discern the danger and delicacy of his situation; and I concluded, in spite of all his pride, that he had sufficient discretion to subscribe to inevitable necessity with a good grace, and not wantonly to provoke his fate; when at last I found myself deceived in this expectation, I had still the strongest reasons for wishing to avoid an open rupture with the Minister, though I thought it incumbent upon me to advise the Honourable Governor General of the superadded difficulties I had to contend with from Hyder Beg Cawn's opposition. Mr. Hastings, in his instructions to me, speaking of Hyder Beg Cawn, and explaining his reasons why, under certain conditions, he would prefer him to any other man, who could be nominated to his office, concludes with the following observation: "But above all, because a change of administration in a Government so loose as that of Oude (where all the parts of it are held together by the exertion of actual power, and not by the springs of an established constitution) would be unavoidably productive of confusion and loss of revenue." This reasoning, so just as a general principle, when applied to the particular instance before us, returns with double force. Any direct attempt to supersede the authority of a Minister so powerful as Hyder Beg Cawn, at a most critical season of



the collections, and whilst every place of emolument or trust was in possession of a set of a slaves, watchful of his least command, and entirely at his devotion, would indubitably have been attended with an accession of all those evils described by Mr. Hallings; and at a time too when the urgent necessities of the Nabob and the Company, and the impoverished state of the finances, would have made the consequences which must have followed these mischiefs particularly grievous to both. On the other hand, Gentlemen, I have chosen this time to make my representation and appeal to you with respect to the conduct of the Minister; first, because the season of the collections is almost expired, and consequently those weighty reasons, which before restrained me on this subject, are in great measure done away: again, because the period is now fast approaching, when the most material points in the wise system prescribed by the Honourable the Governor General, must, if ever, be executed: and lastly, because it is clear to my understanding, that whilst Hyder Beg Cawn shall preserve the uncontrolled dominion which he now possesses over these provinces, and the sovereign of them, it will ever be in his power, as certainly it is in his intention, to oppose every attempt at reformation.

I trust, Gentlemen, you will not attribute it to any sufferance, or want of exertion in me, that the undue influence assumed by the Minister over the Nabob still exists in all its extent. I found him at my arrival in possession of so many natural and acquired advantages, which had been gathering strength for years, and which he knew so well to avail himself of, that I was very early convinced, should he ever prove refractory, nothing but unqualified deprivation could secure us against the mischievous effects of his influence, already too firmly fixed to be otherwise opposed or defeated. Yet it is not in the affections or the esteem of the Prince his master that his influence is established. The Nabob knows, and has told me, that if his provinces wore a face of general desolation and ruin, and his Court exhibited a speaking picture of penury, nakedness, and famine, Hyder was alone the author of all these calamities, and all this dishonour. Yet, unless he shall be encouraged to assert his rights by motives more powerful than the feelings of repentment, or the calls of humanity, the management of this artful Minister will still prevent him from adopting any firm and dignified resolution, and he will contrive to perpetuate his thralldom, by exerting alternately his hopes and fears. These passions, whilst in equilibrium over the mind, keep it hesitating and undetermined—The resolutions of despair alone are unqualified and decisive.

My correspondence with Hyder Beg, relative to the adawlut, is carried on in a tone of strong remonstrance on my part, and of shuffling and evasion on his, and furnishes voluminous and conclusive testimony of the wantonness of his disobedience: I have the honour now to enclose it, as also other letters and papers; and to the whole, Gentlemen, I must solicit your serious attention. They will explain to the Honourable Board with how little effect I have endeavoured to engage the Minister to assist me in executing this so necessary part of the Honourable Governor General's new system, whilst he has suffered to prevail, and even himself affected to believe, the most injurious and wanton misrepresentations and reports relative to my intentions in this particular, and this too, when he could no longer doubt, from the fullest explanations, that what I proposed on this subject was in literal obedience to your commands. Such reports I should at any other season, regard with the contempt, and pass over with the silence they deserve; but here they derive an importance from the occasion, since in their operation they may render more difficult an undertaking which is already sufficiently arduous, or afford a pretence to artful and designing men for future complaint and accusation. It is here necessary to inform you, that I do not find the circumstances respecting the adawlut contained in the late Resident's address to the Board, dated the 21st September 1782, were stated on any sufficient grounds, with an exception only to the character of Moloway Mobeen: He is indeed a very reputable, learned, and honest man; yet these qualities could not shield him from the resentment of Hyder Beg Cawn, with whom not the exercise of all the virtues could atone for the inexpiable offence of shewing respect to your representative. The Moloway's own memorial and deposition, together with a recent instance of the same kind, will prove how little respect the Minister observes towards that authority from whose protection alone he derives his honours and his existence. The other instance which I allude to, and in which Hyder Beg peremptorily and publicly declared his determination to make any man who should presume to visit the English Resident, occurred a very few days since in the presence of Raja Jagernaut, the son-in-law of Raja Soonet Sing, the Vizier's Dewan, Raja Ticket Roy his own Naib, Mheer Golaum Hussam, a physician, and many others. Thus it is, gentlemen, that by attempting to shut up every source of information from me, he shews his respect to the Honourable Governor General's commands, who has enjoined him to take no step without my knowledge and participation; and thus it is he insults and tramples upon the power which has raised, and which still supports him. Permit me to contrast with this conduct the incessant declarations contained in his letters to me, full of duty and attachment. His daring to introduce the name of the Nabob to excuse the neglect of his ministry, after the Honourable Governor General had so pointedly explained to him in what light he should consider every such attempt, is mockery and insult.



insult. That he is all-powerful with the Vizier, is a fact of too great notoriety to be denied; and as every thing yet remains to be done, it furnishes an argument of his having wilfully neglected his duty, or betrayed his trust, which no sophistry can elude; nothing but a clear demonstration that I have failed in mine can save him from this charge; and here, Gentlemen, it is my earnest entreaty, that I may be permitted to bring the question immediately to issue, by publicly defying him to the proof; and let me fall under your severest displeasure, and be subject to any punishment, or any dishonour, if it shall appear, after the strictest scrutiny, that I have not, in all my intercourse with the Minister, made the Honourable Governor General's instructions undeviatingly the rule of my conduct, and endeavoured by every exertion of my abilities, and by the most indefatigable and unwearied attention, to secure all those essential advantages they are intended to produce. If, on the other hand, you shall be ultimately satisfied that I have religiously acquitted myself of my duty, and laboured to the utmost of my power to promote your great designs, I trust, Gentlemen, you will take effectual measures to prevent their being hereafter liable to further check or impediment from the secret intrigues, or declared opposition of Hyder Beg Cawn, or any of his adherents.

My proceedings relative to other parts of the Honourable Governor General's new system will in due time be submitted to your consideration.

I have the honour to be,

with profound respect,

Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

Your most obedient, and

very humble servant,

(Signed)

JOHN BRISTOW,

Resident at the Vizier's Court.

A true Copy.

E. Hay,

Acting Secretary to the Secret Department.

Lucknow,
the 13th May, 1783.

To Mr. Cowper.

Sir,

Reports, calculated to answer the worst purposes, having been circulated, grossly misrepresenting my intention in recommending to his Excellency the Nabob the institution of a Phouzday Adaulut at Lucknow, asserting that I had appointed you to the superintendence of this Court, and charging me in this appointment with a design to usurp and infringe his Excellency's rights of sovereignty; I am to request you will state the instructions you have received from me on this occasion, and your proceedings in consequence. I further desire you will fully explain what has been your conduct relative to such petitions concerning revenue, and other civil matters, as I may have referred to you.

I enclose for your information a translation taken of my Persian correspondence, on this subject, with the Minister Hyder Beg Cawn.

I am, Sir,

(Signed)

JOHN BRISTOW,

Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Lucknow,
the 1st May 1783.

To John Bristow, Esquire, Resident at the Court of Oude.

Sir,

I have been honoured by the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, acquainting me that reports had been industriously propagated, grossly misrepresenting your intentions in recommend-
ing



ing to his Excellency the immediate institution of a Phouzdary Adaulat at Lucknow, and charging you with an attempt to usurp and infringe his rights of sovereignty, by appointing me to the superintendence of this Court.

A bare recital of the fact will prove that no such appointment ever existed, even in idea, and that your sole motive in this recommendation (if I have not utterly misunderstood you) was to restore peace and order to the capital, and security to its inhabitants, who in the absence of all magistracy, are now hourly exposed to assault and assassination, at the immediate residence and almost in the presence of their sovereign.

Soon after my arrival, you informed me that the Honourable the Governor General, in his instructions to you, had marked the want of proper Courts of justice as one of the most disreputable defects of the Vizier's government, and a principal cause of the general licentiousness which prevailed throughout his dominions. You may remember we were both fully sensible of the strength and justness of Mr. Hastings's subsequent reasoning with respect to the difficulty, and even danger, that would attend the abrupt application of a remedy, where the evil was universal. But on the other hand, as this very universality afforded a decisive and unanswerable proof of the necessity of some arrangement, you were induced by it to request, whilst your attention was engaged by objects of more immediate importance, that I would enquire and endeavour to ascertain how far a reformation so necessary to the prosperity and happiness both of the Prince and people, might be effected with the least possible inconvenience and delay.

