



Rajah. The leading principle and object of this treaty is to secure an ample provision for the Rajah, and to vest the government of the country exclusively in the Company.

I ordered the preliminary steps towards the introduction of a system of judicature and definite settlement of revenue into the Company's possessions on the coast, and into the ceded and conquered districts to be taken at Fort St. George; and I am now employed in forming the details of the plan which I hope to transmit to Fort St. George in the course of a few weeks.

Vizier Ali having effected his escape to Jynagur, has been placed under personal restraint at my desire, by the Rajah of that place, who, I hope, will soon deliver the assassin into my hands.

I have the satisfaction to inform you that I have received accounts which seem entitled to credit, that Zemaun Shah has been under the necessity of moving towards Herat for the purpose of defending his dominions against the revolt of his brother Mahomed Shah, and an invasion threatened from Persia. This danger the mission of Captain Malcolm to the court of Baba Khan, will, I trust, serve to confirm and augment; and in the meanwhile I hope to be able to effect such a reform of the Nabob Vizier's military establishments as shall afford us a reasonable degree of security against any future attempts which may be made by the Shah to disturb the peace of India. I have already commenced my operations at Lucknow for this purpose with a fair prospect of success.

Before I left Madras the finances of that presidency had reached a point of prosperity, unexampled at that presidency since 1793; and I have now the satisfaction to inform you that the condition of the finances of Bengal, notwithstanding the heavy demands to which our resources have been subjected, is daily improving.

I remain, my dear Sir, &c. &c.
MORNINGTON.

No. XXXV.

Major-General Sir J. H. Craig to the Earl of Mornington.

MY LORD,

Cawnpore, 25th September, 1799.

I beg to offer to your Lordship my compliments of congratulation on your safe return to the Presidency.

The services that have been rendered to the national interests in these parts by the decided energy of your Lordship's administration, are too conspicuous not to be acknowledged by all, while the benefits derived from them are of too solid a nature not to inspire a general sense of gratitude in the public mind, and the testimonies of their sentiments, which will no doubt be offered to your Lordship, have certainly never stood upon a fairer foundation than upon this occasion.

Amongst others, I find that it has not been uncustomary for the officers at the different stations in this country to offer their sentiments by a public address, and I see by the public papers that one of my colleagues in command has already stood forward in the present instance. I am ignorant how far the example may have been followed by other stations; but I think myself called on to request of your Lordship, that if the station under my command is apparently backward upon the occasion, your Lordship will not attribute it to our not joining most cordially in the general sense of admiration and gratitude, or to our not feeling every inclination to manifest our respectful attention to your Lordship, by means that we conceive to be proper in our situation.

The truth is, that I have had so many occasions of very publicly expressing my decided opinion on this subject, (and that long before it would be foreseen that an occasion would so soon occur, which if any occasion can do so, would warrant the practice,) that I imagine no one here will think it a proper step to propose it. My idea is, that military addresses are highly improper in every point of view. If we assume the right of expressing our approbation of the conduct of our superiors, we have at all times equally the power of marking our disapprobation at least by withholding any testimony of the former sentiment; and from thus passing



our judgment on the actions of those with whom the direction of the affairs of Government rests. I should think it not improbable, at last, that we might be brought to think that we could manage them better ourselves.

But, exclusive of the impropriety and indecency of this assumption towards our superiors, and not adverting to the danger to which I have alluded, and which must, at least, be looked upon as possible I confess, my Lord, that being entirely a soldier of the old-school, I cannot but consider all deliberation in any public assembly of an army, as subversive of every idea of discipline and subordination. If I call together the officers under my command, and submit a proposition to their consideration, it is inconsistent with every notion of justice that they should not enjoy full liberty of discussion, and I should feel extremely mortified, and should consider myself as having voluntarily stepped into a situation highly unbecoming my station, and equally militating against my duty to the service were I to find myself involved in a political opposition with some of the unthinking, hot-headed boys which abound in every army.

This opinion of mine, in relation to the propriety of officers as such, in a body, expressing their sentiments on public occasions, is very well known here, and it is supported by all the old and respectable officers, who view the subject precisely in the same light that I do. It is indeed on their account, my Lord, that I take the liberty of intruding the subject on your Lordship. My own sentiments I trust your Lordship will do justice to, but I am anxious that your Lordship should know that it is solely on grounds of what they conceive to be their duty, that the higher ranks of the officers of the station under my command think themselves obliged to abstain from offering any public testimony of what they individually feel on the occasion.

I have the honour to be

Your Lordship's most faithful

and obedient humble servant,

J. H. CRAIG.

[For an answer to this letter see page 125.]



THE EARL OF MORNINGTON, TO

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Oct.

No. XXXVI.

The Earl of Mornington to the Right Honourable Lord Clive.

MY DEAR LORD,

October 2, 1799.

The latest intelligence from Mysore indicates a disposition on the part of Purseram Bhow to form a closer connexion with the English authorities in that country than appears to be necessary for the mere purpose of cultivating that degree of good understanding which it is expedient to maintain with all contiguous states.

The general character, recent condition, and actual situation of Purseram Bhow, combined with the distracted situation of the Mahratta Empire render it extremely probable that this ambitious chieftain should be desirous of strengthening his political position by obtaining the countenance and support of the British government unexpectedly established on the borders of his territory.

Although I am not satisfied either with the particular conduct of Bajee Row, or with the general system of Mahratta affairs; and although the course of events might render the active friendship of Purseram Bhow useful, our national character and policy, require that we should discourage any advances from feudatories of the Mahratta Empire of a nature hostile to the Peishwa's authority.

Your Lordships will perceive that this degree of reserve will not preclude such an intercourse between our officers, civil and military, in Mysore, and those of the bordering Mahratta States (whether Purseram Bhow or any other) as may appear necessary to the maintenance of good understanding, and useful in the adjustment of those differences which frequently arise upon the borders of contiguous states. In confining our correspondence with the officers of the several Mahratta powers within these limits, my object is to avoid any step which might furnish a just ground of jealousy to the Peishwa, and at the same time to preserve such a degree of communication with his feudal chiefs on the borders as may be occasionally improved to any extent which we may find expedient.

Although the apparent disposition of the persons in authority at the Mahratta frontier at present affords a reasonable hope



that they will not countenance any violation of the territories of the Company or of the Rajah of Mysore, it is proper to provide against the contingency of a change of their disposition. With this view it is necessary that orders should be sent to the officer commanding in Mysore to repel any such violation of territory in the most prompt and decisive manner. Severe and instant chastisement applied, in the first instance of any acts of aggression and plunder within the borders, or those of the Rajah, will have the salutary effect of deterring the Mahrattas from the habitual indulgence of their predatory disposition. We must cautiously avoid all offence, and religiously respect the Mahratta frontier; but if any party of Mahrattas should be found in arms acting within the limits which I have described they must be punished on the spot, without waiting for any reference to your Lordship or to me.

I remain, my dear Lord,

Yours, &c.

MORNINGTON.

No. XXXVII.

The Earl of Mornington to Major-General Sir J. H. Craig.

SIR,

Fort William, 9th October, 1799.

I return you many thanks for your obliging letter of the 25th of September.*

Your sentiments with regard to our late happy successes, your just view of the principles of military discipline, and the correct boundary which you have drawn between the individual feelings of the officers, and the collective duties of the army on the present occasion, afford me the most sincere satisfaction.

The natural desire of honourable distinction, and the sense of public character have disposed me to receive with gratitude and pleasure, the testimonies of uninfluenced and unsolicited good-will, which have been presented to me by the British inhabitants of Madras and Bombay, and by the British and Native inhabitants of Calcutta. The favourable sentiments

* See page 122.



of the army bear an estimation in my opinion proportioned to my great respect for that body; but I entirely concur with you in the danger of admitting any army in its military capacity, to the exercise of any share of a deliberative voice in political affairs. Military addresses, even on subjects immediately connected with the interests of the army, are unnecessary and irregular; the rules of the service having prescribed established channels through which the interests of the whole, or of any branch of the army may at all times be conveyed to the civil power, without injury to that freedom of judgment which, over the affairs of the army is essential to the maintenance of public order.

With these sentiments, it would be criminal in me, for my personal gratification, to countenance in my own instance a practice which my own conscientious judgment condemns, as tending to produce insubordination in the army, and confusion in the State.

It has therefore given me particular pleasure to learn from the Commander-in-Chief, that he has prevented several complimentary addresses of different stations of the army from reaching me; and I have already returned him my thanks for having anticipated my wishes on a subject of such delicacy and importance.

My acknowledgments are equally due to your judicious conduct on the present occasion, and I have the honour to assure you, that the continuance of your zealous and able exertions to restore and improve the discipline of that part of the army placed under your command, will always be the most acceptable pledge which you can offer to me, of your personal approbation and esteem. Your public conduct and that of the higher ranks of the officers at Cawnpore, as stated in your letter of the 25th, render your individual sentiments on the late transactions additionally valuable to me; and I shall always reflect with pride and satisfaction, that my endeavours in the discharge of my duty towards my country, have been approved by persons who have manifested so just a discrimination of the genuine principles, on which that duty is founded. I am happy to learn from your authority, the beneficial effects which have been produced in the vicinity of your station, by the prosperous settlement of Mysore. I have every reason to believe, that the same effects have been ex-



tended to every part of India, in which the nature of our cause, and the splendour of our triumph have been understood. You will be glad to hear, that I have been able to garrison Goa with British troops; this arrangement took place on the 6th of September; and I trust it will effectually secure our new acquisitions against any possible disturbance either foreign or domestic.

I have, &c.

MORNINGTON.

No. XXXVIII.

The Earl of Mornington, to the Secret Committee of the Honourable Court of Directors.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort William, October 25th, 1799.

I have great satisfaction in informing you, that in consequence of a negociation which I had opened with the Government of Goa, a detachment of British troops, consisting of about eleven hundred rank and file, (furnished by H. M's. 75th 77th, and 84th Regts.) under the command of Colonel Sir William Clarke, was admitted into that place on the 6th of September, with every demonstration on the part of His Excellency the Governor and Captain-General, of the most perfect cordiality and the most distinguished attention.

The importance of providing in the most effectual manner for the safety of Goa, was strongly impressed on my mind as early as the month of July, 1798, at which time I entered on the consideration of the measures which might eventually be adopted for that important purpose. My anxiety on this subject was increased considerably, by the subsequent establishment of the French in Egypt. The extensive preparations however, which became indispensable in consequence of that event, combined with the hostile proceedings of Tippoo Sultaun, would have precluded the possibility of my furnishing a force for the special protection of Goa, even if I had been certain of the disposition of the Portuguese Government to receive it. Under these circumstances, I deemed it useless to commence any formal negociation on the subject; determining however to make an attempt to place a British garrison in Goa, on the first favourable occasion which should occur.

Immediately, after the fall of Seringapatam, I lost no time in adopting the measures necessary to the accomplishment of an object, rendered considerably more urgent by the discoveries which followed the conquest of Mysore, and which are already before your Honourable Committee in the papers found at Seringapatam.*

I selected Mr. Uthhoff, (one of the Commissioners in Malabar,) for the office of Envoy to the Government of Goa, and his conduct, in the course of this important and delicate transaction will, I am persuaded, obtain the approbation of your honourable Committee.

The question respecting the payment of the British troops, employed in defence of Goa, has been agreed to be referred to the respective Governments of Great Britain and Portugal, in Europe. In the meanwhile, care will be taken to keep the accounts of the expenses of those troops, in a regular and separate form.

I have in the same manner proposed to His Excellency the Governor of Goa, to submit to the decision of our respective Governments in Europe, certain claims which are advanced by the Government of Goa, to a part of the territory of Canara, recently conquered by our arms, and secured to us by the treaty of Mysore.

The details of all these proceedings will be transmitted to your honourable Committee, by the Government of Fort St. George.

I have the honour to be, &c.

MORNINGTON.

No. XXXIX.

The Earl of Mornington to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

MY DEAR SIR,

Fort William, 24th October, 1799.

My despatch of this date to the Secret Committee will apprise you of the success which has attended the measures which I directed Mr. Duncan and Mr. Uthhoff to take with a view to the important object of establishing a British garrison at Goa.

* Vol. I. Appendix, p. 711.—Letter from Tippoo, to the French Directory, and note of demands by Tippoo's Ambassadors.

It is my intention to augment that garrison without delay, but even at present it is sufficient to secure us against any possible attempt of an European enemy in that quarter, it will also operate as an effectual check upon the Mahrattas. You are already informed of my opinions with regard to the importance of the possession of Goa to our security and interests in every point of view; and I should hope that the present might prove a favourable opportunity for accomplishing the great advantage of obtaining the cession of Goa either to the crown or to the Company in exchange either for Malacca or the Spice Islands, or for some equivalent pecuniary compensation. It appears to me, that the attempt to obtain this cession ought not to be delayed, and as I know you concur with me in my estimate of its value, I rely on you that the negotiation with the Court of Lisbon will be immediately opened.

The claims of Portugal to any part of the Canarese dominions of the late Tippoo Sultaun are so obviously weak, that I do not think it necessary to trouble you further on that subject than to request you to advert to the length of time during which the places claimed by the Portuguese have belonged to the State of Mysore, and to the nature of the conquest which brought them under our power. The Governor and Captain General's pretensions to be considered as an Ally in the late war, appear to be founded principally on the share which his Excellency bore in issuing an order for a royal salute to be fired from Fort Alguada on the occasion of the fall of Seringapatam, and of the death of Tippoo Sultaun. Although this claim is certainly more powerful than any which can be alleged by his Highness the Peishwa, I do not expect that, in the most liberal construction, this meritorious effort of forward and active zeal of his Excellency the Governor and Captain-General will be deemed to entitle her most faithful Majesty to any portion of our conquests. Even if the principle could be applied to cases of alliance in war, I doubt whether any degree of promptitude and alacrity manifested in rejoicing over the destruction of our late enemy, could justify a claim on the part of the Governor and Captain General to the rights of an accessory after the fact.

