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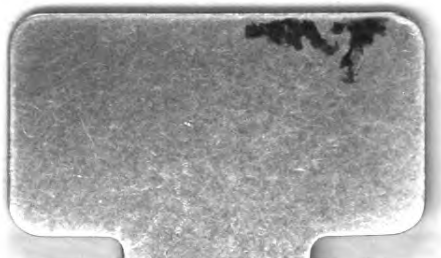
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98 A. 141

98 A. 141



A
L E T T E R
T O T H E
P R O P R I E T O R S

O F
E A S T - I N D I A S T O C K ,

F R O M
M R . H E N R Y V A N S I T T A R T ,

Occasioned by a late
A N O N Y M O U S P A M P H L E T ,

A N D B Y T H E
E a s t - I n d i a O b s e r v e r , N o . V I .

L O N D O N :

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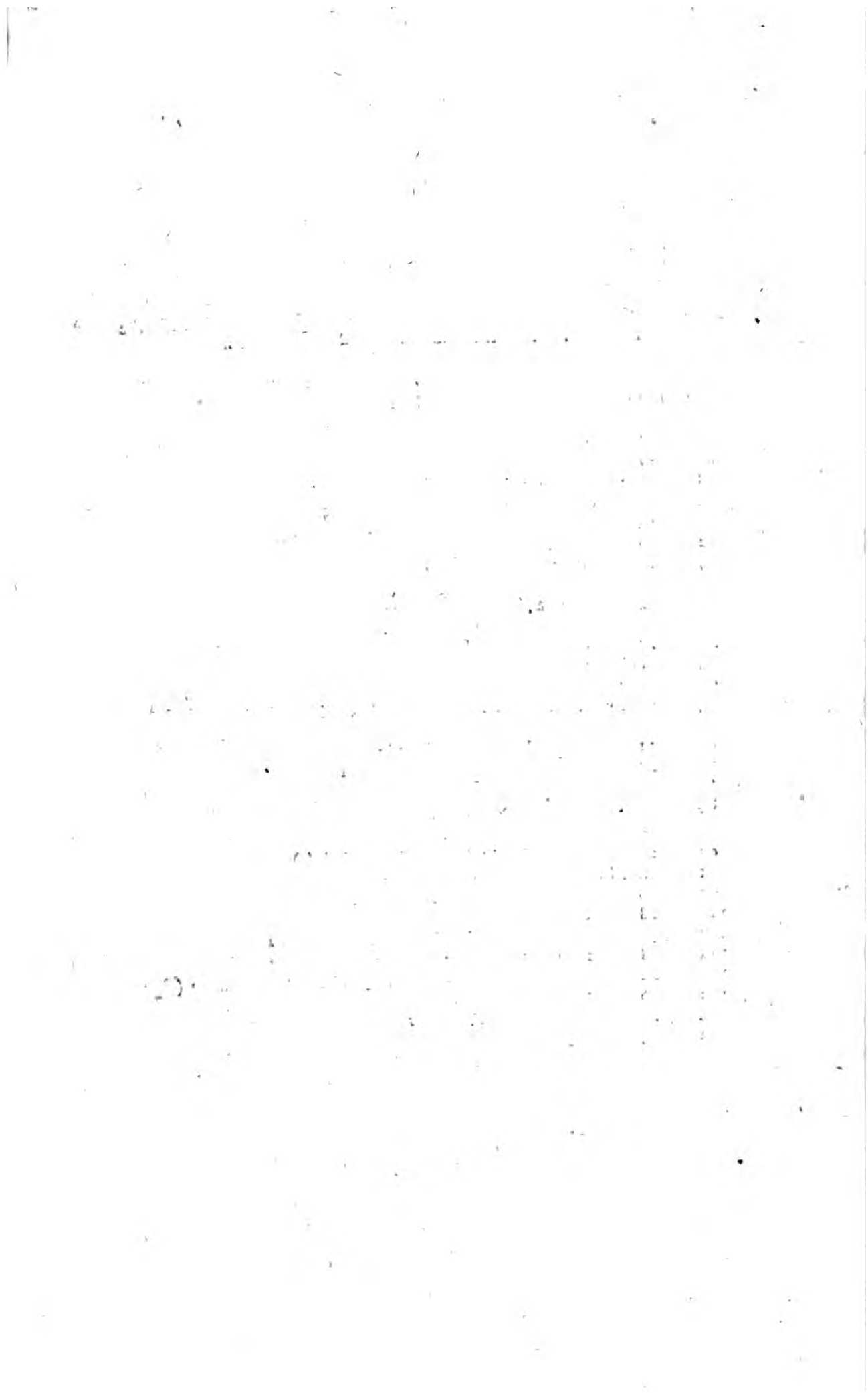
M D C C L X V I I .