In conformity to your wishes I sent for Molowey Mubbin, who had received your instructions to assist me, proposing to enter with him into such explanations as I judged best calculated to afford me a clear idea of the system of jurisprudence now established here; and conceiving, from his ostensible character of Sudder Hul Huck, that he was the fittest person to point out the prevailing errors and abuses of it, and to suggest the means of correcting them in time to come: But he assured me at once, that their neither was, nor (as far as he could learn) had there been for a length of years, even the shadow of a police through the whole extent of the Nabob Vizier's territories; and indeed the memorial the Molowey delivered me at the same time, and which I enclose, is a decided testimony that his appointment was a mockery, and himself a pageant. It is needless to search for other arguments in defence of this opinion; the idea of taking a school master from the seminary in which he had been immured from his earliest infancy, and placing him in the seat of justice, from whence he was to dispense law to a whole people, and to unite in his person the civil and criminal jurisdiction of such extensive countries; I say, such an idea is so full of ridicule, that it could never have been seriously entertained by any man pretending to common sense; at the same time, having been seemingly adopted, it was an indication of the disposition of the ministers at the Court of Oude, on the subject of Adawlut, too plain to be mistaken; and I must confess I drew a conclusion from it, that at once induced me to auger very ill of our undertaking, and determined me to proceed in it with all wariness and circumspection; and in this resolution and opinion I was not a little confirmed by the very extraordinary tenor of one, among the papers which you had sent me, as supposing they might throw light upon the subject, when you first recommended it to my enquiry, it is the letter written to you by the Molowey upon your arrival; and as it may possibly have escaped your memory, I enclose a translation of it:—I therefore, after very mature deliberation, submitted to you, whether it would not be advisable to confine your views for the present to the institution of a Phouzdary Court at the capital only, which, from the lawless state of its inhabitants, was a measure of such evident expediency as I thought could possibly be liable to no objections; and the benefits that would naturally arise from it, I hoped would make an impression upon the minds of the people, and prepare them to receive it hereafter as a general regulation. I was happy to find our sentiments on this subject entirely corresponded: You approved, and recommended it to his Excellency the Vizier, who was pleased to accede to the proposition, and to nominate Molowey Mubeen to preside in the Court, an office he was very well qualified to fill, since the decrees of it would of course be regulated entirely by the law, as it is contained in the coran; and here the matter rests to this hour, and this hour the inhabitants of Lucknow are left in a condition of licentiousness, very near approaching to a state of nature; the interval, near two months, having been wasted in repeated, though hitherto fruitless, applications to Hyder Beg Cawn, on the subject of a house for holding the Court.

I believe it will be difficult for the most penetrating sagacity to discover, in this ample unadorned narrative of the fact, the slightest ground for complaint or apprehension; yet we are told the whole country is in alarm, and stricken with fear.—But how, or why? The Nabob has been humbly solicited to adopt a measure which had for its sole object the security and happiness of his people, and this, by the worthless part of his subjects, has been construed into an attempt to usurp



usurp and infringe his rights; and I, whose share in this transaction has been limited, God knows, to a few harmless researches, am represented as already in possession, by your sole appointment, of an authority which common sense must evince can be delegated by the Prince alone; I really, Sir, know not whether most to pity the folly, or despise the malice, of these contemptible slanderers.

And now I shall proceed to state my procedure with respect to the petitions mentioned in the last article of your letter. The minister has employed much art and labour to involve in darkness and difficulty that which in itself was most simple and evident, and utterly perverted the truth for the purpose of fixing upon me a charge of violence and usurpation; I trust, nevertheless, I shall prove my conduct to have been guarded, inoffensive, and upright. At the same time the detail of argument necessary to expose and refute his sophistry, will I am afraid swell this address to a very unreasonable size; yet to you, Sir, I shall make no apology, as you must be sensible that such explanation, however tedious, is often the only shield which remains to the whitest innocence, against the secret and deadly shafts of calumny and falsehood.

It is hardly necessary to recall to your remembrance, that all I have done in this business had the sanction of your commands; but it may be of importance to remark, that Hyder Beg Khan was duly apprized I acted entirely under this authority, as is proved by your letter to him, dated the 7th of Jemady ul Awul, a copy of which I inclose: It is therein mentioned that you had thought proper on this occasion to appoint Hussun Atta Beg to communicate between me and the minister; Hussun Atta Beg's deposition, therefore, will be very properly introduced here: The style of it is indeed widely different from that adopted by Hyder Beg in his address to you of the 14th of Jummady ul Awul—but, sir, it is the language of truth, relating with the most scrupulous exactness and fidelity every circumstance of my management; and far from furnishing any proof of that despotic authority which the minister so peremptorily asserts was assumed by me, and extended over Prince and people, it is indeed speaking evidence that all my efforts have been equally inoffensive and inefficient. To soften the heart of Hyder, and seek to charm him by persuasion and entreaty to listen to the voice of justice and humanity, was indeed an idle hope; and since these are the only arms we have hitherto employed against him, it will not be matter of surprize that our enterprise should have miscarried. Could the minister only prove the twentieth part of the absurdity and violence with which he has charged my conduct in the letter above alluded to, I do most readily allow I should be very ill qualified for the situation I have now the honour to be placed in by the Honourable the Governor General and Council; I shall therefore examine the contents of that letter throughout, and demonstrate upon what slight authority he has hazarded these wild and extravagant assertions. He talks there, sir, of “posing to the Nabob whether he should execute the business according to plans proposed by me, of the petitions under my signature, of mandates to the Aumils, and even of orders to his Excellency.”;—and every syllable he says is a romance. The deposition of Hussun Atta Beg, through whom alone I have had an intercourse with the minister, proves clearly that I never presumed to *prescribe*; agreeably to your desire I suggested to him my ideas, but with the utmost deference, always submitting them to his correction, and professing to be guided by his better judgment: He says, “I am ready to obey your commands, regarding the petitions to which Mr. Cowper has put his signature. As Hussun Atta Beg has brought me a message from Mr. Cowper, that the Vizier's seal should be fixed to those identical petitions, I represented the circumstance to you, &c.”—not true; and he well knows he cannot produce a single petition signed by me. The undisguised state of the case is this: As the petitions were referred to me, I had them read, and directed Hussun Atta Beg to write upon the face of them severally an order, such as, had it finally rested with me to settle them, I should have issued upon the occasion, and then bade him carry them to the minister; but I did not, as Hyder Beg Khan would wish it to be understood, magisterially direct the Vizier's zeal should be affixed; on the contrary, as Hussun Atta Beg has related, I requested the minister would decide upon the propriety of my ideas, and ultimately reject or adopt them, as he saw fit; and I chose this mode of communicating them, rather than by letter, because it was the simplest and readiest; to have written a formal address upon the subject of each complaint, would have been endless: I enclose one of the petitions, it will best illustrate my meaning—such were they all; and these are what Hyder Beg, born here and throughout his correspondence with you, studiously affects to call *petitions under my signature*, it is pretty evident with what intention; and really, Sir, I am ashamed of him. He continues, “After his Excellency went a hunting, Hussun Atta Beg brought me a message requesting I would put my own seal to the petitions.” This proposal, together with several others that have since been offered to his choice, each deviating from the other, he would wish to have considered as so many contradictions, hoping to fix upon us an imputation of wavering inconsistency; and in this idea he seems to triumph in his conversation with Hussun Atta Beg; but neither will his logic avail him here, since no second proposal was



submitted to him till he had rejected the first; nor would a second, even in that case, have been made him, could he have been prevailed upon by any entreaties to have substituted a plan of his own. But he affected, and still pretends pertinaciously to adhere to the mock appointment of Moloway Mubbein; and, speaking of him, tells you with great gravity, "that such causes as had occurred were decided according to the Mohometan law; that the registers were in his possession; and that from the period of his appointment (a twelvemonth) all disputes had been settled by him." Every thing within the compass of human impudence may be expected from the man who could openly hold this language to those whom he must have been sensible were perfectly acquainted with the *Défens des Cartes*, and who were in possession of such a memorial written by the hand of the Moloway: For the rest, that others may come to understand the minister's character as well as we do, I must refer them to the aforesaid memorial, and to the Moloway's declaration, that all the disputes he has ever settled did not exceed thirty: Wonderful indeed! that in the course of twelve months only thirty complaints should have been preferred to the Daroga of the four Subahs; yet this must have been the case, since, according to Hyder Beg's affirmation, the Moloway has settled all disputes that have occurred from the period of his appointment, and hence he would infer that your interposition upon the score of justice is wanton and impertinent. Is this a banter, Sir, or what is it?—He next observes, "Whatever complaints were made against the Aumils, the greater part concerned English sepoy for the remission of rent." It pains me to be here, again, under the necessity of flatly contradicting him. The petitions from English sepoy were not for remission of rent, but to be relieved from the most intolerable and unauthorized exactions, and they are still extant; they do not compose the fiftieth part of the petitions, and so this subtle insinuation, like all the rest, loses its effect. And now, Sir, I come to the conclusion of his letter, it runs thus: "It was a delicate matter, and of the first importance; when, in affairs relative to the capital, Mr. Cowper issued orders to his Excellency, he also put his signature to petitions, giving his mandates to the Aumils in the style of a Sovereign Prince, &c." After this unprovoked and defamatory libel he will not expect I should treat his person with much ceremony or respect: Yet, were it not for the character of treachery so strongly marked in his conduct, I should really be moved to pity and forgive him. I am not vindictive, but I owe it to myself not to expose my reputation to future peril by passing in silence over the past. I am therefore under the necessity of denying, in the most positive and unqualified form, every syllable of the charge he has exhibited against me, and to establish which he has, as I have shewn, wickedly perverted and misrepresented facts. I directly affirm the whole to be a tissue of falsehoods and frothy declamation; and I desire, through you, to appeal to the Honourable the Governor General and Council, whose province it is to protect innocence from insult; and this I do that my proud accuser may be compelled to the proof, and that to one of us there may be no retreat.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect and esteem,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

(Signed) W. C O W P E R.