The general aspect of affairs becomes every day more favourable in Mysore, the whole of the country is now re-



duced to our authority and to that of the Rajah and Nizam; and a seasonable fall of rain affords a prospect, that even in this year we may realize no inconsiderable part of our new revenue and subsidy without injury to the country.

With regard to the Court of Hyderabad, its temper returns, and with it the establishment of an additional regiment of cavalry to the subsidiary force will soon be admitted. The Court of Poonah continues in the same state of weakness and confusion, and the distractions of the Mahratta empire have recently been aggravated by hostilities which have broken out between the Rajah of Kolapore and Purseram Bhow. The latter is stated (by accounts which appear credible) to have fallen in an engagement with the former. Upon the whole no apprehension appears to me justifiable by the actual state of the Mahratta empire. For the present I have been compelled by the perverseness of the Peishwa's disposition to proceed to carry the second separate article of the Treaty of Mysore into effect; but I shall anxiously watch any opportunity of renewing my proposals at Poonah on their original basis; and I do not yet despair of success.

At Fort St. George the whole state of affairs is astonishingly improved, and I am perfectly satisfied with the present course of that government. You will soon receive my new Treaty* with the Rajah of Tanjore, vesting the whole administration of his government and revenues in the Company. You will also, I trust, learn the success of the steps which I had ordered for disarming the Southern Polygars, who had begun to revolt even during the short period of the late war. We are now employed in framing a code for the introduction of a permanent settlement of revenue, and a system of judicature for the Company's possessions in the Peninsula, I have ordered two members of the board of revenue to proceed immediately from Madras to Calcutta for the purpose of aiding in this salutary work: and I trust that its benefits will be extended in a short time over the whole of the northern Circars, the Jaghire, the countries under the Company's dominion ceded in the last war, and those conquered in this (with the exception of Malabar and Canara) the countries of

* See Appendix.



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THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

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the Southern, Eastern and Western Polygars, and the kingdom of Tanjore.

I found Bengal and the provinces in a state of profound tranquillity; the effect of our success in Mysore has utterly annihilated the spirit of insubordination and contempt which for some time past has been gaining ground among our Mahomedan subjects. I have commenced a negotiation with the Nabob Vizier for the reform of his military establishments. The resident with Scindia has proceeded to Jynagur, in order to receive from the Rajah the person of Vizier Alli. I shall soon write to you in detail on the state of our courts of justice, of the revenue and general finance, and of our commercial interests. With respect to finance I shall only say, that great and unprecedented as the effort has been which I was compelled to make within the last, and must make within the present year, our resources have corresponded with the exigency of the occasion, and public and private credit have improved to an astonishing degree, and are still progressively improving.

I think it necessary to apprise you of my intention to adopt without delay a plan for the improvement of the civil service at Bengal in a most important point. The state of the administration of justice, and even of the collection of revenue throughout the provinces affords a painful example of the inefficacy of the best code of laws to secure the happiness of the people, unless due provision has been made to ensure a proper supply of men qualified to administer those laws in their different branches and departments. This evil is felt severely in every part of this government, and it arises principally from a defect at the source and fountain-head of the service—I mean the education and early habits of the young gentlemen sent hither in the capacity of writers. My opinion, after full deliberation on the subject is decided, that the writers, on their first arrival in India should be subjected for a period of two or three years to the rules and discipline of some collegiate institution at the seat of government. In such an institution they might attain the groundwork of the several native languages necessary for their respective stations, together with the principles of general law, those of the Mahomedan and Hindoo Codes, and the voluminous regulations enacted by the Governor-General in Council for the ad-



ministration of justice in Bengal and the provinces; other branches of knowledge, also, suitable to their intended duties might be acquired, and habits of activity, regularity and decency formed instead of those of sloth, indolence, low debauchery, and vulgarity now too apt to grow on those young men, who have been sent at an early age into the interior parts of the country, and have laid the foundations of their life and manners among the coarse vices and indulgencies of those countries. I shall not pursue this topic further at present, intending to make it the subject of ample discussion at an early period. But I now wish to inform you that I feel the mischief to be so pressing, that I intend, without waiting for orders from home, to proceed to found such an institution at Calcutta. I have already taken some steps towards the measure, and I hope to be able to carry my plan into effect with little (if any) additional charge to the company.

I rely on your active and zealous support of this arrangement, in which I feel the greatest interest.

Ever, my dear Sir,
Yours sincerely and affectionately,
MORNINGTON.

No. XL.

The Earl of Mornington to his Excellency the Vizier of Oude.

Fort William, 5th November, 1799.

Some days have elapsed since I had the honour to receive your Excellency's letter, wherein your Excellency, after observing "that the benefits even both immediate and future, of a reform of your military establishment, are even more strongly impressed on your Excellency's mind than they were described by me," assures me that you would, "without a moment's delay, consult with Colonel Scott upon what was practicable and what occurred to your Excellency's mind, and communicate to me what should be conjointly determined upon as advisable."

From the period of my receiving this letter, I have anxiously expected to learn from Lieutenant-Colonel Scott that your



Excellency, in conformity to your promise, and in pursuance of the suggestions of your own discernment, had entered fully and unreservedly with that gentleman upon the discussion of this urgent and important business. But although this expectation has been hitherto disappointed, such is my confidence in the punctuality and prudence of your Excellency, that I continue to be firmly persuaded that I shall soon have the satisfaction of learning from Lieutenant-Colonel Scott that considerable progress has been made in the new arrangement.

The general considerations which render it extremely necessary that this arrangement should be carried into execution without delay, have been already fully explained to your Excellency, and you have concurred with me in my views on the subject. One argument in favour of a speedy determination on this subject, possibly may not have occurred to your mind, and I, therefore, take this occasion explicitly to state it to your Excellency.

The Company are bound by existing treaties "to defend the dominions of your Excellency against all enemies;" but the number of British troops ordinarily stationed in your Excellency's dominions not exceeding 13,000 men, would not, it is obvious, be adequate to that purpose in the event of an invasion of those dominions; while, on the other hand, it must be evident to your Excellency, that various circumstances in such an event might render it impossible for the Company's Government to augment the ordinary force, either to the extent or within the time required by the emergency. The probable result of such a situation of things requires no explanation to a person of your Excellency's penetration.

If this danger were even remote and doubtful, it would behove a prudent government to guard against it by seasonable precautions. What then must be your Excellency's duty and mine when that danger certainly menaces your dominions? Of the hostile intentions of Zemaun Shah against your Excellency's possessions no doubt can be entertained, since the discoveries made at Seringapatam. Whether these intentions will be carried into effect at a more early or more distant day, may be a question; but it is the part of wisdom to preclude the possibility of their success. But Zemaun Shah is not, perhaps, the only power against whose restless and unprincipled ambition your Excellency should be protected,



THE EARL OF MORNINGTON, TO

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other enemies may arise in other quarters, and it becomes you to provide against every contingency.

It might not be in the power of the British Government, on a sudden emergency, to reinforce the troops in your Excellency's country with sufficient expedition; my firm opinion, therefore, is that the Company can in no other manner effectually fulfil their engagements "to defend the dominions of your Excellency against all enemies," than by maintaining constantly in those dominions such a force as shall at all times be adequate to your effectual protection, independently of any reinforcement which the exigency might otherwise require, but which might not be disposable in proper season.

The Seventh Article of the Treaty with your Excellency, by Sir John Shore, provides for the occasional augmentation of the Company's troops in your Excellency's dominions in terms which evidently render the Company's Government competent to decide at all times on the requisite amount of such augmentation. The same article binds your Excellency to defray the expense of any force which shall be deemed necessary by the Company for your defence.

The precise numbers of the additional force which I judge necessary for the effectual protection of your Excellency's dominions, will be stated to you, in my name, by Lieutenant-Colonel Scott.

To enable your Excellency to defray the expense of the additional British force, which is now become indispensably necessary to the security of your Excellency's dominions, without any new charges upon the finances of your Excellency, nothing further is requisite than that you should disband the numerous disorderly battalions at present in your service, which, instead of contributing in any degree to the defence of your country, or to the support of your Government, have long proved injurious to the prosperity and strength of both.

For the details of the plan by which the dismissal of these troops may be most easily and speedily effected, I beg leave to refer your Excellency to Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, who is in full possession of my sentiments on this subject, and on whose prudence, judgment, and experience, I rely with the utmost confidence.

The advanced period of the season absolutely requires that



the British troops in Oude should immediately be augmented to the amount which will be stated to your Excellency by Lieutenant-Colonel Scott; and I earnestly recommend to your Excellency the early adoption of those measures which will be pointed out to you by Colonel Scott, for the purpose of relieving your Excellency from the heavy expense at present incurred in maintaining that force, whose numbers are dangerous only to your Excellency and your subjects. By such a reform your Excellency will be fully enabled to defray the charge of the additional troops.

It will not be in my power to furnish your Excellency immediately with the full number of additional troops, which are necessary for the effectual security of your Excellency's dominions; but I am so deeply impressed with the necessity of carrying the measure into effect as speedily as possible, that your Excellency may rely on my making every practicable exertion to complete the proposed force at so early a period of time as shall place your Excellency's country beyond the reach of any surprise, either from foreign or domestic enemies.

I have, &c.

MORNINGTON.

No. XLI.

*The Earl of Mornington to Captain J. A. Kirkpatrick,
Resident at Hyderabad.*

(Secret.)

Sir,

Fort William, 6th November, 1799.

The general state of the Nizam's health for some time past, and the communications which I have lately received from you on that subject, joined to the great changes recently produced in the political state of India by our conquest of Mysore, have suggested to me the necessity of revising the principles which regulated my instructions to you of the 8th of July, 1798,* with regard to the conduct proper to be pursued by the

* See Vol. I. p. 94.



Company's Government in the event of his Highness's death. If we neglect to interfere in settling the succession upon the death of the Nizam, the Mahrattas will not fail to avail themselves of our inactivity, and will establish a preponderant, if not an exclusive, influence at the Court of Hyderabad.

The establishment of the exclusive influence of the Mahrattas at Hyderabad would be equivalent in its operation on our interests to the absolute subjugation of the Deccan by the arms of the Mahratta power; and it should be no less our care to prevent the Mahrattas from governing the territory of the Nizam in the name of a prince elevated to the Musnud by their interference, than to check the progress of any hostile attempt which they might make to extend their dominions at the expense of the Court of Hyderabad. It is, therefore, now as necessary that the succession to the Soubahship of the Deccan should be settled by the Company's authority as it was in July, 1798.

In every view which I am enabled to take of this question, it continues to appear to me desirable that we should raise Secunder Jah to the Musnud in preference to any of his brothers. The right of primogeniture is in his favour; his connections are among those persons best affected towards our interest; he is the only son of the Nizam who has ever maintained any authorised intercourse with us, or who has ever manifested any desire to cultivate our friendship. Alli Jah was disposed to connect his views with those of Tippoo Sultaun; Feridoon Jah has carried on intrigues in the same quarter, and Jehander Jah has been suspected of endeavouring to engage the Mahrattas to take him under their protection.

In favouring the pretensions of Secunder Jah, we must not overlook what is requisite to the improvement of our connection with the Court of Hyderabad, and to the establishment of that connection on a basis of the most solid advantage, and of the most permanent security.

No obligation of treaty binds us to take part in any contested succession, arising either from the total silence of the Nizam respecting his intended successor, or from a disputable declaration of his Highness's intentions on the subject. Even in the case of an unequivocal nomination of a successor by his Highness, we should not be bound by the Treaty of Sep-



tember, 1798, or by any other obligation to support that successor against any rival, whose cause might be espoused by the Mahrattas. Whatever secret or political motives therefore may exist to induce us either to interpose our influence in the settlement of the succession, or to prefer the pretensions of Secunder Jah, our faith is not pledged to raise that prince to the Musnud, or unconditionally to support him upon it against any effort of the Mahrattas, or of any other power in favour of another candidate.

Having stated the general principles which should govern our conduct in the conjunction under contemplation, I shall proceed to furnish you with an outline of the particular conditions on which I am willing to support the succession of Secunder Jah against all competition.

These conditions are as follow:—

1. The Treaty of September, 1798, shall be confirmed by Secunder Jah, for himself and his heirs, in all points not expressly altered by the New Treaty.

2. The subsidiary force shall be augmented to four regiments of native infantry, two regiments of native cavalry, and three companies of artillery, including a proportionable increase of gun lascars.

3. The additional force shall be subsidized at the same rate as that now serving in the Nizam's dominions.

4. A territory to be selected by the Company, producing a net revenue at least adequate to the payment of the whole subsidy (under the treaty of 1798 as well as under the new engagement), shall be assigned to the sole and absolute management of the Company: the Company to account to the reigning prince for any surplus of revenue exceeding the amount of the subsidy, which may be realised from the said territory under their management.

5. The Peishcush at present payable by the Company to the Nizam, on account of the northern Circars, shall be remitted for ever.

6. If the number of troops stipulated to be subsidized, should at any time appear to be inadequate to the purpose of securing Secunder Jah on the Musnud, against the attempts of any competition, whether supported or not by the Mahrattas, or by any other power, the Company will augment the subsidized force to such an extent as the Company may judge



necessary; and Secunder Jah shall in that case defray the expense of such temporary addition of force.

7. All Rahdary duties on goods passing to and from the respective territories of the contracting parties shall be abolished. No articles of merchandize shall pay duty more than once, and a proper tariff shall be established for the regulation of the single duties to be so levied; and a treaty of commerce shall be concluded between the two states on just and equitable principles of reciprocal interest and common benefit.

8. Secunder Jah shall engage to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice as the Company's Government shall occasionally judge it necessary to offer to him with a view to any objects connected with the advancement of his interests, the happiness of his people, and the mutual welfare of both states.

Such is the outline of the terms upon which I propose to support and maintain the succession of Secunder Jah, whether he should obtain the previous nomination of his father, or not, or even if it should be pretended that his Highness had declared in favour of some other of his sons. You will prepare without delay an instrument in the Persian language in conformity to the foregoing outline, in order that Secunder Jah (at the moment of his father's death, or whenever that event shall appear to approach) may be apprised of the terms on which we are ready to support his cause, and may be enabled by immediately executing a formal instrument, to accede to my propositions in a regular manner.