98 H 141



Errors of the Prefs, which the Reader is desired to correct with the Pen, as some of them materially change the Sense.

Page	Line	Erase	Insert
85	6	not	
88	5	still	
118	last	before	will insert he
122	2	to Chittagong	at Chittagong
122	14	for Provisions	read Provinces
132	16	came	were
137	14	ever	even
139	13	tho	the
142	2	Emma	Emna
144	24	Emma	Emna
145	17	before how	insert of
156	last	affect	effect
162	first	on	in
164	28	for the Director's own sentiments	read the sentiments of the Directors themselves
169	11	invaded	invade
172	27	desparation	desperation
174	11 & 13	take out the	Parenthesis ()
184	first	after which	insert he said
185	9	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$
191	22	after beloved	take out the period (.)
191	last but one,	for referred	read reserved
193	16	Babe-al-aful	Rebbee-al-awel
110	28	of three	
112	31	after the word	answerable for to read in
113	8	for Company	read Committee
119	22	after the word	comparatively take out the comma (,)
122	26	for leaves	read leads
124	22	for baniers	read barriers
132	15	any	



TO THE
PROPRIETORS
OF
EAST INDIA STOCK,

GENTLEMEN,

IF the Pamphlet, which has lately been handed about, heavily censuring my conduct, whilst I had the charge of your affairs in Bengal, had been the Work of an ordinary hand, I should not have thought it necessary to add any thing to the informations I have already submitted to you, in a Narrative of three volumes; but as the said Pamphlet has for author Mr. Scrafton, a Director, I think myself seriously called upon to give an Answer to the several Articles he has alledged: It is a satisfaction you have a right to expect, and it is a task I undertake out of a pure desire to preserve your good Opinion.

Obliged as I am to the Director for pointing out such particulars of my conduct, as seemed to him to be inconsistent with the true Interest of the Company, I could have wished he had done it in a more manly, candid

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candid

candid and liberal way; that he had communicated his thoughts and discoveries to the rest of the Directors, and that they had been pleased to call upon me for the necessary Explanations, which was an indulgence I desired when I paid my respects to them in Leaden-hall Street upon my first arrival. Or if the Director, for my greater disgrace, chose rather to exhibit his performance to the World at large, still, I say it would have been more generous with respect to me, and more suitable to his own Dignity, if he had published it in the usual manner, instead of sliding it into the hands of many very considerable and respectable Gentlemen, and thus degrading his own ingenious Work into a scandalous Libel, without the name either of Author or Printer.

A Friend of mine helped me to this Pamphlet; and as I was willing to let the Director know I had seen it, I took an opportunity of mentioning it, at the next General Court; and in the presence of a very respectable Assembly of the Proprietors, told the Director, face to face, some anecdotes of his own Conduct, which I shall have occasion to mention again in the course of this Answer, and of the truth of which, being himself conscious, he ought to blush to sit in a Director's Chair, aggravating every measure of severity against the Servants in India.

In resentment for these truths so declared in the face of the Director, The East India
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Observer, No. 6. was published the following Wednesday, containing, as was promised in the Advertisement, some free animadversions on my Conduct. This Paper is signed "*a Friend to the Company*;" but the Author of it will not be found out by that description. It is however both in matter and manner, so very like the Pamphlet before mentioned, that I shall venture to allow it the credit of being written by the same Director, notwithstanding the additional weight this will give to the allegations it contains; at least the Director is the fountain from whence the Observer draws his most valuable secret intelligence; and is the Patron under whose approbation, and perhaps in whose pay he labours. The Pamphlet and the Observer, being therefore so nearly allied, I shall join the relative parts together as I proceed in my Work, and answer them, as one grand Composition of the worthy Director.

The Director very artfully endeavours, both in the Pamphlet and in the Observer, to set lord Clive in the front of his attack, and every motion which I make to defend myself, is construed as a blow aimed at his Lordship: Thus the arguments which I have offered in the Narrative, to shew the insufficiency of the Company's Revenue, at the time of my arrival in Bengal, to pay their Expences; and the absolute necessity of seeking further resources are

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merited

* Anonymous Pamphlet, p. 5.

merited attack on his Lordship." Yet as I am called upon and urged both in the Pamphlet and the Observer to produce further proofs of that necessity, I shall attempt to do it; and if in treating this and other points, which I shall endeavour to clear up to your Satisfaction, I should declare a difference of sentiment from his Lordship, upon any article of the Company's concerns, he will not impute it to any desire in me to publish that difference of sentiment, but to the necessity I am under of speaking in my own defence, owing to the over-heated zeal of the Director, who raises a dispute on purpose to offer himself a willing Champion, to fight in a cause, where his Assistance was neither wanted nor asked.