Lucknow,
the 3d May, 1783.

True Copies.

E. Hay,

As Secy to the Secret Dept.

Mr. Bristow's Representation relative to the Institution of Adawluts in his Excellency the Vizier's
Dominions.

Very early after my arrival I mentioned the subject of the Phowzedarry Adawlut to Hyder Beg Cawn, who professed a readiness to join with me in establishing it upon a respectable footing; he promised to procure a house for Melovee Mobine to hold his court; I was, nevertheless, constantly told that the Vizier occupied all his houses; tents and other articles were purposely dispersed among them, in order to furnish a plea for evasions. My repeated and earnest solicitations induced



induced the minister to send for Molovee Mobine, on some day at the end of the month of March, and take notice of him for the first time; he was presented with a dooley, and five hundred rupees, as a consideration for above seven months that he had nominally held the appointment.—Twelve sepoy were attached to his person, and he was told to receive a tent for his court of justice, and to exercise the functions of his office, without any other steps being taken to invest him with the necessary authorities.

On the 11th ultimo the minister informed me, that the Vizier had thought proper to allot a house for the court of justice; but at my next meeting with Molovee Mobine, he acquainted me, that he had been to view the premises, which he found unfit for the purpose, being situated in the center of the palace, where his proceedings would be subject to restraint; that the place itself was too confined, and not easy of access; and further, that goods belonging to his Excellency were deposited in the House. So gross an insult from Hyder Beg Cawn, in attempting to impose upon my understanding by artifices too thin to furnish a veil of deception, compelled me to take notice of his conduct, and I have expressed my sentiments very freely to him in the course of our correspondence.

I apprized Hyder Beg Cawn very fully of my intentions concerning the institution of the Adawlut, notwithstanding which, I was informed, to my great astonishment, that the whole town had taken the alarm, in consequence of its having been maliciously and falsely propagated, "That men of the first rank, and even the Vizier himself, were subject to its arbitrary decrees; that his Excellency's rights and prerogatives were infringed; that general commotions throughout the country would be the inevitable consequence; and finally, that Mr. Cowper was appointed the Superintendent." In order to satisfy the Honourable Board of my earnest wish to shew every respect to the Vizier's authority, and to confute these base aspersions, I have called upon Mr. Cowper to explain his conduct; and the truth will appear upon a perusal of that gentleman's narrative.

As the Honourable the Governor General's instructions, relative to the institution of Adawluts, rest the matter in my discretion, it behoves me to explain the reasons which have induced me to urge the measure. My motive for intruding this detail upon you, is not to evince the self-evident proposition of their necessity, but to guard against any misrepresentations, which may have been made by the minister, suggesting that the country is well governed, justice already duly administered, and consequently the institution of Adawluts needless. By what I can collect from the conversations that have lately passed between us, these, and the infringement of the Nabob's rights and prerogatives, are the arguments upon which his objections will be founded; he will assert that Molovee Mobine's authority is established; but it is incumbent on me to inform you, that his proceedings are a mockery, like all the other incidents of the minister's pretended obedience, he having no authority to enforce his decrees.

The annexed extract of my address to the Honourable the Governor General, concerning the state of the Vizier's dominions, will explain the confusion in which I found the government when I took charge of the residency, and how completely every channel for the redress of wrongs was stopped: The communication between different parts of the Vizier's dominions was then interrupted, and travellers, except in large bodies, could not pass in safety; I have now the pleasure to inform you, that I have in some measure corrected these disorders, though nothing can effectually remove them, but the establishment which I have so urgently, but in vain, endeavoured to introduce. I here beg leave briefly to mention the leading principles upon which I wished to institute the Phouzedarry Adawlut.

1st. The licentiousness of the dependants and favourites of the Vizier, the ministers, and other persons in authority, has been a constant source of dread to the people; and it will not be the least arduous task appertaining to the duties of the Adawlut, to restrain their conduct; they should doubtless be subject to its jurisdiction.

2dly. The Adawlut should have no tendency to retrospection, and consequently the minds of the people need be under no alarm on account of past offences.

3dly. Personal safety being the first step towards relieving the country from a state of anarchy, and re-establishing the Vizier's authority, these desirable advantages will be materially assisted by the institution of an Adawlut; and I cannot conceive how any commotions or dangerous consequences should result from such an establishment: On the contrary, the people must rejoice at the security they will derive from the Phouzedarry Adawlut. And,



4thly. The decisions of the court to be guided, agreeable to the customs of the country, by the precepts of the Hindoo and Mahommedan religions.

It is true Hyder Beg Cawn has, occasionally, when I have recommended the wrongs of persons to his notice, procured the Vizier's orders to his Aumils for their redress; but these being in general disobeyed, as he was convinced they would be, did but increase the evil, by expoling the weakness of government. At length, the complaints of the people increasing daily upon me, so as to render it exceedingly irksome to me to appear abroad, and to relieve my mind from the contemplation of calamities which I had not the power to remedy, I requested Mr. Cowper to undertake the task of ascertaining the grounds of their several complaints, and refer such cases as he deemed deserving of attention to the minister's cognizance. Hyder Beg Cawn has on this occasion shewn a disposition to cavil at the simplest propositions, and wilfully misconstrues my intentions; the proofs of which it is unnecessary for me to enter upon, as the circumstances are fully explained in Mr. Cowper's narrative, and the translation of my correspondence.

It is evident, from the complaints which have hitherto come to my knowledge, tending in general to develop the violences and exactions committed by the Aumils, that notwithstanding the frequent balances of revenue which have occurred in the accounts of this government, the country is rackrented, and the collections have, upon an average, been rigorously enforced. I have invariably endeavoured to regulate my conduct so as to avoid personal attacks; insisting, however, at the same time, that justice should be administered, without distinction or regard to rank or station. The minister has conceived, as I should judge from his conduct, a mistaken opinion, that his dependants should be exempted from the penalties of any general regulation; and that to charge them with crimes, and inflict punishment, upon conviction, is a diminution of his authority and consequence. It would be difficult to ascertain the extent of an evil of so dangerous a tendency, when it is considered that there are few men in power under this government who do not owe their situation to his patronage.—This doctrine will explain the minister's negligence in redressing the grievances of individuals, and his violent opposition to the trust I delegated to Mr. Cowper of enquiring into them.

I have advised that in future the decision of all disputes, relative to land or revenue, be considered part of the duties of the office of Dewan; and that in civil cases, where individuals only may be parties, the Aumils or other provincial magistrates should decide. This is, in my opinion, the most that can be done in the present state of the country.

These regulations are, I conceive, agreeable to the letter and spirit of the Honourable the Governor General's instructions to me; but the regular and firm establishment of plans of so important and extensive a nature, must be slow in its progress, and assisted by the steady support of the Honourable Company's as well as the Vizier's government.

At present the executive duties of every department of the state are vested in Hyder Beg Cawn, who appears determined to oppose every institution, however beneficial to society, that may in its effects deprive him of a part of his present uncontrolled and arbitrary power. Not content with holding the first place, he thinks it necessary to his consequence that the people should look to him, and him alone, as the sole mover of every measure, and the only person invested with the patronage of this government, and that even the administration of justice should depend upon his will. I submit it to your judgment, gentlemen, if it be possible for any individual to discharge the duties of such complicated and extensive trusts.

EXTRACT of a Letter from Mr. John Bristow to the Honourable the Governor General,
dated the 12th December, 1782.

First, their government.