I think it necessary to permit you either totally to suppress or to modify the Eighth Article according to your discretion, apprising you, however, that I consider it to be of great importance to obtain such an ascendancy over the councils of the Nizam, as is described in that Article.

Secunder Jah must not be allowed to procrastinate his determination. If at the end of a stated and short period of time he should not determine to accept the proffered Treaty, you will proceed in concert with Azim ul Omrah and Meer Allum, to place one of the younger sons of the Nizam on the Musnud, previously stipulating that the prince succeeding to the Musnud shall fulfil all the conditions of the Treaty proposed to Secunder Jah.



I am aware that the objects proposed might be obtained from Secunder Jah with less difficulty, previously to the death of the Nizam, and that it would on that account be desirable that a negotiation should be opened immediately with Secunder Jah. But many objections occur to deter me from such a step. The attempt (if it should transpire either by accident or design) would probably lead to mischievous consequences; I am, therefore, of opinion that no such attempt should be hazarded until the Nizam shall be at the point of death.

It is manifest that our power of settling the succession in the manner described, and of obtaining the advantages which I have enumerated, will depend in an eminent degree, if not absolutely, on the local position of the subsidiary force at the time of his Highness's death. It is, therefore, of the last importance that the force should not only be kept together, but stationed as near as possible to the residence of the Nizam; and I accordingly direct you to adopt every practicable means of accomplishing these most desirable and essential objects without delay.

I have the honour to be, &c.

MORNINGTON.

No. XLII.

Sir Sidney Smith to the Earl of Mornington.

Camp of his Highness the Supreme Vizier,
near Jaffa, the 9th November, 1799.

MY LORD,

[Received 8th April, 1800.]

It is my duty to give your Lordship early information that a disposition on the part of the French army in Egypt to treat for their return to France, by the evacuation of their new "colony," has been at length openly manifested; first, by an official communication to that effect from General Buonaparte to his Highness the Supreme Vizier, in a letter full of the pretended predilection of the French for "Islamism" as a ground for peace, and since in a more reasonable strain from his successor in the command, General Kleber, by letters addressed to his Highness and to me.



SIR SIDNEY SMITH, TO

CSL

General Buonaparte made an attempt to renew the intercourse with me, which he had abruptly broken off from a fear of the defection of his army, that defection having been increased rather than diminished by his unqualified abuse of the English commander, to whom alone the army could look for favour in the hour of their distress. The Aid-de-camp sent off to the Tigre appeared to have been commissioned to say that General Buonaparte had ever spoken of me in terms of the utmost respect, although his writings, for *political* reasons, contained matter calculated to discourage his army from deserting to me at a critical moment of their sufferings in Syria. I could not help cutting the conversation short by saying what I really felt at the time, knowing the man as I do, viz., "that I should be very sorry to have his approbation." However, it being evident, from this and other circumstances, that the discontent of the army was kept under only by the terror his severity inspired, I took occasion to acquaint him of his being (together with General Berthier) recalled to command the army in Italy (N. B. not then in existence) this, as I expected, was eagerly caught at. A second flag of truce asked whether I was serious, and a confirmation being sent, he embarked in a few days afterwards for Europe, giving only a few hours notice of his intention to those who were to accompany him, and causing the command to devolve on General Kleber by a sealed packet; it was given out in the army that he was gone to Constantinople to make peace, which affords a proof how much the army wish for some such means of extrication.

Having early apprized Lord Nelson of the probability of General Buonaparte's quitting Egypt singly and *incognito*, I entertain strong hopes that some of his Lordship's cruizers may have fallen in with him, although the *Theseus*, which I had detached with a squadron for that purpose, has returned unsuccessful.

I have been employed assembling a force, and directing an attack on Damietta, which took place on the 1st instant. Like that on Aboukir, it failed of entire success from the same causes, viz. the insubordination, disorder, and obstinate inactivity inherent in a Turkish fleet and army. The attack, however, like that in the Red Sea of Yambo Arabians, has had the good effect of proving to the French army that these



irregular hosts can be brought *hand to hand* with them; and it is likewise evident, that a succession of these sort of engagements must annihilate them to a man, although they may each time remain masters of the field of battle from the effect of European tactics, which, as at Damietta, produces a corps de reserve, or a flanking charge of cavalry, to route the *victorious rabble*. The French superior officers, with whom I have had frequent intercourse of late by flags of truce seem fully sensible of this, and extremely anxious to quit a theatre whereon they can neither gain honour or secure their profits, and where it is evident to them that they do their country no sort of service since I have communicated the glorious news from India (sent me by Mr. Manesty, extremely apropos). Allow me, my Lord, to take this opportunity of congratulating your Lordship on the signal success which has crowned the well combined measures of Government in India by the able and gallant exertions of Lieutenant-General Harris and his highly distinguished army, at the same time that I offer your Lordship and them this tribute, in the proof of the additional and extensive utility of your joint labours.

It is but justice to the French army to say that, though they evidently dread the appearance of the conquerors of the Mysore in Upper Egypt, they are under no sort of apprehension of the Vizier's motley disorderly multitude; but they are sensible that, reduced as they are to 18,000 men, they could not profit by a victory, where they are exposed in the end to be assailed by regular troops both from the Red Sea and the Mediterranean; and I trust a demonstration of the truth of this will be made in support of my assertion to that effect, should the conference I am about to hold with General Desaix and Mr. Poussielgue on board the *Tigre* close without our settling the terms of evacuation.

I have the honour to be,
with the utmost respect, my Lord,
your Lordship's faithful, humble Servant,
W. SIDNEY SMITH.



THE EARL OF ELGIN, TO

CSL
NOV.

No. XLIII.

The Earl of Elgin to the Earl of Mornington.

Constantinople, Nov. 16th, 1799.

[Received at Calcutta, 4th March, 1800.]

MY LORD,

I beg leave to acquaint your Lordship that I arrived here on the 6th instant, in the quality of his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Ottoman Porte.

Your Lordship will have known from Mr. Dundas, and from some of the Directors of the East India Company, with whom I conferred confidentially in London, that I am authorized, in considering this post as one that may afford me occasions of interesting communication with Asia; and that my attention was particularly directed by them to that object. I may be allowed, on my own part, to say, that no part of the duty connected with this mission is more agreeable to me than the intercourse it establishes with your Lordship; and that my exertions shall be unremitting, in so far as I may be enabled, while here, to contribute to the benefit of the British interests in India, and to the glory and success of your administration there.

I reached Constantinople in a conjuncture, the circumstances of which claim your Lordship's particular notice. The enclosed letters* had just been received here from the Grand Vizier, whose head-quarters were then at Damascus; and the Russian Envoy at this place, and my predecessor, Mr. Smith, had been applied to, to favour the negotiation, thus set on foot, for the evacuation of Egypt by the French. The conferences which had passed, and one which I also had on the subject, do not enable me to furnish you with more than the above papers. For, as Sir Sidney Smith is acting, and with the most brilliant success against that army, and has intercepted the original letters written by the French General, and opened a communication upon them with the

* Referring to Buonaparte's address to the Grand Vizier, and the reply of the latter; Kleber's proclamation; the Grand Vizier's reply thereto; and the report of the Capigi Bachi.



Vizier; I have referred all proceedings on this negotiation to him, who, no doubt, will comply with every proposal, consistent with the dignity and interest of the allies, to procure the deliverance of Egypt. Orders are also sent to the Grand Vizier on this occasion, to act with Sir Sidney Smith: and I have requested Sir Sidney to acquaint your Lordship, by the most expeditious conveyance, of any proceedings that may take place in consequence of the dispositions thus shewn by the French to quit the Turkish provinces.

I am sorry I have no authority to say whether the Grand Vizier is justified in the construction he has put upon the letters from Buonaparte and Kleber. But as they are written after the defeat at Acre, after Buonaparte's flight, and after a proclamation has been circulated among the French troops; it is, I perceive, Sir Sidney Smith's opinion, as well as the Vizier's, that this step did proceed from a desire to evacuate Egypt.

Our interests in India are so nearly concerned in defeating the attempt of the French to establish themselves in Egypt, that every facility will be afforded on the part of the British influence in this part of the world, to remove the French troops now there, if the terms they propose shall prove at all acceptable. At the same time, it is my duty to point out that, in case the suggestion thus made by the French Generals, has proceeded from the very unfavourable aspect which the affairs of France lately assumed on the continent of Europe, that cause is liable to much variation. The last accounts from Switzerland leave very little hopes of any part of that country being now occupied by the allied troops, or that they will be able to do more than take up winter quarters in the rear of Feldkirk, and the line from whence the Arch Duke commenced his operations this campaign.

On the other hand, the Court of Vienna is, I apprehend, acting without sufficient concert with Russia and England, in directing the civil and military agents attending its armies to take possession of all they conquer, in the name of the Emperor of Germany, and not in that of the lawful Sovereigns. So much so, as to have given occasion to some very strong remonstrances, which, if without effect, may possibly force the other allies to refuse further cooperation with the Aus-



trians. The enclosed paper* has, in consequence of what I allude to, been delivered to the foreign ministers at Petersburg, and will, I make no doubt, appear to your Lordship a paper of the highest import in the present crisis.

Should, unfortunately, any disunion take place among the armies now employed on the continent against France, we may hope that the Emperor of Russia, whose zeal is, undoubtedly, very great in this important contest, will still offer military, as well as naval, succours to be employed against the French in Egypt. Such aid is stipulated by treaty, and applications for it have been of late renewed by the Porte, and favourably met on the part of Russia. Yet it appears the French are still 15,000 strong, besides numerous bodies of natives, embodied under them; their position, as your Lordship will see by the annexed map, with its explanation, is as secure as the nature of the country will admit. They receive, as I learn from Admiral Blanket, supplies even of ammunition by the aid of the neighbouring powers; and if the present negotiation fails, the inadequate assistance which could be spared by Russia, or admitted by the Porte into its provinces, does not present the means of driving the French from their present post, however able and brilliant our naval operations against them continue to be.

As to the Turks, your Lordship will perceive, by the annexed paper,† that very little is to be expected from them. Besides, I fear, there is great insubordination among the rulers in the distant provinces of the empire, which obliges the Grand Vizier to proceed with more than usual caution, and occasions a material diminution of the force he apparently has along with him.

I am, my Lord, totally without authority for what I am about to add, but as the whole of the information before me leads me to foresee the probability of its becoming necessary to employ considerably more force than is now preparing, to

* This was a *note verbal* from the Emperor of Russia to the foreign Ministers, declaring that his Majesty's desire is to re-establish the former kingdom of France, the Government of the United Provinces, of the Helvetic Cantons, and of the Germanic empire; but that he will withdraw his forces unless these measures be vigorously prosecuted.

† A document, in French, shewing the actual state and disposition of the Turks.



attack the French in Egypt; I, individually, presume it is worthy your Lordship's attention to consider whether, in that event, a respectable diversion could be made from the Red Sea by troops from India, and the naval force under Admiral Blanket.*

The rescuing Egypt from the French would be a glorious continuation of the splendid victories which those troops have lately gained in India, with such unequalled benefit to their country.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect, my Lord,
your Excellency's most obedient, humble Servant,
ELGIN.

No. XLV.

Lieut.-Colonel Scott, Resident at Lucknow, to the Earl of Mornington.

MY LORD,

Lucknow, 22nd November, 1799.

A meeting having been appointed by his Excellency the Vizier, at the resident's house on the 12th instant, for the purpose, as I understood, of concerting with me the means of carrying into immediate effect the important military reform recommended by your Lordship, his Excellency imparted to me his secret, though determined, resolution of abdicating the government, but did not until the 20th authorize me to make a communication of his intentions to your Lordship.

This resolution of his Excellency is of so extraordinary and interesting a tendency in its intermediate object, and involves considerations of such magnitude and delicacy in its execution and future consequences, that I feel it my duty to recite to your Lordship, as distinctly and as fully as my memory will allow, in a connected detail, the several conversations which have taken place upon the subject, and as they were not of long duration, and committed to paper immediately upon their conclusion, I trust, that no material part of them can have escaped me.

His Excellency began by observing, that he had frequently

* This suggestion was made by Lord Mornington (see Vol. I. p. 587.)



declared to me the impossibility of his conducting the affairs of his country under existing circumstances; that probably, I had not comprehended the full drift of those expressions, or had conceived they were uttered in a moment of ill-humour, that the real meaning of them was an earnest and sincere desire to relinquish a government which he could not manage with satisfaction to himself, or to the advantage of his subjects.

Desirous of penetrating into the motives which influenced his Excellency to such a resolution, and of discovering the sincerity of his declarations, I entreated his Excellency would impart to me the causes which rendered it impossible for him to regulate and conduct the affairs of his government.

He replied, that they were well known to me, to which I observed, that I must candidly confess, that under the present total want of arrangement for the despatch of public business, and without the aid and advice of able, zealous and responsible ministers, to take a share in the laborious and incessant concerns of this extensive empire, the affairs of it must fall into confusion, and the interests of his subjects be neglected, but that if his Excellency would condescend to avail himself of the advice and assistance, which I was commanded by your Lordship to afford, and which I was at all times, and all occasions ready to exert to the utmost of my abilities I would be answerable, that the affairs of the country could be conducted to the prosperity and happiness of his people, to his own ease and to the acquisition of a great name.

His Excellency replied, that this was true, but that it was impossible for one person to judge of the feelings of another, and that his mind not being disposed to the cares and fatigues of government, he had come to the fixed resolution of retiring from them; and added, that as your Lordship would on his abdication exalt one of his sons to the Musnud, his name would remain.

Acknowledging the justness of the remark of the impracticability of penetrating into the secret feelings of another person, I desisted from further reasoning; but to take away every ground on which the expectation or hope could be built of the selection of a successor, I adverted to the right attached by our government to primogeniture, so strongly exemplified in his own person; in which remark his Excellency acquiesced,



and said, whichever of his sons your Lordship thought proper.