Despotism is the principle upon which every measure is founded, and the people in the interior parts of the country are ruled at the discretion of the Aumil or Phouzedar for the time being.—They exercise, within the limits of their jurisdiction, the powers of life and death, and decision in civil and other cases, in the same extent as the Sovereign at the capital. The forms prescribed by the ancient institutions of the Mogul empire are unattended to, and the will of the provincial



magistrate is the sole law of the people.—The total relaxation of the Vizier's authority, his inattention and dislike to business, leave the Aumils in possession of this dangerous power, unawed and uncontrolled by any apprehension of retrospection, or the interference of justice; I can hardly quote an instance, since the Vizier's accession to the muidud, of an Aumil having been punished for oppression, though the complaints of the people, and the state of the country, are notorious proofs of the violences daily committed—it is even become unsafe for travellers to pass, except in large bodies—murders, thefts, and other enormities shocking to humanity, are committed in open day.

Every Zemindar should be constituted the magistrate in his Zemindarry, and collect the revenues according to certain established rates recorded in the Cutcherry, and published throughout the district. The Aumil should be the controuling power between the Ryot and the Zemindar; should enforce the regulations; see peace and good order preserved in the several Zemindarries; and make the Zemindars accountable for all tumults, thefts, and murders, within their jurisdiction.—In great towns there ought to be a Cutwaul or Haakeem to distribute justice.

Such has been the system of this government, that the oppressions have generally originated with the Aumils. They have been rarely selected for their abilities, or integrity; but from favour, or the means to advance a small sum upon their being appointed to their office, the Aumil enters upon his trust, ruined in his reputation and fortune, and unless he accomplishes his engagements, which is seldom the case, disgrace and punishment follow. Though the balance of revenue may be rigorously demanded of him, it has not been usual to institute any enquiry for oppression. The Zemindars, thus left at the mercy of the Aumils, are often driven to rebellion. The weak are obliged to submit to his exactions, or fly the country; and the Aumil, unable to reduce the more powerful, is compelled to enter into a disgraceful compromise. Every Zemindar looks to his fort for protection, and the country is crowded with them. Almas Ally Cawn asserts, there are not less than seven hundred in his districts; hence it has become a general custom to seize the brother, son, or some near relation or dependant of the different Zemindars, as hostages for the security of the revenue. A great Aumil will sometimes have three or four hundred of these hostages, whom he is obliged to confine in places of security.

A few men, like Almas Ally Cawn, and Khaujah ain ul Deen, have from their regularity in the performance of pecuniary engagements rendered themselves useful to the Vizier. A strict scrutiny into his affairs was at all times irksome to his Excellency; and none of the ministers or officers about his person possessing the active persevering spirit requisite to conduct the detail of engagements for a number of small farms, it became convenient to receive a large sum from a great farmer without trouble or deficiency. This system was followed by the most pernicious consequences. These men were above controul; they exacted their own terms, and the districts they farmed were most cruelly oppressed; the revenue of Rohilcund is reduced above a third, and Almas Ally Cawn's administration is well known to have been extremely violent.

The foregoing representation of the state of this government will, I hope, satisfy you of the difficulty in collecting the revenues. A very strong military force will be required to preserve the country in peace; the number for which funds are at present allotted would in my opinion amply suffice, if it existed; but I suppose not two thirds of the men kept upon the books are actually entertained. The discipline and proper application of this force, will become a matter of serious consideration. I do not mean to propose, that they should be put under the command of British officers, as a very extraordinary expence would attend that measure, and I do not think the service of the collections would be so well executed. The troops now in the Vizier's service are ill paid, and ill appointed, not owing to the want of means; as I think when I shall forward you the statements I have so long been endeavouring to complete, you will judge them adequate to every service, if not dissipated and squandered away. The evil originates in the want of checks to the disbursements to the army, and of proper officers and commissaries, to see them duly appropriated.

The same inconveniences exist in the receipt of the Vizier's revenue, and other branches of his government in the general department; offices of collection and treasury, and courts for the administration of justice, ought doubtless to be established. In a duty of so delicate a nature as the execution of your commands on this head, I must necessarily expose myself to the opposition of persons interested in the continuance of the abuses.

Fourth, Zemindars, and the means taken to restore peace.

The collection of the revenue under the controul of the Aumils is entirely in the hands of the Zemindars, the lands throughout the country being granted in Talooks and Zemindarries.



The means taken to restore peace are explained in my letter to the Board of the 1st instant.— The detachments from the Honourable Company's troops I consider only a temporary expedient. I propose recommending that a separate plan for the administration of justice in all matters of revenue should be framed and carried into execution. You may perhaps make this branch part of the duties of the office of collections, and the Dewan will act in it, and appoint deputies in each Amildary.

Peace is by no means restored, for if the Company's troops were relieved from the places at which they are now stationed, I should expect that the commotions would be renewed. Gorruckpore, Beraitch, Sultanpore, Azim Ghurr, Ghouda, and all the frontiers, are provinces in which the Vizier's authority is ill established. In some of them there are troubles at this time. New detachments of the Honourable Company's troops might be advisable, if the state of affairs in other respects did not render the appearance of a formidable force on the frontiers necessary, as well to awe foreign powers, as to keep Almas Ally Cawn, and Khaugah an ul Deen, within the line of their duty.

EXTRACT of the Honourable the Governor General's Instructions to the Resident, dated the 23d October, 1782.

ADAILUTS.—In this last description I include the Adailuts; you will find them recommended, but conditionally, in my instructions to Mr. Middleton.

It is certain that the want of them, and the universal and extreme licentiousness occasioned thereby, is one of the most disreputable defects of the Vizier's government; yet I much doubt whether, introduced into such a state at once and abruptly, they would not add to the mischiefs they were intended to redress; for perhaps there is scarce an individual who would not become immediately obnoxious to their authority, and I fear scarce an individual capable of discharging even a small portion of their duties. While they do not exist, every man knows the hazard he incurs in lending his money; the establishment might tend to deceive, by holding out the appearance of false assurances; and, with respect to oppressions of every species, unless each court was armed with a strong military force, it would not be in their power to prevent or punish them; neither in that case is it certain, that they would not prove themselves the greatest instruments of oppression.

The Amils in the first instance, and the Munduls or Chiefs of the villages ultimately, must supply this defect, if it cannot be otherwise remedied. I merely intimate this subject to you as proper for your enquiry and consideration, but cannot give you any instructions concerning it.

EXTRACT of the Resident's Letter to the Honourable the Governor General, dated the 12th December, 1782.

Fifth Head, } The institution of Adailuts
Offices. } I will be attended with the utmost difficulty; the reasons you have yourself assigned are so forcible, that I have only to trouble you with a few hints in corroboration of your own opinions.

The Nabob, the ministers, and every man of rank at this court, will be interested in opposing the institution of courts of justice. The Nabob is surrounded by persons, who, presuming upon the countenance they receive from him, commit every kind of oppression. They are generally men of low birth, suddenly raised to power and consequence, which they are ignorant how to use. The ministers have more creditable dependants, but these presume in an equal degree on their influence. The resumption of jaghyrs, and reduction of salaries, have unavoidably involved numbers of people in debt, which has led to the commission of violences.

To institute courts of justice upon a respectable footing, they should extend to men of all descriptions. The favourites and dependants of the Nabob and ministers, long accustomed to live independent of all controul, will not easily be brought to submit to a regular jurisdiction.

I would however propose, that Molovee Mowbine, the man recommended by Mr. Middleton, should continue, with the name of Sudder ul Huck, and when regularity shall be introduced into other branches of the government, the extension of his power will form part of the plan.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.
Resident at the Vizier's Court.

A true Copy.

E. Hay,

Acting Secretary to the Secret Department.

MEMORIAL



Secret Consultation,
29th May, 1783.

MEMORIAL of Molewy Mahmud Mubbeen.