His Excellency declared in unequivocal terms, that in relinquishing the empire, he renounced every wish of interfering in its concerns, or of residing within its limits, and that the money he was in possession of, was sufficient for his own support, and for the procurement of every gratification he could desire in a private station, but he trusted your Lordship would establish suitable allowances for his sons and the other branches of his family, whom he wished to leave at Lucknow.

Anxious on so solemn an occasion as the abdication of an empire, to be in possession of some written document, lest my recital of a private conversation, without the presence of a third person should be denied or affirmed to be in part misrepresented, I asked His Excellency, if he did not think it advisable to address himself direct to your Lordship; this he declined, on the pretence that there was no person about him in whom he could confide in an affair of so much secrecy and delicacy.

I then informed his Excellency, that I should immediately communicate the substance of the conversation to your Lordship, but he desired that I would prepare the draft of a letter in English, and before the despatch of it, submit for his perusal a translation in the Persian language.

This I promised to execute, and exhorted his Excellency to reflect most seriously in the interval on the measure he had in contemplation, which was the most momentous that could be undertaken by a Sovereign.

Having prepared in Persian an abstract of the conversation, I waited upon his Excellency on the 14th, when he declared his perseverance in the determination he had two days before revealed to me, accompanied by some explanations of the motives which influenced his resolution; these however, not being new in substance, called from me only a repetition of that advice and those assurances, which I had frequently urged to his consideration.

They consisted of general accusations against the refractory and perverse dispositions of the people at large, of complaints against the fidelity and zeal of the men immediately about his person, of the arrogance of some of the Amils and of the open disobedience of others. I replied,



that the remedy to this aggregate of evils was easy and within his Excellency's own power, that a vigilant, strong and just administration would secure the obedience of the bulk of his subjects, on the firm principles of attachment to his person and government, that a conciliatory and encouraging conduct on his part, would secure fidelity and enliven zeal, and that the reform of his military establishment on the principles so forcibly and repeatedly urged by your Lordship, was the specific measure that would curb the arrogance of the Amils, and enforce a prompt execution and implicit observance of any revenue regulations which his wisdom might establish; and in conclusion, I again pledged myself, if his Excellency would reject the interested advice of favourites, and be guided by the impartial and friendly counsel which your Lordship would convey to him through me, that the affairs of his government could be conducted with ease to himself, to the acquisition of an high reputation, to the prosperity of his country and to the happiness of his subjects.

Having presented for his Excellency's perusal, the abstract in Persian of the first conversation his Excellency retained it, and expressed his intention of addressing himself direct to your Lordship.

On the 16th I sent a message to his Excellency, intimating a desire of waiting upon him the following day, to which I received an answer, that if my intended visit was to confer on the subject known to us, he was intent upon it and preparing the necessary paper; and as he meant to pass the 17th at a Garden, and purposed visiting me on the 18th, if I had not any urgent business to communicate, he could wish that the interview might be postponed until that day.

His Excellency did me the honour of a visit on the 18th, and after consulting me on the settlement with one of his Amils was taking his leave, when I took the liberty of asking his Excellency whether he had made any progress in his intended address to your Lordship, to which he replied, that he had written something.

On the 19th, his Excellency sent me a verbal message, that he purposed breakfasting with me on the following morning. In the evening my Moonshee waited upon him, and expressed my acknowledgments for the honour his Excellency intended me; but, that as he had honoured me with



a visit the preceding day, it was my wish as well from respect as inclination, to attend upon him. He replied, that amongst friends it was the same thing, that my house was his, and his mine.

According to appointment, his Excellency honoured me with a visit on the 20th; and when retired into a private apartment, produced the letter which I had presented to him on the 14th. Wishing to make some alterations in it, he desired the attendance of the Moonshee who had written it; pen and ink being brought, his Excellency with his own hand, wrote several alterations and additions which had been previously traced with pencil.

Having added at the end of the paper, that he would place his son on the Musnud with his own hands, his Excellency observed, that it was introduced with a view of shewing to the world, that his abdication was at his own suggestion, and voluntary; to which I replied, that I trusted it never could be imagined, that the English Government had used compulsive means, or even persuasions for the removal of his Excellency from his hereditary dominions.

His Excellency delivered the paper into my hands desiring, that after a copy of it was taken, it might be returned to him with a fair copy, and enjoining me to lose no time in addressing your Lordship on the subject.

After receiving the paper, I observed to his Excellency, that your Lordship would naturally make this reflection, that if his Excellency, (a man of mature judgment, sound understanding, and extensive experience,) found it impossible to conduct the affairs of the empire, what grounds were there to expect that a young man, uninstructed in the ways of the world, and unpractised in business, could possess the necessary qualifications for so arduous a situation. To which his Excellency replied, that he would have the benefit of that advice and assistance so often proffered to him.

I was then going to prepare his Excellency to expect, that your Lordship's wisdom would most probably suggest some modifications of the treaty or comprehensive arrangements for the future government of the country; but before I could make any progress, he interrupted me by saying, that your Lordship's answer might be expected in the course of twenty days.



After talking some time on other subjects, the Nawaub observed, that your Lordship would feel much uneasiness at the contents of the paper; to which I replied, that your Lordship would certainly be concerned and surprised at the momentous measure determined on by his Excellency. He said, the measure was doubtless momentous, and the most serious that a sovereign could undertake, that he considered it not only a renunciation of a kingdom, but of the world; but added emphatically, that the execution of it was indispensable, since he was neither pleased with the people nor they with him, and that in fact his mind was not from the first disposed to the cares of government, nor reconciled to them upon experience.

His Excellency some hours after his departure sent me a note, requesting that I would return by my Moonshee the draft of the paper, corrected by himself, being desirous of considering of some further alterations. It was accordingly sent, when he expressed himself obliged by my readiness in returning it, and promised to restore it immediately. In the evening it was brought back to me by one of his favourite servants, (Ruttun Chund,) a person whom I had never seen before, with some corrections.

A copy of the Persian paper as it now stands, and one shewing the alterations, together with translations, are herewith transmitted for your Lordship's information.

Having thus detailed the whole of the conversations which have been held on this important subject, I shall take the liberty of making such reflections on his Excellency's resolution as occur to my mind; and though, as his Excellency justly observed, it is not possible to penetrate into the internal feelings of another person, yet an attentive study of his Excellency's character, and a review of his conduct since his exaltation to the empire, may serve to throw some light upon his sentiments.

His Excellency for a series of years, felt and enjoyed the comforts of a private station; ambition, (if that quality ever had possession of his breast,) might have been weakened by the despair of gratifying it, and at length have subsided in other habits and pursuits. The tenour of his discourse strongly indicates the act to be the result of mature and long deliberation, and not the sudden suggestion of passion; it is



not therefore improbable, that at the moment of ascending the Musnud he was meditating the period and the means of a retreat.

Power, since his accession to the empire, has only been exercised in acts that tend to the gratification of his ruling propensity, avarice; timid in his disposition he is afraid of secret enemies amongst the old servants of his brother whom his unkindness has disgusted, and unconciliating in his manners, he has acquired no new friends. In his public conduct as a prince, he has in no one instance evinced a desire for the prosperity of his country, nor shewn a wish to transmit his dominions to his posterity, improved in their resources, or meliorated in their administration.

Unequal himself to incessant application to business, with a neglect inexplicable, unless from a jealousy of having his secrets penetrated into, it has been his aim to conduct the affairs of his government in seclusion without ostensible assistance; and with an avidity unaccountable, unless from a secret wish of abandoning his empire, he has grasped at immediate and trifling advantages to the relinquishment of future and substantial benefits; and whilst accumulating wealth in his private treasure, suffers the pensioners and public servants to experience the most severe distress by a long detention of their established allowances.

The money and jewels found upon his accession, have been removed from the usual place of deposit to the women's apartments, and it is generally believed, that his accumulations amount to a crore of rupees.* A sum however enormous, probably not much exaggerated, when it is considered, that in addition to Nuzzurannas and other means of acquiring wealth which have been practised, he has uniformly, as it is affirmed, appropriated to himself the same monthly sums for his personal expences as were fixed by his brother, though the establishment of every department has been considerably diminished, and the strictest economy observed in every household arrangement.

Your Lordship will observe by the additions in the paper, that his Excellency dwells even to repetition, on the expressions of "existing circumstances, or in this manner, and certain causes." It is not easy to conjecture what may be the

* £1,000,000 sterling.



LIEUT.-COLONEL SCOTT, TO

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causes which he insinuates, but conceals with so much reserve. If they have a reference to my conduct, I can only affirm, that it has been confined to expostulations and advice, and that he has never asked my assistance until his own measures have failed, and then expecting the exertion of my influence to enforce payment of demands, under an implicit and unbounded confidence in the statement which he was pleased to make of the case, inquiries and investigations on the other side of the question, without which I invariably and candidly told him, I could not interfere, may be regarded by him as a distrust of his own principles of probity and justice, and as a design to support his Amils against him.

His Excellency has no children alive by marriage. Four sons of the age of manhood usually attend him, the eldest of whom, (Gazee u deen Hyder,) is 25 years of age, or more, and appears to be of a mild but rather heavy disposition. A son five or six years old sometimes makes his appearance at the Palace, and there may probably be several other children in the Mehl.

Not to interrupt the thread of the narrative upon this important subject, I omitted to introduce in their proper places the frequent allusions made by me to the Reform of the military establishment. In every conversation however, I took occasion to press the subject upon his Excellency's consideration; but he invariably, and somewhat impatiently, evaded the discussion by declaring, that under the proposition to be submitted to your Lordship it was totally unnecessary.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, and

Most faithful humble Servant,

W. SCOTT.

Translation of a paper prepared in Persian by the Resident at Lucknow, at the desire of his Excellency the Nawaub Vizier, submitted to his Excellency on the 14th of November 1799, and returned to the Resident on the 18th of the same month, when the alterations which appear on the face of the Persian paper, were written by his Excellency's own hand,* in the

* They are here placed in small type *over* the original words.



presence of the Resident and his Moonshee Mohubbut Ally Khan. The alterations which appear in red ink* in this translation, are subsequent corrections by his Excellency, he having sent for the draft for the purpose.

On Tuesday, the 13th of Tummadie ul Sannie, A.H. 1214, or 12th of November, 1799, his Excellency the Nawaub Vizier, honoured me with a visit, and in a private conference enjoined me to address the right honourable the Governor-General to the following effect :

That his Excellency finding it impossible under existing circumstances for certain reasons, to conduct the affairs of his government, with ease to himself and to the advantage of his subjects, was desirous from the suggestions of his own mind, cordially and voluntarily to relinquish the empire. I entreated his Excellency to explain the motives which influenced him to relinquish so great an empire, and begged that he would state the whole of the causes which induced him to that resolution, in order that measures might be taken to remove them, since by the friendship and assistance of the English Company, and by the zealous exertions of myself, his sincere well-wisher, the administration of his government could assuredly be conducted to the prosperity of his country, to the happiness of his subjects, to the ease and satisfaction of himself, and to the acquisition of a great name. His Excellency replied, that this was true, but that owing to (the dissensions, enmity, disobedience and negligence of the people here,) (and certain causes,) the incessant toils and cares of government, his mind was utterly withdrawn from it and disgusted, and that on this account he entertained the firm resolution of relinquishing the empire, and as his Lordship would nominate one of his sons to succeed him, his name would remain established.

After the relinquishment of the government, his Excellency had no wish
(at Lucknow)
of residing (here,) nor of interfering in the smallest degree in the concerns of the country. What his Excellency possessed was sufficient for his necessary expences, but that whatever his Lordship might establish for his sons and other branches of his family, would be a source of great satisfaction to him, and that his Excellency would with his own hands place his son on the Musnud.

A true translation.

W. SCOTT, Resident at Lucknow.

* They are here placed in italics over the original words.



No. XLV.

*The Earl of Mornington to the Secret Committee of the Honourable Court
of Directors.*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort William, 28th Nov. 1799.

I. According to the latest accounts dated on the 2nd of November, the affairs of Mysore were in the most favourable condition. The whole of the country (including Sondah and the rest of the reserved territory, now about to be divided between the Company and the Nizam) having been completely settled, with the exception of the inconsiderable possessions of the Polygar of Bullam, against whom a small detachment had been sent, the army in Mysore was on the eve of being distributed in garrisons and cantonments.

Under the disadvantages resulting from the recent military operations throughout the country, Purneah had discharged the first monthly kist of the subsidy stipulated by the late treaty of Seringapatam, namely, that for the month of July, and had announced his intention of soon paying the kists for August and September.

I have very great satisfaction in informing your honourable Committee that the measures which I concerted with Lord Clive, previously to my departure from Fort St. George, for the purpose of reducing the southern Polygars to order and legal government have been executed with the greatest ability and success by Major Bannerman, and that the military power of that refractory race of people is now completely extinct.

The settlement of Tanjore has been arranged with the same happy success. Previously to my departure from Fort St. George, with Lord Clive's assistance, I framed the outlines of a new treaty between the Rajah and the Company vesting the entire and exclusive administration, civil and military, of that country in the Company's government. This treaty* was ratified by me in council on the 26th instant.

II. The affairs of Oude have occupied a considerable share of my attention. No probability existing that Zemaun Shah will be able in the course of the present season to renew his

* See Appendix.



hostile attempts against Hindostan, and a conjuncture so favourable coinciding with our successes in Mysore, the most eligible opportunity appeared to be opened for carrying into execution such a reform of the Nabob Vizier's military establishments as should secure us from all future danger on the frontier of Oude, and should enable me to introduce a variety of necessary improvements in the government of that country. With this view it was my intention to establish a considerable augmentation of our troops in Oude without delay, and to induce the Vizier to disband, under certain regulations, a proportional part of his own useless and dangerous force. I had accordingly given orders to the Resident at Lucknow to commence a negotiation with his Excellency for this desirable purpose, and had also directed the movements of several bodies of troops in the provinces to be so arranged as to enable me, before the expiration of the cold season, to increase our force in Oude considerably. Before, however, the Resident at Lucknow could open the proposed negotiation with the Vizier, or had disclosed to him any part of my intended plans, his Excellency, of his own accord, made a proposition to the Resident which necessarily supersedes every other arrangement.