These are the facts.—It had been ever the custom of my ancestors to teach and explain the sciences. They were held in honour and respect by kings and princes. In imitation of them I was myself employed in fulfilling the duties of my colleague. I had no intercourse with the great. In the month of Zuada Mr. Middleton sent for me, and informed me that it was the Honourable Governor General's pleasure that I should go and take charge of the Adaulut at Benares. As I was very averse to all worldly affairs, I represented to Mr. Middleton that the Adaulut was a charge of great moment, that it befitting not me, and that I entreated I might be permitted to decline it. He granted my request. At the expiration of four months, on the 9th of Rubhyussany, just after dark, the Cutwaul Ummoo came to me, saying, will you not embark in a business which has for its object the happiness of mankind; a whole world will be destroyed on your refusal. Relate, said I, the particulars. There was (he answered) to-day a council upon the subject of the Adaulut, and the choice has fallen upon you; let me know whether you consent. I was filled with concern at his report, and bade him leave me in my present situation; at the same time flatly refusing to have any concern with the Adaulut. He returned in the morning, and entreated me, as I held him for my friend, to agree to his proposal. I again refused him. He assured me that there was no intention to make the Adaulut a burthen to me; that I should still continue to perform the duties of my school in quiet; and that having enquired the law from me, the executive part of the administration of justice should be transferred to others; and if I persisted in my refusal I should highly offend the men in power, and do myself much mischief. I told him, that if I was certain that every thing would be done according to law, and that no oppression would be suffered, no interference or recommendation where justice was concerned, and (agreeable to the practice of kings) that all respect would be observed towards me, that then, and to preserve my honour, I would submit. He informed me, that his Excellency the Nabob, Hyder Beg Khan, and Rajah Tuket Roy, had subscribed to these conditions. During this conversation, the Cauzy Mahmud Tucky and Shaw Sultaun came to me from Hyder Beg Khan and the Rajah. The Cauzy told me that Hyder Beg Khan sent his compliments, and earnestly requested I would accept the employment, he having the very best opinion of my honour and integrity, and knowing no one so well qualified for it as myself. I still persisted in my refusal, when the Cauzy whispered me, that if I offended the minister and the rest, it would be the cause of evil to me. I answered, that this was an act of necessity. The Cauzy told me that what was proper to be said on the subject, he would say to Hyder Beg Khan. Next Shaw Sultan addressed me from the Rajah, acquainting me, that he presented his respects, and besought me to listen to his request. I told him how greatly I was averse; and begged, if the Rajah had any friendship for me, that he would spare me; but Shaw Sultan observed, that this refusal was improper. I am, said I, without remedy;—and here the matter rested near four months, when it was revived on the 17th of Jummadyussany, by a message from Suket Roy, who sent me a miana, informing me that the minister was gone to the Durbar, and that I must attend him. I was very angry, and replied, that it was impossible I should attend the Durbar; they notwithstanding sent the Cutwaul to fetch me, however much I entreated first to speak a few words to him, and that then I would go to the Nabob; he would not listen to me. When I arrived in the presence I found there Surforauze ud Dowla, Hyder Beg Khan, and Raja Tuket Roy; Hyder Beg addressed me thus: I am commanded by his Excellency to inform you, that he has the utmost confidence in your probity and talents; that he considers you as perfectly qualified for such an office; and that he has in consequence appointed you to administer justice throughout his dominions. I answered, that no decrees, but such as were in conformity to the law, and to justice, would be given by me; that I should shew partiality to no man, and that I called upon God to preserve my faith. I at the same time observed, that it rested with his Excellency to enforce orders. He was himself graciously pleased to encourage me to act with firmness and confidence, assuring me that none should presume to disobey me, and directing me forthwith to depute my own Nais to Fyzabad, and the other stations. He then bestowed upon me a pair of shawls and goshwara, and having received four rapees from Raja Tuket Roy, I presented them as a nuzzer to his Excellency, and retired. Hyder Beg being returned, gave me great encouragement, and desired I would go to Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnson. I went immediately to wait upon both gentlemen, accompanied by the Rajah, and requested of Mr. Middleton that he would do me the favour to issue the necessary orders. He replied, that if it was agreeable to his Excellency, it would also be agreeable to him. Mr. Johnson observed, it was extremely proper that there should be law and justice; and that he had heard good report of my learning and knowledge, and fidelity and integrity. I observed, that it rested with them to expedite the order. They answered, that orders conformable to the



the Nabob's pleasure would be issued; and so, being dismissed, I returned home. It was no sooner public that I had been appointed to administer justice throughout the four subahs, than numberless complaints poured in upon me. Now, inasmuch as I had no establishment whatever, I was in a terrible dilemma; I therefore addressed myself to Surferauz ud Dowla, representing, that I had been unjustly plunged into this misery;—that I had neither Naib or Assistants, and that my school would also be ruined; and that it was impossible I should perform what I had undertaken. Surferauz ud Dowla spoke to Raja Tuket Roy upon the subject, who told him that he would appoint me a Naib, who should relieve me from all the trouble of the Adaulut; and that I might regularly attend my school. He nominated the aforesaid Umno Cutwaul to this department, who came and took his seat in my house, enquired the law, settled the disputes, and having so done, exacted a fourth part from the plaintiff, and fees of summonses, &c. from the defendant. I declared this proceeding to be illegal, and that a covenant against injustice had been made with me; and I commanded him to abstain from such practices. He insisted that it was no business of mine; that it was not I who took the money; that it belonged to Government, and that he had orders of the Government for what he did—That he should discharge the wages of the Peons from the amount, and the surplus he should pay into the exchequer. I told him, that for my own part, nothing should induce me to receive a single cowry of money so obtained. The Cutwaul went and informed Rajah Tuket Roy, who assured me it was an old custom; that the money belonged to Government, and that I should not be desired to receive any of it. I replied, that no such practices should ever be carried on in my house; that they might enquire the law of me, but they must find some other place for the Naib to collect in. He said he would appoint a house for holding the court contiguous to mine, and thus two months elapsed; when it was notoriously public that the Naib of the Adaulut took bribes, Roshun Chobdar informed Hyder Beg of the fact, and an oilman, from whom he had exacted a hundred rupees, insisted to be allowed to make his complaint to the Nabob. It was in vain that I represented as I remonstrated against the disgrace of this procedure: nobody attended to me. It happened that I was taken ill, and so continued a month; upon my recovery, having come to a full knowledge of all this infamy and oppression, I resolved to relinquish my office absolutely, and so I plainly told Mr. Johnson, who had referred some complaint to my decision, and I in consequence sent my resignation in form to Hyder Beg; observing, that I had been most injuriously branded, and accused of corruption. I received no answer. It happened, that these events came to the knowledge of Mr. Johnson, who sent for me, and enquired particularly into all the circumstances, which I faithfully related to him. He directed me to take his people, and enforce my orders according to law. I observed, that it became not me to take his people, I who had so long lived under the protection of his Excellency; and that I should be marked as a turbulent man. He replied, I understand you. Soon after Mr. Middleton returned to Cawnpore, and wrote to me, desiring I would send him a list of the Adaulut establishment. I represented, in answer, that it was now five months, and no one step had yet been taken towards an establishment; that the name of a court of justice indeed remained, but those who were to have assisted in executing its decrees had long since absconded, as they could not possibly exist without pay. He again wrote to me, and directed me to attend him; which I did, and he then ordered me to furnish him with any requisitions I might have made on this subject to the minister. I obeyed him, and delivered the papers. The people of the city gave me to understand, that by visiting the English gentlemen I should extremely incense against me the people in power; having no remedy, I went to Hyder Beg's, to enter into an explanation with him on this subject. He was at home, but sent me word he was sick, and I must come to-morrow; upon which I wrote to him, stating that I had something of importance to represent to him. The next morning, when the minister went to wait on Mr. Middleton, that gentleman put into his hands the papers relative to the Adaulut, and desired him to send for me, and adjust the business to my satisfaction. I attended Hyder Beg Khan in consequence, and told him the circumstances relative to the fees and bribes, representing at the same time the illegality of such proceedings. He assured me it was none of his doing, and that now he had absolutely abolished the fees, &c. throughout his Excellency's dominions, and that nothing of the kind would occur in future; he further directed me to frame a stipend, such as would enable me to appear with proper dignity; but this I declined, desiring to refer it to his and Mr. Middleton's decision. Mr. Middleton afterwards proposed to him, that my salary should be fixed at three thousand rupees a month, and that I should have a palankeen, &c. but Hyder Beg refused his assent. Mr. Middleton then informed me of his proposal, with the minister's rejection of it. In the course of these debates no provision whatever was made for the people, whom I fairly told they had little to hope, as the fees were abolished, and no other mode of paying them substituted; at length the Cutwaul discharged what was due on this account to the end of Ramzaan, and the same night I suspended him from his office, and the officers of the Court dispersed. Now as I continued to visit my friends as usual, I frequently heard the inhabitants as I passed, cry "Behold the Daroga of the Adaulut trudging on foot through dirt and mire!" a circumstance which did not a little distress me; but what is past is past. In the mean time Mr. Middleton departed, and Mr. Bristow arrived:



arrived: going twice or thrice to pay my respects to him as Sudder ul Huck, and not being able to procure a meana, I was compelled to go on foot; the distance was a cofs, and it fatigued me exceedingly. I therefore, as I had no access to Hyder Beg Khan, represented this circumstance to Surferauze Uddowla, and entreated for heaven's sake he would exonerate me from this mock title of Superintendent of the Adaulut, that I might escape the distresses that were attached to it. Surferauze Uddowla gave notice of my situation to Rajah Nunderam, and at the same time directed his own Daroga to furnish me with a meana, and on the first of Rubby Uffauvy Hyder Beg Khan did me the favour to send me one by a servant of Rajah Nunderam's. I waited upon him, and informed him of Mr. Bristow's having spoken to me on the subject of the Adaulut; Hyder assured me it was also his wish to see justice prevail, neither was he himself exempt from the law, but as for such an establishment as Mr. Johnson and Mr. Middleton proposed, it was impossible. The rest you know.

A true translation.

(Signed)

W. COWPER.

The Deposition of Hassan Atta Beg.