III. For several months past his Excellency had intimated to the Resident from time to time an earnest desire to communicate to me an improved system for the government of Oude. But whenever the Resident had pressed his Excellency for a more full explanation of the nature of the proposed arrangement in order that it might be transmitted to me, his Excellency had evaded the discussion with evident symptoms of agitation of mind. At length on the 12th of November, at an interview which his Excellency had himself desired (and it is important again to remark that at this period no proposition had reached his Excellency from the Resident or from me with relation to the increase of the force in Oude), his Excellency signified an anxious desire and a fixed determination to abdicate altogether the government of Oude, and requested the Resident to draw, for the purpose of being forwarded to me, the enclosed paper which I received last night.*

* See p. 153.



IV. His Excellency appears to have adopted the resolution of abdicating the government upon the maturest deliberation. Your honourable Committee will observe that his Excellency declares this resolution to have originated in the reciprocal aversion subsisting between himself and his subjects (an aversion, which, on his part, he declares to have grown into absolute disgust), and in his sense of his own incompetency from various other considerations, to administer the government either with satisfaction to himself or advantage to his people. But although such considerations may in some degree have influenced his Excellency's determination, I am inclined to believe that the principal causes are to be traced in the timidity and the avarice of his disposition; for it is proper to apprise your honourable Committee that he has intimated an expectation of being permitted to retire with the treasures which he may have amassed.

V. Your honourable Committee will remark that the Resident has used several arguments, but without effect, to dissuade his Excellency from the proposed abdication. If therefore his Excellency should ultimately persevere in this declared intention, it must be deemed entirely and absolutely his own voluntary act.

VI. Whatever may have been the motives, or whatever shall be the ultimate decision of his Excellency on this occasion, it is my intention to profit by the event to the utmost practicable extent; and I entertain a confident hope of being able either to establish, with the consent of the Vizier, the sole and exclusive authority of the Company within the province of Oude and its dependencies, or at least to place our interests in that quarter on an improved and durable foundation.

VII. It occurs to me to be necessary to add in explanation of the close of the third paragraph of this letter, that although the necessity of a reform of the Vizier's military establishments had been for a considerable time under discussion between his Excellency and me, and had even been fully admitted by his Excellency, no detailed measures with a view to the execution of such a plan had yet been suggested, nor had my intention of immediately augmenting our force in Oude been communicated to his Excellency when he opened his mind to the Resident at Lucknow.

I have the honour to be, &c.

MORNINGTON.



THE RIGHT HON. LORD CLIVE.

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No. XLVI.

The Earl of Mornington to the Right Honourable Lord Clive.

MY LORD,

Fort William, 12th Dec. 1799.

This letter will be presented to your Lordship by a prelate of the Armenian Church, the Archbishop and Nuncio of Mount Ararat.

He arrived here lately from Armenia, in his progress to visit the different Armenian churches in India, a septennial visitation of which takes place, as I understand, under the direction of the Chief Patriarch of the Armenian Church. I received the Archbishop of Ararat at my levee soon after his arrival here; on this occasion he presented to me an address, subscribed by himself and another Armenian divine (the Nuncio of Jerusalem) congratulating me on the happy termination of the late war with Tippoo Sultaun.

As the Archbishop now proceeds in the discharge of his mission, to Fort St. George, I beg leave to recommend him to your Lordship's countenance and attention during his residence at the seat of your government.

I have the honour to be, &c.

MORNINGTON.

No. XLVII.

Lt.-Col. Wm. Kirkpatrick to Lt.-Col. William Scott, Resident at Lucknow.

SIR,

Fort William, 16th Dec. 1799.

I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor-General to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to his Lordship, dated the 22nd of November,* containing a paper communicated by you to his Lordship in pursuance of the earnest injunction of the Vizier.

I have the honour to enclose an answer from his Lordship to that paper, together with a translation of the same in Persian.

* See page 152.



LIEUT.-COLONEL WM. KIRKPATRICK, TO

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His Lordship is pleased to authorize you to make such alterations in this paper (adhering to its general spirit and tenor) previously to the communication of it to the Vizier, as circumstances not at present in the knowledge of his Lordship may suggest to you to be necessary or advisable. You are even empowered not to deliver the paper to his Excellency if, previously to your receipt of it, his Excellency should either have actually acquiesced in the general tenor of the treaty forwarded to you on the 22nd ultimo, or have indicated a disposition to do so; and you should have any reason to apprehend that the communication of this paper might have the effect of retarding or of otherwise disturbing the arrangements. His Lordship, however, is inclined to think that the train of reasoning contained in this document is equally calculated (by establishing the reasonableness and necessity of the modification of his Excellency's wishes proposed by his Lordship), to remove any objection which his Excellency may have started to the main principle of the treaty, and to confirm his approbation of it, should he have already acceded to it.

In the event of your communicating to the Vizier the accompanying paper, or the substance of it, you will previously affix to it a copy of the treaty transmitted to you on the 22nd ultimo, with such alterations in the same as you may have thought proper to adopt in consequence of the authority given you for this purpose.

You will perceive that the enclosed answer of the Governor-General to the paper containing the formal annunciation of the Vizier's determination to abdicate the Government is silent on that passage of the letter which relates to the maintenance of his Excellency's name. The reason why his Lordship has not judged it necessary to notice this topic is, that it did not appear to him to have originated with his Excellency, but to have arisen rather out of what had dropped from you in the course of the discussion; a consideration which, joined to the general character of the Vizier, disposes his Lordship to believe that his Excellency may not insist on this point. If, however contrary to the expectation of his Lordship, his Excellency should appear anxious on the subject, his Lordship conceives it will be sufficient to answer,



that as his Excellency's absolute and formal abdication of the government is neither wished for nor approved by his Lordship, and that as his Excellency will not only retain, together with his wealth, all his present distinctive honours and titles, but will also possess the power of transmitting both to his heirs, there can be no more danger of the extinction of his name than attaches equally to every other human establishment.

I am further directed by the Governor-General, to signify to you his Lordship's desire, that you will furnish him as soon as possible, with a detailed report of the causes which appear to you to have led to the recent and unexpected proposition of the Vizier. In reviewing this transaction, his Lordship wishes you to consider and state particularly, whether his Excellency has in any, and in what degree, been influenced on this occasion, by any of the measures adopted by his Lordship with a view to the reform of his Excellency's military establishments.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WM. KIRKPATRICK, Military Secretary.

Minute by the Governor-General.

Fort William, 16th December, 1799.

The Right Honourable the Governor-General having received from the Resident at Lucknow a paper in the Persian language (with a translation of the same in English), prepared by the Resident in conformity to the desire of his Excellency the Nawaub Vizier, and subsequently transmitted to the Governor-General, in consequence of the earnest injunction of his Excellency; and the Governor-General having given the most attentive consideration to the wishes of his Excellency the Nawaub Vizier expressed in that paper, the Resident is hereby commanded to address his Excellency in the name of his Lordship, to the following effect:—

His Lordship is fully apprised of the various difficulties which obstruct the due administration of the Government of Oude in his Excellency's hands, as well as of the nature of those secret causes which disturb the tranquillity of his mind. The Governor-General entirely concurring in the truth of his Excellency's voluntary and candid declaration, that the adverse disposition, enmity and disobedience of his people, added to the negligence of his ministers, render it impossible for his Excellency to conduct the affairs of his Government, either with ease to himself or advantage to his subjects.

The Governor-General has observed, with the most anxious concern, the inveterate abuses which have disgraced every branch of the Civil Government of Oude, perverted the administration of justice, impaired the sources of revenue, industry, and commerce, and destroyed the foundations of



public prosperity and individual happiness in that fertile, but declining country. His Lordship has also lamented the unequivocal symptoms which have occurred within his own knowledge, of the disorderly and mutinous spirit of his Excellency's army; of the refractory temper of a great proportion of his people, and of the general disaffection unhappily prevailing towards his Excellency's person and Government. The pressure of these calamities has been much aggravated, in his Lordship's judgment, by his certain conviction of the utter insufficiency of any instruments or means which his Excellency's own service or resources can furnish, to repress evils of such magnitude, violence, and power. His Lordship, therefore, has always been satisfied that the direct aid and interposition of the Company's Government, strengthened by the liberal confidence and cordial cooperation of his Excellency, were indispensably necessary to restore the welfare of his people, the dignity of his Government, the security of his person and dominions, and the repose of his mind.

Under these impressions, his Lordship represented to his Excellency the urgent necessity of a speedy reform in his Excellency's military establishments, as a measure preliminary to the introduction of any possible improvements in other branches of the Government, and absolutely requisite for the immediate protection of his Excellency's person and dominions against domestic treason or foreign invasion.

His Excellency has repeatedly declared the proposed reform to be indispensably necessary to the accomplishment of the salutary purposes already enumerated, and in the same spirit of candour and justice has acknowledged this important measure to be impracticable without the aid and interposition of the British Government, employed to invigorate his Excellency's authority, and to confirm his power.

The Nawaub Vizier's abdication of the Government was never in the Governor-General's contemplation, nor has his Lordship ever deemed such a step to be necessary, with a view either to the reform of the army or of the Government of Oude. The resolution which his Excellency has signified, is therefore entirely novel to his Lordship's mind, which had never formed any other view than to conciliate his Excellency's entire confidence in the power and wisdom of the Company, and his cordial acceptance of their assistance in correcting the abuses of which his Excellency has complained, and in improving the administration of his affairs.

The resolution to make an absolute and formal abdication of the Government having, however, originated in his Excellency's mind, and being the result of his own free will and mature deliberation, grounded on incontestible facts, and maintained by arguments of considerable force, the Governor-General will distinctly state for the Nawaub Vizier's consideration, such modifications of his Excellency's original resolution as appear to his Lordship calculated to secure the just object which it is designed to accomplish, and the extensive interests which it involves.

The Governor-General, however, must declare, without reserve, that he considers the formal abdication of the Nawaub Vizier, in the manner proposed by his Excellency, to be utterly incompatible with his Excellency's proposed objects, as well as with the security of every interest connected with the prosperity of Oude.

In considering the arguments on which his Lordship's objections are founded, it is necessary to state the nature and effect of his Excellency's abdication according to the terms of his own proposition.

The nature of the Nawaub Vizier's proposition is, that he should relinquish the Government altogether, quit Lucknow, and abstain from all interference in the concerns of the country, that the Governor-General should nominate one of his Excellency's sons to succeed to the Musnud, and to be placed on it by his Excellency's own hands; that his Excellency should retire with possessions, which he states to be sufficient for his necessary expenses; and finally, that the Governor-General should establish a provision for the expenses of his Excellency's sons and of the other branches of his family.

Whatever latitude the practice and laws of Hindostan may admit with regard to questions of succession to sovereign power, the Governor-General is decidedly of opinion, that in the event of his Excellency's abdication, no reasonable ground would exist for the exclusion of his Excellency's eldest son. His Excellency's abdication, therefore, on the terms proposed, must be accompanied by the immediate accession of his Excellency's eldest son to the Musnud.

Under whatever terms or arrangements a successor might be placed on the Musnud, he must retain all the necessary responsibility and state of that elevated situation, and must be rendered accountable for all the public debts, and for all the arrears of the civil and military establishments. The discharge of these demands, and the provision to be made for the unavoidable expenses of the Nawaub Ghauzee u deen Hyder Khaun would necessarily diminish those funds which the Nawaub Saadut Ali Khaun probably proposes to reserve entire for his own separate use. His Excellency the Nawaub Saadut Ali cannot reasonably expect that those treasures which now form a part of his Excellency's means of fulfilling his public engagements, and consequently a part of the Company's security can be absolutely alienated from the Musnud of Oude, and the Nawaub Ghauzee u deen Hyder Khaun subjected to the same engagements as the Nawaub Saadut Ali, with reduced means of fulfilling them.

The Nawaub Saadut Ali, upon his abdication, would therefore deem it just to transfer a large portion of his treasures either to his successor or to the Company, and he would thus necessarily reduce in a proportionate degree the funds allotted for his own private maintenance.

It is for his Excellency's serious consideration, whether the tranquillity of his mind would be restored by the establishment of his eldest son in a situation which might produce a relaxation of filial duties, affections, and obligations, and might excite sentiments of distrust and jealousy, if not of animosity and aversion.

The Governor-General is persuaded that after his Excellency the Nawaub Saadut Ali had actually abdicated the Government, his Excellency would neither feel nor express any desire to resume sovereign authority, or to contend with the exalted dignity and power transferred to the hands of the Nawaub Ghauzee u deen Hyder Khaun. But the history of the world has proved that few princes have possessed the fortitude to remain



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content in retirement after the abdication of sovereign power; and the Nawaub Ghanzee u deen Hyder Khaun, adverting to historical examples, and to the uniform experience of former ages, would always apprehend the possibility of a change in the Nawaub Saadut Ali's resolution, and would perpetually anticipate the revival of the spirit of ambition, of the desire of empire, grandeur, and honour, the natural passions of great and noble minds. Such apprehensions and jealousies in the mind of his Excellency's successor might produce the most fatal attempts against his Excellency's repose, and even against his personal safety.

His Excellency states it to be his intention to quit Lucknow after his proposed abdication, but does not expressly signify whether the place of his residence would be fixed within the dominions of the Nawaub Ghanzee u deen Hyder Khaun, or of the Company. If his Excellency, deprived of power, should remain in Oude, the disquietudes and dangers of his situation would be greatly multiplied in number, and aggravated in effect. He would be surrounded by solicitude and alarm, and menaced not only by the jealousy of his successor, but by the enmity of all those among his Excellency's former subjects, who may now be discontented with his Excellency's Government, or disaffected towards his person.

Even if it were possible, in point of justice, that his Excellency should abdicate, reserving to himself the sole property in his entire treasure, and should be settled in Oude, under the government of the Nawaub Ghanzee u deen Hyder Khaun, with such an immense mass of wealth, it is evident that his Excellency's peril would be increased in proportion to the magnitude of his treasure; nor would the Company engage to protect his Excellency's property, or his personal safety, within the territories of Oude, under the government of his Excellency's successor.