The first day (7th of Jummady ulawul) Mr. Cowper sent for me, and gave me a letter under the seal of Mr. Bristow, for Hyder Beg Khan, together with several petitions of complaint; some coming from the city, and others from the provinces, and directed me to deliver them and the letter to Hyder Beg Khan, and request, in his name, that he would give such orders with respect to the petitioners, as should seem good to him, and agreeable to the custom of this country; and that in those relating to the provinces, he would be pleased to procure his Excellency's letters to the several Aumils, that they might be settled accordingly, and information of them having been so settled transmitted to his Excellency: touching those complaints which were preferred by persons in the city, Mr. Cowper requested the minister would be pleased to settle them himself, and he at the same time directed me to receive Hyder Beg's commands relative to the time he would chuse I should attend him for the transaction of this business. I executed my commission—Hyder Beg Khan directed me to leave the petitions with him, that he would the next day inform his Excellency of the circumstances, receive his orders, and afterwards make his report to Mr. Bristow, and bade me attend him in the evening. I returned, and related what had passed to Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper. A second time Mr. Cowper sent me to Hyder Beg, desiring me to say to him, that if there was any objection to, or difficulty in, procuring his Excellency's letters, that he thought the Nabob's seal affixed to the petition itself (the necessary order being first written upon the face of it) would answer every purpose, and ensure obedience from the Aumils. I waited upon Hyder Beg accordingly, who in answer again told me, it was very well, and that he would represent the business to his Excellency, and inform Mr. Bristow, in the morning, of his pleasure. In the mean time his Excellency set off upon a hunting party. Again Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper directed me to inform Hyder Beg of their request; that it would be sufficient if he (who was the acting minister) would be pleased to affix his seal alone to the petitions, provided there was any objection to the former proposal relative to that of the Nabob's. Hyder Beg Khan, in answer, observed, that he was not aware of his Excellency's departure, but that, if it was the pleasure of the gentlemen, he would address a letter upon the subject to the Nabob, or, if they preferred it, wait his return, and then represent the matter to him, and let them know his Excellency's pleasure. With this reply, I returned to Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper. These gentlemen soon after delivered me the copies of several petitions, and ordered me to wait upon Hyder Beg Khan, and procure from him the Nabob's letters to the Aumils, enclosing the aforementioned copies. When I had preferred this request, he spoke thus to me: "You first brought me a message that I should obtain his Excellency's letters. You delivered a second, that if there was any difficulty in procuring his Excellency's letters, that his seal affixed to the petitions would answer the purpose. Again you told me, from the gentlemen, that if the Nabob's seal could not be procured, my own would be sufficient. And lastly, you bring me word, that it is their desire that the copies of the petitions should be enclosed in his Excellency's letters." I answered, it was very true, I had certainly delivered the messages he mentioned. He then demanded concerning the original petitions; I told him Mr. Cowper had them: "then it follows," said he, "Mr. Cowper is to transact this business." "True, Sir," answered I; "as you say, so it appears. The messages I had in charge to deliver to you were to



"the purport I have stated, and I shall faithfully return your answers, and I have nothing further to say on the subject." He then desired I would assure the gentlemen he should never reject their commands, and that he would prepare and deliver the letters to Mr. Bristow in person.

A true translation.

(Signed)

WM. COWPER.

(A true copy.)

E. Hay,

Adst Sec^y to the Secret Dep.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mr. John Bristow to Hyder Beg Cawn, dated the 23d
Rubbée ul Sany 1197 Hegira.

It is a period of six months since the cause concerning the sons of Mahommed Ally has been referred to the Addalut. Molovee Mahommed Mowbine expounded the law of the Khoran, "that the sons were accountable for the debts of the father, with the proviso of his leaving sufficient property to pay them—the complainant should identify the property, or forfeit his claim." I have in this manner a thousand people making daily complaints to me—a circumstance highly disgraceful both to his Excellency and the English. It is incumbent on you to devise means of establishing some mode for the administration of justice. I will explain my sentiments to you on the subject at our next meeting.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mr. Bristow to Hyder Beg Cawn, dated the 7th
of Jemâd ul Owul 1197 Hegira.

I before represented to you, that I was much distressed by the number of complainants who perpetually surrounded me. I am now obliged to repeat this representation, and to observe, that it is absolutely necessary to adopt some mode of doing them justice: I have therefore referred such petitions as have been presented to me to Mr. Cowper, and I request that you and he will take measures for adjusting their complaints, to which end Mr. Cowper will communicate with you through Haffun Atta Beg.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Hyder Beg Cawn, in Answer to Mr. Bristow's Letter
of the 23d Rubbée ul Sany.

I have received your favour, and in regard to the affair of the Addalut shall yield obedience to whatever you may think proper to direct. Molovey Mobine is appointed to the office, and I will establish him on any footing you shall please to order.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mr. Bristow to Hyder Beg Cawn, dated the 14th
Jemad ul Owul 1197.

Some days since Myr Mahommed Hufsa Atta Cawn went to you on the part of Mr. Cowper, and returned with a message, that "after you should have represented the affair to his Excellency, "orders would be issued," I informed you, in reply, that for the dispatch of business of this nature, your seal to the arzees, or a perwannah or letter in your name to the Aumils, would suffice. To this proposition I was not favoured with any answer; in consequence of which the whole business has been suspended. It is uncertain whether his Excellency will return soon, as the complainants are numerous, and other matters are also protracted. I must trouble you to issue your own perwannahs or letters to the Aumils, to render justice to the oppressed, that there may be no delay in expediting necessary matters. If you should entertain any objections to this proposition, be free in communicating them to me. I esteem your friendship superior to every other consideration. It is my opinion you have authority in these matters; you nevertheless postpone the execution of them until his Excellency's return. It is with sincerity and satisfaction that I shew the most profound respect to his Excellency, and certainly consider it advisable not to transact affairs in general, except with his approbation: It would however, be endless labour to his Excellency to inspect orders concerning the current business, such as directions to aumils to make enquiry into complaints of oppression, which ought to be dispatched off hand, having the good of humanity for their sole object.

It is my sincere wish that, in conformity to the Honourable the Governor General's commands I should regulate all matters with your participation.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Hyder Beg Cawn, in Answer, of the same Date.

I am ready to obey your commands regarding the petitions to which Mr. Cowper has put his signature, as well as in every other matter. As Hufsan Atta Cawn brought me a message from Mr. Cowper, that the Vizier's seal should be affixed to those identical petitions, I represented the circumstances to you, and requested your commands, whether I should apply to his Excellency on the subject; to which you replied, that until the affair of the addalut should be properly settled, it was unnecessary to do it. After his Excellency went a hunting, Hufsan Atta Cawn brought me a message, requesting I would put my own seal to the petitions. I replied, that I would first ask your commands. I represented to you, that Molovy Mowbine was appointed to the addalut, and such causes as had occurred were decided according to the Mahomedan law. The registers have been delivered to me from the period of his appointment; *all disputes* have been decided by him. The Molovy's decrees have been executed. Whatever complaints were made against the Aumils, the greater part of which concerned English sepoy's for the remission of rent, either his Excellency's shokas, or my letters, have been given to the complainants, and justice administered where it was due: this same mode is still in force. I will give stronger injunctions than ever concerning these matters. In every respect, I owe obedience and submission to your commands: it was a delicate matter, and of the first importance; when, in affairs relative to the capital, Mr. Cowper issued orders to his Excellency, he also put his signature to petitions, giving his mandates to the Aumils in whose jurisdictions the particular incidents occurred, in the style of a sovereign prince. I request to know your commands, whether I should represent the circumstances to his Excellency, and propose executing the business according to the forms prescribed by Mr. Cowper.



TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mr. Bristow to Hyder Beg Cawn, dated 17th Jemmad ul Owul 1197.

From the intelligence communicated to me by my people, I understand that the inhabitants in general are alarmed at the institution of an addalut. To dispel those alarms, which are totally groundless, I think it necessary to apprise you of the truth. I wish that the addalut should be instituted in a manner to prevent thefts and murders as far as it be possible to do it. I am informed that they are daily committed in the city of Lucknow, and its neighbourhood. I have repeatedly troubled you with my sentiments, that it was highly necessary to put a stop to those disorders.

EXTRACT of a Letter from Hyder Beg Cawn to Mr. Bristow, of the same date.

In answer to your orders regarding the addalut, I stated to you the mode of establishing it. Whatever regulations you now think proper to order, I shall shew my obedience to.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mr. Bristow to Hyder Beg Cawn, dated the 26th Jemmad ul Owul 1197.

I understand the house allotted for the Fousdarry Addalut is totally unfit for the purpose; it is filled with furniture and goods belonging to the Vizier, and situated in the centre of the palace. It is necessary that you should fix on a proper house in the town of Lucknow, the one you have selected shews that you are trifling with me.

Mr. Cowper before sent you, by Hufsum Atta Cawn, several petitions agreeable to the inclosed list; you will please to return them by the bearer, that I may prepare drafts of shokas in his Excellency's name, or letters in yours to the Aumils, whichever may be the properest, directing enquiry to be made into the complaints.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Hyder Beg Cawn to Mr. Bristow, of the same Date.

I have been honoured with your letter. His Excellency directed that the court of justice should be held in the palace. The house allotted for the purpose is so extensive that all the offices under the Duân were formerly kept in it. All cutcherries have invariably been held in the palace. The Duanny cutcherry is held in a burradarry belonging to it; his Excellency has thought proper to arrange matters in this manner. There is a passage of egress and regress, and the people cannot be interrupted from passing and re-passing. I will, agreeable to your orders, apply to his Excellency to allot another house for the addalut.



According to your commands, I return the petitions, which have Mr. Cowper's signature.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mr. Bristow to Hyder Beg Cawn; dated the 27th Jemmad ul Owul 1197.

I have received your letter concerning "your intentions of soliciting his Excellency to allot a house for the addalut in the city of Lucknow." The case stands thus:—Molovy Mowbine has held his appointment near a year. Notwithstanding I have repeatedly troubled you concerning a house, specifying that called after Sheir Jung, as well as many others fit for the purpose, which were empty, none have as yet been granted. The two rooms you selected in his Excellency's palace are totally unfit for the Court of Justice; and previous to the granting Molovy Mowbine the said two rooms, you desired him to erect a tent. You, my good Sir, who are a wise man, and knowing in the ways of the world, have, after infinite delay, determined on granting a tent for a Court of Justice. My friendship for you is firm; but it is absolutely necessary to tell you the plain truth. When I before had the honour to reside at his Excellency's Court, and there was no intermediate agent between us, I never received a refusal to a single requisition; now that the business is conducted through you, I have experienced a total change in his Excellency's disposition. If it be true that ill-intentioned men counteract your advice to his Excellency, it is necessary such people should be dismissed from his councils; and as you have particularized Myrza Haffim, it is consistent with our friendship that he should not be employed in transactions between his Excellency and you. You should also devise means of having him expelled. The year is nearly expired, and this is the time for making the general arrangement for the better settlement of the Vizier's affairs, when both his Excellency's and the Honourable the Governor General's friends will be put to the trial. Most certain is it, the man who proves his attachment and fidelity will be continued and receive favours. Particular reasons have prevented me from completing the general system: The period now approaches for carrying it into execution; if it be counteracted, the offence will be considered as a breach of the Honourable the Governor General's orders, and I shall be disgraced; the well-wishers and dependants of both Governments, particularly you, Sir, should give their hearty assistance.

The Poudarry Addalut is not a new business, otherwise I should not be so particular in my explanations.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mr. Bristow to Hyder Beg Cawn, dated the 29th Jemmad ul Owul 1197.

Molovy Mowbine this day gave me to understand, that contrary to the intentions I had expressed in the letter I had the honour to address you the day before yesterday, that you had directed him in harsh language to commence upon the administration of justice in the Burradarry; you accused him of being the author of the information I had received on that head, as also of representing to me that he had not been invested with any authority. The Molovy is greatly alarmed at your treatment of him, and has again represented his fears and apprehensions to me. In your letter of the 26th, you promise to apply to his Excellency concerning a house; this is the 29th, and in breach of your promise you hold such extraordinary language to the Molovy as excites my surprise.

The truth is, that several people have both written and sent messages to me, setting forth their dread of visiting me on your account. A few days since you publicly asserted, before a large company, that whoever visited a *certain person*, meaning the Resident, should feel the consequences.

As you are considered to be the Honourable Company's dependant, it is my opinion that you have been very deficient in your duty and attachment to the Honourable the Governor General, in expressing your sentiments so haughtily to Molovy Mowbine, and in discouraging people from visiting me. I flatter myself, that in the execution of the Honourable Company's business, and



for the benefit of his Excellency's affairs, I shall on every occasion receive your hearty support; and that the dependants and well-wishers of both Governments will unite in testifying their zeal and fidelity. I have uniformly made my representations to his Excellency through you; and I have strictly adhered to my instructions in all transactions: Touching the Foudarry Addalut, I have only in view the good of humanity, and the bringing to condign punishment thieves and murderers. As the mode of acting which you have prescribed to the Molovy is personally disgraceful to him, it appears impracticable that he should by such means be able to exercise the duties of his office. From the regard I bear you, I think it necessary to apprise you I shall consider any ill-treatment of Molovy Mowbine as a breach of our friendship, the Molovy's life and honour being under my protection. I protest against the consequences of the delays which have occurred in the establishment of the Addalut; and I repeat my request, that a proper house may be delivered over to his charge.

As I mean to transmit our correspondence on this subject to the Honourable Governor General, beg the favour you will return me an answer to every particular.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Hyder Beg Cawn, in answer.

I have been favoured with your letter, and am much astonished at its contents. Notwithstanding I give regular attendance, you listen to misrepresentations, without ascertaining the truth, and charge me with blame: under such circumstances it is impossible for me to do my duty; in this manner blame has been injuriously thrown upon me. I only enquired of the Molovy concerning his representations, in order to prove to you that I had discharged my duty, and upon that ground plead my defence, as the circumstances alleged against me were ill-founded.

You have informed me that, instead of a house I ordered a tent for the Addalut; thus establishing a charge of folly against me. My reasons for proposing a tent, I yesterday explained to you; you ordered a house to be given to the Molovy, whilst his Excellency was upon a hunting party. The Molovy sent me a message that his own house was too small, and it would be well if some other were granted him. I returned for answer, that "I had applied to the Vizier, and recommended to the Molovy to pitch a tent for two or four days near his present habitation, until I might receive his Excellency's orders." These words were represented to you, as if I had not exerted my endeavours. I could never propose that a court of justice should be held in a tent in the city. When his Excellency thought proper to grant a house, the Molovy informed me, that Mr. Cowper had directed him to furnish him with a plan of it. I ordered the Molovy to go and see the house; and he reported, that it was large, and fit for the purpose. He said, he should hold his Court in it on the 1st of Jemmad ul Sany, which was a lucky day; and he further observed, there was another apartment adjoining to it, if that also were granted him it would be better. I promised he should have it, though it was the Duan's cutcherry. This too has been represented to you as a neglect of my duty, and as if I wished to allot two rooms for the Court of Justice. I enquired of the Molovy concerning the fact; and he informed me, that "the building was extensive, and he would begin to hold his court on the 1st of Jemmad ul Sany." I made these enquiries to relieve myself from blame in a matter in which I do not deserve it. I have endeavoured to satisfy the Molovy by every means in my power. He long since asked me, if a person be convicted of a crime deserving corporal punishment, whether he should proceed "according to the rigour of the Mahommedan law?" I replied, that he ought, doubtless, to execute punishment agreeable to the precepts of the Khoran; and that I should consider myself subject to the jurisdiction of the Court: Please to examine the Molovy upon oath concerning these facts. His Excellency has, out of favour, thought proper to assure Molovy Mowbine of his protection. Do me justice in this business, and answer me candidly, how I can be any way to blame. I shall comply with your orders, by applying this day to his Excellency for a separate house, and communicate his pleasure to you.

In answer to your assertion, that I intimidate people from coming to visit you, it is incumbent on you to enquire into the truth. I am always obedient to your commands, and attend your pleasure; how could I then intimidate people from visiting you? Let the persons who assert such stories be confronted with me. For these six years I have invariably discharged my duty, and executed every order the English gentlemen have given me, and have never been guilty of any crime. I am ignorant how people now represent my conduct to you. Notwithstanding my sense of submission, obedience, and attachment, have led me to transact affairs by your orders, contrary



trary to his Excellency's pleasure, you, in these affairs, even charge me with blame, at the instigation of ill-intentioned persons, and never take the trouble to enquire into the truth. How can I, who am subordinate to you, live on such terms? Be pleased to give permission, that I may remain night and day among your attendants. To the best of my knowledge, I have, with my life, ever shewn the most implicit obedience to your orders. I claim no merit, except what you are pleased to give me.

In consequence of orders Molovy Mowbine received from you, he has just been to wait upon me. He says, that you have directed him not to hold the Court of Justice in his Excellency's palace; and at all events, are determined. Regarding this matter, I told him we were subject to your orders, and must obey.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mr. Briffow to Hyder Beg Cawn, dated the 30th Jemmad ul Owul 1197.

I have been honoured with your letter concerning the Fousdarry Addâlut. Molovy Mowbine will, doubtless, from necessity, assent before you to any proposition you may make him. He does it out of respect to your station, and from a conviction that you are not disposed to assist in the establishment of a Court of Justice. After his fears have been excited by harsh language, he can follow no other line of conduct; out of regard to the Molovy, I directed him not in any respect to deviate from your pleasure; but report his proceedings to me, that I might in a mild way converse upon the subject with you, when I was fully convinced you evaded compliance: After a long period, instead of allotting a proper house, you first granted a tent, and then two rooms in the palace, in a situation where it was impossible to transact the business. You left me no alternative, and I was compelled to express my true sense of your conduct. The fact is, that ever since my arrival I have urged this matter of the Fousdarry Addalut: you have uniformly professed obedience, but *nothing has been done*. The first point to be settled (the granting a house) is still disputed; it is giving both of us unnecessary trouble to prove facts of notoriety, which are clear as the sun at noon-day. I beg leave to require a categorical answer of you, whether you will allot a proper house for the Court of Justice in the city, or whether it be your intention to evade compliance, as you have heretofore done?