His Excellency's danger would certainly be less within the Company's provinces, but it would be too sanguine an expectation to suppose that anxiety and danger would not reach his retreat even in that situation, while the Musnud of Oude should be occupied by a successor suspicious of his Excellency's intentions, and jealous of his wealth.

On the whole, therefore, it would be contrary to every principle of justice and good faith, that his Excellency should abdicate with this treasure, leaving his successor with reduced means to satisfy engagements contracted by his Excellency himself, and leaving the Company with a diminished security, and an increased charge to provide for the defence of the country, and for the maintenance of his Excellency's numerous family.

Even this arrangement would expose his Excellency to perpetual hazard and vexation in his retirement.

His Excellency, however, being incapable of insisting on any proposition, of which the injustice towards his successor and the Company is manifest, no alternative would be left but to encroach on the funds destined for his private maintenance, and thus his abdication, accompanied by the accession of one of his sons, would at once reduce his Excellency's income, and aggravate the solicitude of his mind.

Such are the objections to his Excellency's abdication in the manner proposed by himself, as far as they relate to his individual comfort and

personal ease. The Governor-General, however, is satisfied that his Excellency would readily sacrifice these considerations to the advantage of his subjects; and if the surrender of a large portion of the funds requisite for his Excellency's private maintenance, if the degradation of his dignity, the exposure of his person to danger, and of his mind to perpetual agitation and alarm, could secure a wise and just administration of the Government of Oude, or could restore the happiness of the people, the Governor-General would applaud his Excellency's benevolent determination to incur the pressure of such accumulated sufferings for the public good; but his Lordship is satisfied that the Nawab Saadut Ali's abdication, accompanied by the accession of one of his sons, would be as injurious to the interests of the people of Oude, as to those of the Nawab Saadut Ali himself.

The same wisdom and penetration which have opened to his Excellency's view the real nature of the embarrassments in which he is involved, and convinced him of his inability to extricate himself by his own exertions, will equally satisfy him, that evils of such magnitude and inveteracy cannot be remedied otherwise than by the gradual and regular operation of a system of administration founded on principles of substantial justice and of true policy, and enforced by all the power and energy of the British Government.

It must be obvious to his Excellency that the immediate accession of his eldest, or of any of his sons, to the Musnud, would be altogether incompatible with the establishment of such a system. What rational hope could be entertained that any of these young princes would be competent to the correction of those evils which his Excellency himself, aided by all his knowledge and experience of public affairs, has confessed, himself, unable to remedy.

Under the administration of a successor, destitute of his Excellency's experience and knowledge, all the existing evils in the state and condition of the country of Oude would, of necessity, be augmented, and with the rapid increase of every abuse in the Civil and Military Government, the danger of the country from foreign enemies, and the domestic misery of the inhabitants, would be aggravated in an equal proportion.

Long and severe experience has manifested the inefficacy of any partial or indirect interference of the British Government for the reform of the administration of Oude. The same causes which have hitherto frustrated every endeavour of the Company's Government to accomplish that salutary object by the mere effect of advice and admonition, would continue to operate under every divided Government. No beneficial result can be expected from the utmost efforts of the wisdom and justice of the Company whilst another power shall exist in the country to exclude the introduction of every salutary reform, or to counteract its operation.

If a wise system of administration could be established and enforced under a divided authority, his Excellency must be sensible that his own government afforded the most favourable prospects to the Company; the Governor-General confidently expected to find in his Excellency the Nawab Saadut Ali whatever the personal character of the Sovereign of Oude could supply to counteract the inherent defects in the frame of the Government. The sense entertained by his Excellency of his own diffi-

culities and the unreserved communication which he has made of their causes, afford the strongest pledges of his sincere disposition to effect a substantial reform. If with these inclinations on the part of his Excellency, and with the anxiety of the British Government for the establishment of a just and efficient system of administration throughout the country of Oude, both parties now despair of accomplishing their common views under the present constitution of the Government what prospect can remain of such improvement under a successor whose youth and inexperience might not only render him insensible to the present system of abuse, but might expose him to the evil influence of every person interested in its perpetuation? If, therefore, the Nawaub Vizier should be disposed to relinquish a large portion of his treasure for the purpose of substituting one of his sons on the Musnud, the Governor-General must object to such an arrangement; because he is convinced that, under such a successor, the present abusive system of Government would become absolutely incorrigible, and the inhabitants of Oude would be exposed to the utmost extremity of distress.

But let his Excellency seriously reflect on the situation of his successor, deprived of the treasures of the State, and possessing no other resource than the current collections from the country to provide for the arrears of the civil and military establishments, for the sums due to the native public creditors, and for the necessary expenses of the Government. The Governor-General is persuaded that his Excellency will acknowledge the necessary operation of such an arrangement on the condition of the people. Their sufferings must accumulate in proportion to the embarrassments of the Prince on the Musnud; and the result must inevitably be a state of general confusion, and ultimately of desolation and despair.

With regard to the interests of the Company, they are inseparably connected with the safety of his Excellency, and with the prosperity of Oude; every objection, therefore, to his Excellency's abdication affecting either of these important objects, must be considered to apply with equal force to the security and honour of the British Government. But his Excellency's proposition involves the immediate interest of the Company directly, and in the most serious and important articles of its military resources, and of the protection and defence of its own dominions.

His Excellency was placed on the Musnud by the justice of the British Government, and has been maintained in that high situation by the British Power; and he is bound towards the Company by certain public engagements, the just performance of which it is equally the duty of his Excellency and of the Governor-General to secure. Since his Excellency's accession he has been enabled to make a considerable addition to his treasure, while the arrears of certain branches of the public establishments have increased, and no provision has been made for their discharge. Under these circumstances, his Excellency's retirement from the Government in favour of any other successor than the Company would indeed exonerate his Excellency from his engagements under the late treaty; and (on the conditions stated by his Excellency) would leave him in possession of whatever public treasure has devolved to him by the removal of Vizier



He has since been accumulated by himself, under the protection of the Company. But the embarrassments of the state of Oude and of the Company would be augmented in the same proportion in which his Excellency would be relieved. His Excellency's successor would be left in a situation of the utmost distress, with resources utterly inadequate to the present payment of the subsidy; while the security of the Company for the future payment of that demand would be shaken to the foundation by the desperate state of the country. The Governor-General has already adverted to this argument in preceding passages of this paper; but the particular obligations of the arduous trust reposed by the Company in his own person compel his Lordship to declare that, on this ground alone, (if no other objection had existed) he should have deemed himself compelled by his duty towards his country, and towards the English Company, to discontinue and even to oppose the retirement of his Excellency from the Government of Oude, on the conditions of his appropriating a share of the public treasure to his own use, and of his leaving at the same time a successor on the Musnud, bound by the treaty which his Excellency concluded with Sir John Shore, but deprived by his Excellency of the power of executing its stipulations.

His Lordship also declares his opinion, that the interests of the Company would be directly injured by a transfer of the Musnud of Oude (even if accompanied by a transfer of the whole treasure) to one of his Excellency's sons, because none of those young Princes can be so well qualified as his Excellency to discharge either the duties of alliance and friendship towards the Company or those of protection towards the people of Oude.

Having thus enumerated the obstacles which preclude the Governor-General's acquiescence in the Nawaub Vizier's proposition as communicated by his Excellency's command, his Lordship submits to his Excellency's consideration in the annexed draft of a treaty, an arrangement which appears calculated to reconcile his Excellency's desire of retiring from the Government of Oude with the principles of national justice, sound policy, and public faith, as well as with those of personal dignity, security, and honour.

The Governor-General adheres to the judgment which he originally formed respecting the Government of Oude, retaining a firm conviction that it can never be administered with ease to his Excellency, or with advantage to his subjects, without the direct introduction of the British power; and his Lordship also continues of opinion, that his Excellency may be enabled to invigorate and amend the administration of the Government of Oude, and also to secure for himself a safe and dignified retreat from the cares and dangers of his present situation without proceeding to the extremity of a formal abdication of the Musnud.

The Governor-General, however, is willing to accede to the Nawaub Vizier's desire of retiring from Lucknow, and his Excellency may rely on the most anxious exertions of the British Government to afford him every demonstration of respect and attachment wherever he may fix the place of his retirement. It must be evident to the wisdom of the Nawaub Vizier that the evil dispositions, enmity, and disobedience, of which his Excel-



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lency now complains, as well as those causes which have withdrawn his mind from the Government of Oude, and disgusted him with his present situation, must ever expose his residence in any part of Oude to disquietude and disturbance. His Lordship, therefore, strongly recommends, that his Excellency should fix the seat of his future residence within the Company's dominions.

His Excellency appears to be fully convinced not only that it will ever be impossible to apply an effectual remedy to any of the evils existing in the state of Oude, while a divided authority shall be exercised in the country, but that no other power than the British Government is competent to exercise a single and individual authority over that extensive empire for the beneficial purposes of restoring public order, internal tranquillity, and external strength.

The Governor-General, therefore, advises the Nawaub Vizier to vest the exclusive administration of the civil and military Government of Oude and its dependencies in the hands of the Company, with such ample powers as shall enable the Company to act with vigour and promptitude in every branch and department of the State.

The Nawaub Vizier is well apprized that no temporary power can be efficient. Instability in the constitution of a Government is the source of languor and weakness in all its operations. The subjects of a temporary Government are perpetually agitated by the expectation of change; and the Government itself cannot establish any systematic or comprehensive plan of administration. In such a state, mutual doubt and uncertainty destroy that confidence which forms the most solid foundation of the reciprocal duties of allegiance and protection between the people and the governing power.

The Nawaub Vizier, by his own voluntary declarations, and by the extraordinary communication which he has directed to be made to the Governor-General, has imposed on his Lordship a solemn duty of the utmost delicacy, but of the most comprehensive extent; affecting the dearest and most valuable interests of a great Empire, not merely for the present moment, but to the most remote period of time; and touching the honour of the British name, as long as that name shall be commemorated among mankind. This duty is to be discharged with respect towards his Excellency, but with a freedom proportioned to the importance and solemnity of the occasion. With these sentiments, in replying to the Nawaub Vizier's communication, his Lordship conceives himself to be bound to consult the permanent and perpetual interests of the inhabitants of Oude in the establishment of a just and wise system of government, on such solid foundations as shall assure its continuance, by the best securities which the nature of circumstances can afford in this quarter of the globe.

The Governor-General, therefore, strongly recommends that the powers to be vested by the Nawaub Vizier in the Company shall be perpetual in duration, as well as ample in extent; and his Lordship, in the name of the English Company, hereby declares, that he will not accept the administration of the Government of Oude under a limited or temporary com-



mission; because such a commission would only serve to delude the Nawaub Vizier, his subjects, and the Company, by vain expectations of a reform, which could neither be effectual nor permanent.

With these preliminary observations, the Governor-General requests the attention of the Nawaub Vizier to the articles of the annexed draft of a treaty, which his Lordship trusts will be found to contain the most liberal provision for his Excellency and his family, as well as the most salutary arrangement for the Government of Oude.

If his Excellency should be pleased to conclude a treaty on the basis of the annexed draft, Lieutenant-Colonel Scott is furnished with full powers for the purpose. The Nawaub Vizier's retirement from Lucknow may be accomplished at any period of time most convenient to him, without any formality offensive to the honour or dignity of his Excellency; and as it has been generally understood that the Governor-General's public duties may detain his Lordship for some time to come within the Company's provinces, his Excellency might retire from Lucknow at a proper season for the ostensible purpose of meeting his Lordship either at Benares, or at any place to be appointed in Bahar or Bengal. In the mean while his Excellency must be sensible that every consideration of his own security and interests, as well as of the peace of Oude requires, that no part of this important transaction should transpire until the necessary arrangements shall be sufficiently mature to admit of its final disclosure.

With this view the Governor-General trusts that the Nawaub Vizier will afford every facility towards the augmentation of the British force in Oude, as well as to its distribution, in such manner as the Resident shall recommend.

The Nawaub Vizier will consider the contents of this paper to be derived exclusively from his Excellency's own unsolicited and unsuggested proposition, as signified to the Resident on the 12th of November, 1799.

If his Excellency's wisdom should dispose him to decline any arrangement founded on the annexed draft of a treaty, the Governor-General most earnestly and anxiously solicits his Excellency to advert, with all practicable despatch, to the indispensable necessity of adopting effectual measures for the reform of his military establishments previous to the conclusion of the present favourable season. His Lordship relies on the Nawaub Vizier's repeated assurances, that this most urgent and important object will neither be frustrated nor delayed.

MORNINGTON.



LIEUT.-GENERAL STUART, TO

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No. XLVIII.

The Vizier of Oude to the Earl of Mornington.

Received at Fort William, 21st December, 1799.

I have just now understood from a letter received by Colonel Scott from Colonel Collins, that Rajah Pertaub Sing, of Jyepore, having secured the assassin, Vizier Ali, had delivered him up to Colonel Collins, and that officer was proceeding with him in safe custody to this quarter; intimation of which pleasing intelligence afforded me the sincerest joy and satisfaction. This event must be attributed to the wisdom and prudence of the Company's Government, and to the fear entertained of their power and influence, and will doubtless be an example and disappointment to the enemies of the two states. May the just and righteous God ever in this manner abandon and punish the enemies of our respective governments, and may he prosper to all friends, this grateful intelligence.

I hope from your Lordship's kindness, that, deeming me desirous of receiving the pleasing accounts of your Lordship's health, you will continue to gratify me with letters until I may have the pleasure of a personal intercourse with your Lordship.

A true Translation,
N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. XLIX.

Lieutenant-General Stuart to the Earl of Mornington.

MY LORD,

Head Quarters, Bombay, 21st December, 1799.

As the returning ships of the season are preparing to leave this port, I cannot think of quitting India without conveying to your Lordship my grateful acknowledgments for the numerous instances of attention with which you have been pleased to honour me, and to express my unfeigned sentiments of veneration for your eminent character. The full establishment of the British Empire in India has been accomplished



under your Lordship's administration. By the energy and wisdom of your councils, the English arms have been directed to the most decisive and resplendent conquest that has been achieved in any age. But a discerning mind, my Lord, will not fail to respect the moral goodness of your Government, and to distinguish on a scale, even superior to victory, the uniform exercise of authority for virtuous purposes.

I shall not engage your Lordship's time further, at present, than to inform you that I have taken my passage on the *Woodford*, and expect, finally, to sail from the coast of Malabar in the first week of February. It will afford me infinite satisfaction to receive any commands that you may have for England previous to my departure; and although I cannot flatter myself of being of any service to you in that country, I beg you to accept of my fervent wishes for the continued prosperity of your Lordship's administration of these invaluable possessions,—and I have the honour to remain, with perfect respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful, obliged,
and devoted servant,

J. STUART.

No. L.

The Honourable P. Speke, Member of Council, to the Earl of Mornington.

MY LORD,

1st January, 1800.

Nothing can be so cordially grateful to me, as any mark of your Lordship's favour. A seal of Tippoo Sultaun's the gift of your Lordship, is indeed a most auspicious commencement of the new year. May it bring your Lordship, if it is possible, an increase of glory. No length of time can ever weaken in the slightest degree, my sensations at the prodigies we have seen in the East in the year 1799, or my admiration of the talents and great qualities that could give them in so short a space, both birth and maturity.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Your Lordship's highly honoured
and most faithful Servant,

P. SPEKE.



LIEUT.-GENERAL HARRIS.

CSL
Jan.

No. LI.

The Honourable William Cowper, Member of Council, to the Earl of Mornington.

MY LORD,

Calcutta, January, 1st, 1800.

I am highly honoured and gratified by the receipt of your Lordship's note, and the seal which accompanied it. I will ever keep it in memory of the great and glorious events of this past year, and allow me, my Lord, to add, that I shall never look upon it without emotions of grateful respect and attachment for the noble donor.

I have the honour to subscribe myself, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful and devoted Servant,

WILLIAM COWPER.

No. LII.

(Military Department.)

Fort William, January 11th, 1800.

Minute by the Governor General,

I think it proper to record the annexed papers for the information of the members of the Council, and of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

To the Earl of Mornington, K.P. &c. &c.

MY LORD,

Madras, November 12th 1799.

The army which by your Lordship's directions, proceeded to the capital of the late Tippoo Sultaun, and achieved the conquest of Mysore, resolved upon the plains of Seringapatam, to request your Lordship's acceptance of a star and badge of the order of St. Patrick, made from the jewels of the Sultaun, as a mark of their high respect.

In the name, and by the desire of that army, I have now the honour to present your Lordship with the star and badge.

In performing this pleasing duty, I am proud to feel and to acknowledge, that the splendid success of the late campaign must, under divine Providence, be in justice referred to the instructive wisdom and characteristic energy of your Lordship's councils. Those councils have formed a memorable



era in the history of India. From their effects the Company has gained a new source of increasing prosperity, and in their operation the wide spread interests of the British empire in the East, being consolidated and raised on a firm and durable basis, have attained an eminence of elevation and security hitherto unknown.

The glory of having been made by your Lordship instrumental to the acquirement of some of these inestimable advantages, excites in my mind feelings of satisfaction and gratitude, which no language can adequately convey.

A copy of the letter to me from Major-General Floyd, President of the Prize Committee, I have the honour to enclose.*

I remain with the highest respect,

Your Lordship's

very faithful and devoted humble Servant,

GEORGE HARRIS,

Lieut.-General and Commander-in-Chief
of his Majesty's and the Honourable Com-
pany's Forces, on the coasts of Coromandel
and Malabar.

* Enclosure.

To Lieut.-General Harris, Commander-in-Chief, &c.

SIR,

Choultry Plain, November 9th 1799.

The army, that under your command achieved the conquest of the empire of the late Tippoo Sultaun, in the spring of this year, being anxious to offer the Earl of Mornington, K.P. Governor-General, whose wisdom prepared and directed that event, some marks of its high esteem, has caused a star and badge of the order of St. Patrick to be prepared, in which as many of the jewels as could be found suitable, were taken from the treasury of Tippoo.

I have now the pleasure of sending you the same, in a gold box and a wooden case.

I have the honour to request you will be pleased to present the star and badge to the Earl of Mornington, in the name of the army, as a mark of its respect.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, and most humble Servant,

J. FLOYD, M.G. President Prize Committee.



THE EARL OF MORNINGTON, TO

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To his Excellency Lieut.-General Harris, Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's and the Honourable Company's Forces, on the Coasts of Coromandel and Malabar.

SIR,

Fort William, January 7th, 1800.

Any mark of the respect of that gallant army, which achieved the conquest of Mysore, must ever be esteemed by me as a distinguished honour.

The resolution now communicated to me by your Excellency, having been adopted by the army in the hour of victory, and on the field of conquest, affords a most satisfactory testimony of their intention to associate my name with the memory of their unexampled triumph.

Under this impression, the sentiments of public zeal and the just sense of honourable ambition, concur to render me sincerely desirous of accepting the gift of the army, and wearing it as an emblem of their glory, and of their good will towards me.

I am satisfied that it never was in the contemplation of the legislature of Great Britain, to prohibit the acceptance of such honorary marks of distinction; but an attentive examination of the laws relating to the Government of the British possessions in India will convince your Excellency, that I could not accept the gift, which you present to me in the name of the army, without violating the letter of existing statutes, and without creating a precedent, which might hereafter become the source of injury to the public service.

I must therefore request your Excellency, in assuring the army of my high estimation of the honour which they design to confer upon me, to signify that my acceptance of it is precluded by the positive letter of the law.*

I return your Excellency my thanks for the obliging expressions of your letter; it is the unfeigned wish of my heart that your Excellency may long enjoy the grateful recollection of your eminent public services; and that you and the unrivalled army employed in the late glorious war, may receive from your king and country every public demonstration of the same sentiments of admiration, gratitude and affectionate respect, which your conduct has excited throughout the British empire in India.

I have the honour to be with the greatest esteem and regard, Sir,

Your Excellency's most faithful Servant,

MORNINGTON.

* The Governor-General in the following letter to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, had previously signified his intention to decline accepting the star.

To the Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors.

DEAR SIR,

Fort St. George, 6th August, 1799.

You will perceive by the public papers, that the army have come to a resolution to present me with a diamond star, as a testimony of their respect.

Although I feel highly gratified at the favourable opinion, which an army so distinguished for their gallantry and exertions entertain of my conduct, I have upon full consideration, determined to decline this mark of honour, and it is my intention to signify to the army, the grounds on which I have formed this decision, whenever the honour intended shall be offered to me.



No. LIII.

The Earl of Mornington, to Lieut.-General Stuart, &c.

SIR,

Fort William, 12th January, 1800.

I have had the honour to receive your several letters, of the dates noted in the margin; the last announcing your intention of embarking for Europe early in the month of February. I lament extremely, that the state of your health should compel you to adopt this measure; and I shall regret with a sincerity proportionate to my high sense of your professional character, the loss which the public service will sustain by your departure from India.

I am much obliged to you for your suggestion relative to those islands of the Lacadives and Maldives, which formed part of the dominions of the late Tippoo Sultaun; and I propose hereafter to give the necessary directions on that subject. These possessions certainly depended either on Malabar or on Canara; and in either case, the sovereignty of them has devolved on the Company. Whether it may be expedient to take formal possession of them, is a question for future consideration.

I request you will convey my thanks to Captain Walker, for the supplementary memoir on Malabar, enclosed in your letter of the 2nd November. I have received great satisfaction from his several able communications on that subject, and I entertain so high a sense of his talents, integrity, knowledge, and general character, that after your departure from India, it would be very satisfactory to me, if I could induce him to enter into my family. Having however, no situation to offer him but that of aid-de-camp, I fear his interests might suffer by the arrangement. My intention is to endeavour to select at all times, from the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, officers of high character, qualified to give me information with regard to the local details of each Presidency. I found the greatest advantage under this plan, in the assistance of Major Beatson previously to the late war; and I am satis-

At present, the intention of the army has only appeared in the resolution of their Prize Committee. I trust that you and the Court of Directors will approve my conduct in this respect.

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

MORNINGTON.



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THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL, TO

Jan.

fied that Captain Walker's services might be employed with great public benefit in my family.

You carry with you to Europe my most cordial good wishes and sincere regret for your departure; if my anxious and repeated recommendation can have any effect, you will meet with the just reward of your eminent services upon your return to your native country; it will give me great satisfaction to learn that justice has been done to my wishes, and to your merits.

Believe me with great respect and esteem, Sir,

Your most faithful and obliged Servant,

MORNINGTON.

No. LIV.

The Governor General in Council to the Honourable Court of Directors.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

Fort William, 18th January, 1800.

In conformity to the intention expressed in our letter of the 31st ultimo from this department, we shall now enter into a detail of the negotiations opened at Poonah, under the direction of the right honourable the Governor-General, in consequence of the treaty of Mysore.

It is necessary, however, to premise that soon after the capture of Seringapatam the Governor-General thought it proper to apprise the Resident at Poonah, that he did not intend to admit the Peishwa to an equal participation with the Company and the Nizam of the advantages resulting from the success which had crowned the efforts of the combined Armies. His Lordship observed, on this occasion, that in strict justice the Peishwa was entitled to no share whatever in these advantages, nor could the Court of Poonah, acting as it had done during the war, found the slightest claim upon the terms of any assurances which had been made to it on the part of the British Government. Considerations of policy would, however, his Lordship remarked, incline him to extend the benefits acquired by the exclusive exertions of the Company and of the Nizam, even to the Peishwa, faithless as his conduct had been. Of the cessions

which on this ground it might be expedient to make to the Mahratta Government, his Lordship could not then state the precise extent, since, in the decision of such a question, much would depend on the behaviour of the Peishwa under the new posture of affairs, and much on the dispositions which he should indicate towards the Nizam.

This communication was made to the Resident, with a view to enable him to regulate his language with regard to any expectations or hopes which he might understand the Peishwa to have formed in consequence of the overthrow of the Government of Mysore.

The Governor-General, at a very early period after the reduction of Seringapatam, conceived the design of accomplishing the whole of the arrangement with the Court of Poonah, sketched out in the instructions of the 8th of July, 1798, to Colonel Palmer by means of the territorial cessions, which it was now in the power of his Lordship to make to the Peishwa. The establishment of a subsidiary British force at Poonah still appeared to his Lordship to be a most desirable measure, although its importance had been much diminished by the conquest of Mysore. But whether a renewal of this proposition, under the actual circumstances, should prove acceptable or not to the Court of Poonah, there were some parts of the original plan of alliance on which his Lordship declared it to be his determination absolutely to insist, as indispensable, preliminaries to any cession of territory whatever to the Peishwa. Such was a complete adjustment under the arbitration of the British Government of every point then at issue between the Courts of Poonah and Hyderabad, as well as an engagement to abide by the arbitration of the Company on all future points of difference which might arise between the Courts. Such also was the perpetual exclusion of the French from the territories and armies of the Peishwa and a defensive alliance against any French invasion of India.

The Resident was subsequently directed by the Governor-General, while the negotiations for the final settlement of Mysore were yet depending to take the first opportunity of assuring the Peishwa of the sincere disposition of the British Government (notwithstanding all that had passed) to cultivate his friendship, and to promote his interests, and to in-



form him that it was intended under certain conditions (the justice and moderation of which were indisputable) to make a considerable cession of territory to him, provided his conduct should not, in the interval, be such as to render all friendly intercourse with him incompatible with the honour of the British government. This reservation was suggested by a suspicion that the Mahratta forces on the southern frontier of that state had been secretly ordered by the Peishwa to enter and take possession of some of the contiguous districts of the conquered country, subsequently to his learning the fall of Seringapatam.

It having become necessary about this time that the army in Mysore should make a movement in the direction of the northern frontiers, the Resident at Poonah was further directed to assure the Peishwa in the most unequivocal terms (for the purpose of removing any impressions of jealousy or fear which that movement might create) that the measure had no other object than to secure the tranquillity and good order of our recent conquests; and that nothing could be more remote from the intentions of the Governor-General, or those of Lieutenant-General Harris (acting under his Lordship's orders) than to offer any degree of violence to the Mahratta territory. The same conciliatory and amicable declarations were directed to be made to Dowlut Rao Scindia.

Your honourable Court will observe that those articles of the Treaty of Mysore relative to the Peishwa, were framed in exact conformity to the intentions of the Governor-General as announced by his Lordship to the Resident at Poonah so early as the 23rd of May.*

That treaty being ratified by the right honourable the Governor-General in Council at Fort St. George on the 26th of June, was transmitted on the same day to the Resident at Hyderabad, who, upon its ratification by his Highness the Nizam, was directed to forward without delay a copy of the same to the Resident at Poonah. Colonel Palmer was instructed immediately on receipt of the treaty, to communicate it to the Peishwa, and to invite him to accede to it. The mode in which it appeared to the Governor-General to be expedient that the Peishwa should accede to the treaty of

* See page 12.



Mysore, being by a separate treaty to be concluded between his Highness and the Company, a draft of such a treaty was transmitted by his Lordship's orders to the Resident.

Colonel Palmer was desired by the Governor-General to suggest any alterations or amendments in this draft which might appear to him advisable; but if no point arose requiring a deviation from the fundamental principles of the proposed treaty, and of his Lordship's instructions, the Resident was directed and empowered to proceed to the completion of such treaty without further reference to the Governor-General.

Although the Governor-General was anxious, if the subsidiary force should be applied for, that it should be made permanent; yet the importance of establishing a British force at Poonah in the actual crisis was such, that his Lordship signified to the Resident, that he was disposed to accede even to a temporary arrangement for that purpose, provided the period was made definite, and not too short. This qualification appeared necessary to his Lordship, because it was obvious that without it the expense of providing the new military force might suddenly become an additional and embarrassing burden upon the finances of the Company.