In answer to your denial "of having intimidated people from visiting me, and requiring that "I should point out the particular persons," it is not advisable to furnish you with their names, but I shall do it in proper time, in my representations to the Honourable the Governor General. Please to recollect yourself; and though you may choose to deny the fact at present, a period may come when you will be silent. It is a most unpleasant circumstance to me, that affairs between us are brought to such a pass as to compel me to speak undisguised truths, in order to save my character from disgrace.

TRANSLATION of Letter from Hyder Beg Cawn, in Reply.

I have been honoured with your letter.—I consider myself your inferior, not your equal; and I ought not to reason with you upon all subjects, particularly at the present period, that from the misrepresentation of ill intentioned people, you are displeased with me without a cause; I am unable even to represent what is just. It is however necessary, that I should exculpate myself from blame, in not executing the orders which you have so repeatedly given me. The Vizier is the Sovereign of these countries, and I owe him obedience. In matters concerning his Excellency's rights of sovereignty, I consider it proper to submit the particulars to his consideration. I am, nevertheless, ready to execute your final orders, and I have done so in many instances. His Excellency, according to the immemorial custom of his government, directed that the court of justice should be held near the Duanny Cutcherry; whereas you have repeated your commands, that a separate house should be allotted for it. I yesterday represented the particulars to his Excellency, and was desirous of communicating his pleasure to you as to-day, when my daughter



ter unfortunately died. Grief overcomes me, and I am prevented from paying my respects to you. When I may recover the effects of this misfortune, I will wait upon you, and inform you of the result.

A true Translation.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW,
Resident at the Vizier's Court.

COPY of a Letter from Molovy Mowbine, to Mr. Bristow.

As you have taken me under your protection, by the grace of God the business will be now accomplished. I have no leisure to state at length my forlorn situation; be so obliging as to attend one moment to a sketch of it.—I was employed in my school—I sought no station—but I was deceived by the people here, who assured me, they had all confidence in my integrity, learning, and talents; and requested that I would preside at the Adaulut it was their intention to institute, to the end that oppression might cease, and every man obtain justice. My objections were so ill received, that I was at last obliged to submit. In a few days they appointed me a deputy of their own, who began to collect the one fourth fee, and to oppress the people. So soon as I came to the knowledge of this procedure I relinquished the appointment. Then they said to me, “We have put an end to bribery and oppression; we will issue the pay of your establishment from the Exchequer, and conform to all your wishes.” Four months elapsed, and they did nothing, and the court dissolved. Mr. Johnstone sent for me, and directed that I should receive the appointment at his hands. I replied, that if such was the will of the Governor and Council, I was content. Mr. Johnstone promised to address them on the subject. Afterwards Mr. Middleton wrote to me twice; and sent for me, and shewed me a thousand civilities, and told me he would cause a salary of three thousand rupees a month to be issued to me from the Exchequer, together with a jehauldar palankeen. The ministers here would not consent to it, and began to indicate a bad opinion of me, and to act with enmity towards me; saying, “Wherefore did you attach yourself to the English?” As soon as they heard the report of your coming, he intreated me, saying, “Administer justice in our way, and pay no visit to the Resident, and we will be kind to you;” but I, who knew they would again oppress me, would by no means consent.—But now that you have taken me under your protection, if such is the pleasure of the Governor General and Council, I do subscribe to it with all my soul. I am devoted to you, and ready to obey all your commands, but your support is necessary to me. The Durbar is an objection to my waiting upon you in the morning; add to which, I am in fear of these people: their hatred will increase. If it be agreeable to you I will attend you in the close of the evening. Pray give directions to your attendants to this effect.

A true Translation.

(Signed) W. COWPER.

The Deposition of Molovy Mahommed Mowbine.

On Friday the 29th of Jemaud-ul-Awul, I went to pay my respects to the Nabob. It happened that I met Hyder Beg Cawn; he addressed me in an offended tone, saying, “When is it that you intend to hold the Adaulut? The length of the court is eighteen yards (or cubits) and the breadth five; yet you have represented to the Resident that it consists of two apartments.” I answered, I had alledged no such thing; but that such as the case really was, so had I represented it—as you will be convinced, said I, whenever you shall honour the Court with your presence. I added, that he had himself appointed the 1st of the month for the taking my seat; yet now he demanded why I did not sit, and when I demanded it. If (said I) such is your pleasure, I will instantly proceed to the court, He bade me do so, *on the first*. As this kind of language



was new to me, and as his displeasure was evident, I was greatly chagrined and dissatisfied that I had brought myself into this scrape, connecting myself with great men who were quite out of my province. I therefore returned at night to the minister, and desired to know whether he was offended with me, or suspected that I reported any thing to Mr. Bristow, and that he should tell me ingenuously. He replied, "I swear to you I am not at all displeased."

N. B. The apartments of both sides the court are full of his Excellency's furniture, the burra-darry above is occupied by his people, and at top is a pigeon house.

A true Translation.

(Signed) W. COWPER.

EXTRACT of the Honourable the Governor General's Instructions to the Resident;
dated the 23d October, 1782.

Immediately upon your arrival found the disposition of Hyder Beg Cawn: His conduct has for some time past been highly reproachable. Till within these three months, when Mr. Johnstone assumed a large portion of his authority, he possessed without controul both the unparticipated and entire administration, with all the powers annexed to that government, the Nabob himself being, as he ever must be in the hands of some person, a mere cypher in his, and the sanction by which he exercised his authority; yet he has dared to use both the Nabob's name, and even his seal affixed to letters, either dictated to the Nabob, or written for him without his knowledge, containing very improper demands on our government, and such as evidently tended to promote Hyder Beg's influence and interest; and even to make him assume a very unbecoming tone of refusal, reproach, and resentment, in opposition to measures recommended by me, and even to acts done by my authority, in literal conformity to the Nabob's own and earnest solicitations, such as the resumption of the jaghyres, and the seizure of his father's treasure, which had been so long suffered to remain in the hands of the Begum his mother, and the other conditions of the engagement exacted from me at Chanar. On every occasion of this kind the late Resident has been the faithful echo and support of the minister's pretensions. I must, therefore, have recourse to you for the introduction of a new system in that government; nor can I omit, while I express my reliance upon you for this purpose, to repeat the sentiments which I expressed in the verbal instructions which I gave you at your departure, "That there can be no medium between the Resident and the minister; the Resident must either be the slave and vassal of the minister, or the minister at the absolute devotion of the Resident." Much as I am displeased at the conduct of the minister, I impute it more to the sufferance of Mr. Middleton than to himself; and if he will submit to hold his office on such conditions as I require, I would certainly prefer him to any man who could be nominated to his office, because he possesses abilities, and a knowledge of business; he exists by a dependance on the influence of our government; and above all, because a change of administration in a government so loose as that of Owde, where all the parts of it are held together by the exertion of actual power, and not by the springs of an established constitution, would be unavoidably productive of confusion and loss of revenue. Therefore it may be adviseable to try him by the mode of conciliation in your first conversation with him, at the same time that it will be necessary to declare to him, in the plainest terms, the footing and conditions on which he shall be permitted to retain his place, with the alternative of dismissal, and a scrutiny into his past conduct, if he refuses it. In the first place I will not receive from the Nabob, as his, letters dictated by the spirit of opposition, but shall consider every such attempt as the minister's, and as an insult on our government. In the second place, I shall expect that nothing is done in his official character but with your knowledge and participation. At the same time the first share of the responsibility will rest with you; the other conditions will follow distinctly in their places, because I consider you as responsible for them.

A true Extract.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW,
Resident at the Vizier's Court.

True Copies.

E. Hay,

Acting Secretary to the Secret Department.

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Mr.



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Mr. Bristow's letter above recorded having arrived some days ago, by the consent of the members of the Board their resolutions, upon the complaints which were received from the Vizier and Hyder Beg Cawn against Mr. Bristow, were suspended until these papers should have been circulated and considered.

Agreed, That copies of the complaints be now sent to Mr. Bristow, conformably to the resolution of the Board of the 22d instant.

To Mr. John Bristow, Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Sir,

The Nabob Vizier and his minister Hyder Beg Cawn having written sundry letters containing violent complaints against you, we enclose copies of the translations made of them conformably to the annexed list, and require that you prepare and transmit to us, without delay, your defence against each separate allegation.

We had passed a resolution to this effect so long ago as the 22d instant; but the arrival of your letter of the 13th instant induced us to suspend the execution of it till we should have read that letter and its enclosures with every attention which the importance of the subject seemed to require. We have now read them accordingly; and as they do not include every matter comprised in the complaints, we think it proper to give you this opportunity of justifying your conduct more completely, that we may have every evidence before us when we proceed to the final consideration of it.

We are, &c.

Fort William,
the 29th May, 1783.

A true Copy.

E. H A Y,

Acting Secretary to the Secret Dept.

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END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.



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