With a view to obviate, as far as possible, any objection by the Court of Poonah to the article relative to the subsidiary force, on the ground of expence, the Governor-General endeavoured (respecting the Mahratta collections in Surat) to provide the means of relieving the Peishwa, in a considerable degree from the burden of the subsidy. Nor was it improbable that the government of Bombay would be disposed to allow to the Peishwa, by way of commutation for his claims in Surat, a much larger sum than he ever had, or could have derived from that source of revenue. At a subsequent period Colonel Palmer was empowered, as an additional means of facilitating his negotiation, to treat for the cession of Bancoot, or Fort Victoria, to the Peishwa.

The counter propositions of the court of Poonah, founded on those which had been submitted to the Peishwa on the part of the Governor-General, were delivered to Colonel Palmer on the 16th June, and transmitted by him to his Lordship on the following day. Your honourable Court will observe,

that the plea of inability to fulfil its engagements, stated by the Court of Poonah in the 5th article of the Peishwa's propositions is a direct admission that the Mahratta state was not entitled to any share of the conquered territories of Mysore, for whatever might be their inclination, nothing less than an effective co-operation in the field could have been deemed to amount to such a performance of their engagements, as could constitute the foundation of a right to participate in our recent conquests; but even their inclination had been at least equivocal, and by the continued intercourse with the enemy, they had precluded themselves from the benefit of the Resident's declaration, made in the Governor-General's name, under the express condition of their renouncing all such intercourse during the war. Their conduct in the former war could not serve as a plea to justify a totally different behaviour in the late one. It might as well have been contended, that the Nizam should be now punished for his want of zeal in the former war, as that the Mahrattas should now be rewarded for their alacrity at that period.

On these grounds, the Governor-General directed the Resident to explain distinctly to the Peishwa, that his Lordship could not consent to negotiate with him under any admission of his right to an equal, or to any share of the dominions of the late Tippoo Sultaun; and that whatever cessions might be made to him from those territories, must be deemed gratuitous on the part of the Company and of the Nizam, excepting in as far as they should be compensated by correspondent concessions on the part of the Peishwa.

By a letter from the Resident at Poonah, dated the 29th June, the Peishwa's minister did not scruple to express a hope that his Court would be admitted to an equal share of the conquered Territory of Mysore. Such a pretension appeared to the Governor-General the more extravagant and untenable, as his Lordship did not admit even the Nizam's claim to equal partition, for although a share of free territorial revenue, holden in direct sovereignty had been assigned to His Highness the Nizam, equal to that of the same description retained by the Company, yet His Highness's right extended only to a share of the conquests, proportioned to his expence and exertions in the war, and if any advantage



had been given to the Nizam beyond that proportion, it was wholly gratuitous. Under this principle of partition it was obvious that the Peishwa was destitute of every claim; and admitting even that the stipulations of the treaties of Poonah and Paungal applied to the late war, (which they evidently did not, those of the 10th article excepted) the Peishwa would still be excluded from all participation in the conquered territory, by the very terms of the 10th article of the treaty of Poonah, which specify, that the allies respectively shall be entitled to a share of such conquests only as shall be made subsequent to the entrance of their respective armies into the enemy's country.

In addition to the foregoing arguments, with which the Resident at Poonah was furnished by the Governor-General for the purpose of justifying the principles of the treaty of Mysore to the Court of Poonah, his Lordship observed, that if the Peishwa's pretensions to a share of the conquered territory were unfounded, the selection of districts which he had demanded in order to constitute that share, was still more extravagant, both with respect to their value and geographical position.

His Lordship further remarked on this occasion to the Resident at Poonah, that the benefits which accrued to the Mahratta State, from the subversion of Tippoo Sultaun's dominions were of much greater importance than the acquisition of territory. Since it had appeared from the various authentic papers, found in the palace at Seringapatam, some of which were in the Sultaun's own hand writing, that it was his determined resolution, by the aid of the French, to recover from the Mahrattas, as well as the Nizam and the English, the territory which he had been compelled to cede to them at the conclusion of the war in 1792. His Lordship directed this circumstance to be particularly pointed out to the Court of Poonah; observing, that it ought to make a considerable impression on the Peishwa's mind, and convince him how essentially his own security was concerned in uniting cordially with the other allies, to oppose a barrier to the designs of the French. In conclusion, the Governor-General desired it might be represented to the Peishwa, that in the place of a formidable power, hostile to the Mahratta State, from the impulse of bigotry, ambition and revenge, was now substituted



a friendly dominion, under a Prince of the same religion with the Peishwa; and that, together with this eminent advantage, he had it in his power to make a considerable addition to his territorial possessions, by acceding to an arrangement of which the effect would assuredly be the re-establishment of his authority, and the prosperity and security of his government and country.

The conduct of the Court of Poonah in the pending negotiation, although in some respects unreasonable and unsatisfactory, had not hitherto been calculated to extinguish the hopes entertained by the Governor-General, of the Peishwa's ultimate accession to the treaty of Mysore, on the principles and conditions of his Lordship's propositions, which were not now less favourable to the true interests of the Peishwa than in the summer of 1798, when that Prince had manifested an eager desire to treat with the Company on a similar basis. It soon appeared, however, that either the Peishwa had not been sincere in any stage of the negotiation, or that the subjection in which he continued to be held by Scindia (who probably foresaw the destruction of his own usurped power, in the proposed arrangements between the Company and the Court of Poonah) operated to prevent his concurrence in a plan which would not have conduced more to the security of the British interests, and to the general tranquillity of India, than to the re-establishment of the rights and authority of Baajy Row himself.

Your honourable Court will observe with astonishment that the Peishwa is represented by the Resident as expressing a reluctance, not merely to comply with any particular article of the proposed treaty, but to recognize one of its most inseparable principles; namely, that the Mahratta State would not commit any act of aggression against the Rajah of Mysore's territories. This reluctance appeared the more extraordinary to the Governor-General, as the Peishwa had not long before declared a similar engagement with regard to the Nizam to be superfluous, because the Mahratta State was already bound by treaty, *not to commit any aggression against the allies of the Company*. The conduct of the Peishwa in thus avowing a disinclination to comply with the just and reasonable condition referred to, joined to the intimation conveyed by Nana on that occasion (*viz.*, that this reluctance



might be overcome by an increase of the Peishwa's share in the conquered territories) amounted, in the Governor-General's opinion, to an indication of a spirit so hostile to all good understanding, as greatly diminished his Lordship's desire to pursue the negotiation any further. For this reason the Resident was instructed, in the event of the Peishwa's not having acceded to the treaty of Mysore, within the period fixed by the 7th article of that treaty (i. e. by the 19th of August), and of the negotiation having been in consequence broken off, to signify both to Baajy Row and to the Minister, not only the extreme displeasure excited in his Lordship's mind by the last communication from the Court of Poonah, but also the determination of his Lordship not to renew the late discussions between the two Governments, until he should be better satisfied of the sincerity of his Highness's disposition, to cultivate and improve his connection with the British nation.

The Resident was directed to call upon the Peishwa, in the event of his not having acceded to the treaty of Mysore within the limited period, to adopt effectual measures for withdrawing immediately such of his troops as might have entered the territory of Mysore, whether by or without his Highness's authority, to the end that when the Company's forces came to take possession of the reserved districts, destined to compose the Peishwa's share, there might be no danger of any thing occurring of a nature prejudicial to the friendship and good understanding actually subsisting between the two Governments.

Such was the state of the negotiation on the departure of the Governor-General from Fort St. George. On his Lordship's arrival at this Presidency, he received a letter from the Resident at Poonah, by which it manifestly appeared that nothing was further from the intention of the Peishwa than to accede to the treaty of Mysore, on the conditions which had been proposed to him.

In consequence of these advices Colonel Palmer was immediately directed to inform the Peishwa and Nana Furnavese, that we considered all negotiation, on the basis of the Treaty of Mysore, to be concluded; but that, although we deeply regretted his Highness's rejection of an arrangement, which had no other object than the improvement of the friendship



and alliance subsisting between the three States, and which was, at least, as much calculated to promote the interests of the Peishwa as those of the Company and the Nizam; we did not feel any diminution of our amicable disposition towards his Highness.

The Resident was further instructed to apprise the Court of Poonah that, conformably to the stipulations of the treaty of Mysore, the Company's Government would proceed immediately, in concert with his Highness the Nizam, to a division of the reserved territory. Colonel Palmer was at the same time informed that we relied with confidence on the Peishwa's taking effectual means to prevent any of the officers of his Government from attempting to interrupt, in any degree, the execution of this measure, and on his compelling them to respect the rights of the Company and of the Nizam, in their recent acquisitions on the side of the Mahratta frontier, with the same scrupulous attention which was invariably manifested by the Company's Government, in regard to the rights of all its neighbours.

To these communications the Resident was ordered to add a declaration of our confidence, notwithstanding the Peishwa had not thought proper to accede to the treaty of Mysore, that he would perceive the necessity and propriety of causing all his subjects of every description to abstain, with the utmost care, from trespassing in any manner on the territories of the Rajah of Mysore, which the Company were bound to defend against all powers without exception.

Colonel Palmer was in conclusion directed never either to invite or encourage any renewal of the late negotiation, but to reply to every attempt of the nature, that his instructions permitted him merely to transmit to the Governor-General in Council any propositions of that tendency which might be made to him.

Your Honourable Court will perceive, on a reference to the correspondence of the Resident, that the Peishwa throughout the negotiation manifested great anxiety that the objects of it should be carefully concealed from the knowledge of Dowlut Rao Scindiah. You will find likewise that, although the Governor-General had provided, in his plan of a treaty, for the absolute dismissal of all the French in the service of the Peishwa, and was not insensible to the importance of procur-



ing their general expulsion from the Mahratta empire, the Peishwa unexpectedly anticipated his Lordship's wishes in this respect, by spontaneously proposing that all the French then in the service of the Mahratta State should be expelled, and that if obstruction should be offered the two Governments, should concert together the means of removing it. Your Honourable Court will observe, that the Peishwa was particularly solicitous that this part of the negotiation (evidently pointing at the French officers in the service of Scindiah) should not transpire; and that for this purpose his Highness suggested the adoption of extraordinary precautions. Notwithstanding, however, so many appearances of an earnest, and (as it seemed) a prudent desire to keep Scindiah in ignorance of the tenour of the pending treaty; you will find, by the subsequent despatches of Colonel Palmer, that his Highness not only himself revealed the whole transaction to Scindiah, but consulted with that chieftain respecting the conduct proper to be pursued on the occasion. Although, therefore, the Court of Poonah continued to indicate a wish to keep the negotiation open, it was evident, as well from the duplicity of Baajy Rao in this last stage of it, as from various instances of his caprice and exorbitant pretensions during its progress, that no advantage could result to your interests from a longer pursuit of the object under such unfavourable circumstances, and especially while Scindiah maintained an exclusive and despotic sway over the Councils of Poonah. The Governor-General, therefore, finally determined to relinquish the measure for the present, and to await a more propitious conjuncture, and in pursuance of this resolution, his Lordship proceeded to the division of the reserved territory, between the Company and the Nizam.

We shall conclude this account of the late negotiation at Poonah with observing, that its failure has not excited in us any apprehension for the general tranquillity. For while the justice and liberality of our propositions have been so manifest, and our conduct throughout the negotiation so moderate and conciliatory, as to preclude any reasonable ground of complaint on the part of the Court of Poonah, the actual state of the Mahratta empire affords us abundant security against any aggression on the part of that restless and ambitious nation.



The failure of the negotiations is indeed to be attributed to the same causes which leave us without any apprehension of its effects. The Mahratta empire, in its present distracted condition, is in fact rendered incapable of forming or of maintaining any engagement with other States, and the weakness and instability of the Councils of Poonah are become more conspicuous as well as more desperate from the perverse and intractable character of Baajy Rao. In such a posture of affairs, the arguments on which the Governor-General (in his separate letter to your Honourable Court of the 3rd of August, 1799),* rested the policy of a cession of territory to the Peishwa, are no longer applicable to the actual circumstances of the case, and the direct and immediate advantages of territorial acquisition by the Company, under the division of the reserved territory, are unquestionably preferable to any contingent benefit which could be expected from a more intimate connection with the Mahratta empire in its present condition. The Governor-General in Council, however, will anxiously observe any change of circumstances which may favour an improvement of our political relations with the Court of Poonah.

We have the honour to be,

Honourable Sirs,

your most faithful, humble Servants,

MORNINGTON.

ALURED CLARKE.

PETER SPEKE.

WILLIAM COWPER.

No. LV.

Minute by the Governor-General.

Fort William, January 19th, 1800.

The 10th regiment of native infantry having arrived at Cawnpore, after an absence from this Presidency of more than three years and a half, the most noble the Governor-General in Council has great satisfaction in expressing his

* See p. 72.



entire approbation of the exemplary conduct of this distinguished regiment, in the several arduous and important services on which it has been employed in the Peninsula of India during its long absence from these provinces.

His Lordship in Council is happy to bear this public testimony to the merits of the European officers, under whose command this corps has attained so high a state of discipline, regularity, and order; and he entertains a just sense of the fidelity and attachment to the service manifested by the native officers and private soldiers of the regiment throughout the whole period of their laborious duties at Hyderabad, in Mysore, and during their long march from the Deccan to the province of Oude.

The conduct of the artillery and lascars, who have been attached to the regiment during the time of its absence from these provinces, is equally entitled to commendation.

To perpetuate the memory of the services of the 10th regiment, to distinguish the individuals who have served in the corps, and to recommend their laudable example to the emulation of the whole native service, the most noble Governor-General in Council is pleased to order that honorary medals be conferred on all the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and sepoy of the 10th regiment, and also to the lascars belonging to the artillery, which has been attached to that regiment during the time of its absence from these provinces.

MORNINGTON.

No. LVI.

The Governor-General in Council to the Honourable the Court of Directors, for the Affairs of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

HON. SIRS,

Fort William, January 23d, 1800.

Being convinced, on a consideration of the present importance of the British interests in India, that it is highly expedient to establish a regular plan for affording to your Honourable Court, at a stated period annually, a complete and distinct view, in the most compendious form, of the state of the Indian finances, and being satisfied, after much attention to the subject, that it is scarcely possible to devise a