I will venture to say, that his Lordship did not desire or authorize the Director to revive this dispute; but as he has thought proper to do it, I shall take this opportunity of declaring, once for all, that I will say freely whatever may be necessary for the support of the Measures I took in the Company's Affairs, without regard to the offence which others may take at it; for I value the duty I owe to you, Gentlemen, and to my own Character, above all other Considerations.

It is imputed to me as * a crime, that I published to the world the private transactions of the East India Company, and in the

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* Observer, No. 6.

next line, that I suppressed some material circumstances. As to the Publication, I found upon my arrival so many partial accounts of Bengal affairs had been imposed upon the world, and so many injurious things said of myself, that a fuller and a better information seemed absolutely necessary. If the Directors had been pleased to ask me any questions, I should have been satisfied with answering their enquiries, and endeavouring to make them sensible of my attention to the Company's interest; but this opportunity not being given me, I was obliged to appeal further. I ordered the Narrative to be printed in a thousand copies, for the information of as many Proprietors, or others, as might be inclined to inform themselves, upon a subject which had already been treated of in many Pamphlets.

The Work had no other merit, but that it contained, as I thought, every thing that was material to both sides of the question; the Original Papers, written by myself, and by those who opposed me; not a single argument was designedly suppressed; one only instance is mentioned in the Observer. * An article of the first treaty with Meer "Jaffier:" concerning which, I flatter myself, I shall give so satisfactory an account, that even the Director himself shall hold me blameless.

Nothing

* Observer, P. 36.

Nothing was published in the Narrative, that could any way prejudice the interest of the Company; I gave up the advantage of some arguments of a more secret nature, rather than run the risque of offending in that way; but called forth now by a Director, to meet him in the field of controversy, I shall think myself at liberty to bring in to my aid every undoubted fact, that may contribute to give me a chance of success against so formidable an opponent.

I shall begin with endeavouring to shew the necessity of those engagements, which the Select Committee at Bengal entered into with Meer Cossim, the 27th of September, 1760.

The necessity was so urgent, that the very existence of the Company did most certainly depend upon it. Let the Director look back into the state of the Company's affairs about the year 1759; let him ask the Secret Committee of that time, what were their struggles? And then ask himself, if it becomes him, as a Director, to open those wounds afresh? Exhausted by continual Drains, from the first commencement of the troubles on the coast in 1746, the Company found themselves obliged, in 1757, to desist from sending the usual supplies of money to their Settlements abroad, excepting only some inadequate consignments of silver to China. Madras and Bengal were enjoined to give all possible assistance to that important trade;

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at the same time, to provide for their own military and civil charges, and the purchase of cargoes for the ships; and likewise to supply the Settlement at Bombay, with what money might be wanted there.

The superiority of the French forces upon the Coast about this time, gave them possession of the greatest part of the Country, and disabled the Nabob there, from making such payments to the Company, as would be answerable to all these Demands. They were happy, if they saw enough in the Treasury to pay the indispensable charges of their troops and garrisons.

In these difficult circumstances, nothing could be more opportune than the fund, which arose in Bengal out of the restitution-money stipulated for the Company, in the first treaty with Meer Jaffier. A crore of rupees, or 1,250,000 l. seemed to promise an ample supply for all our occasions. It was indeed a very happy relief from our immediate dangers and distresses; but when we come to consider the great calls which were presently made upon this Bank, and the constant drain of heavy additional expences, which our new connections with the Country Government of Bengal brought upon us, we shall soon find the Company on the losing side.

The same Director, by whom I have the misfortune to be attacked, obliged the world, in 1761, with a little Treatise upon Bengal affairs,

affairs *, which has been justly esteemed as the master-piece of that Gentleman's literary productions; and no doubt he himself esteemed it so, because he has honoured this Work with his name, which he has not condescended to do on any other occasion.

This Work being written while the occurrences were fresh in the Author's memory, must be looked upon as good authority, as to all the facts therein mentioned: as to opinions, I find I shall very frequently be so happy as to agree with him; and where I have the misfortune to differ, I shall give my reasons very fully.

Upon the point of which I am now treating (the restitution obtained for the Company in the first treaty with Meer Jaffier) the Director says, “ † The advantages of a more
 “ lasting nature are the present prosperous
 “ state of the Company's affairs, who have,
 “ ere this, received the whole of that immense
 “ sum, stipulated by the treaty, of 1,250,000l.”
 He might have said, not only received the money, but spent it, and an immense sum besides. Three articles of expence, reckoned from July 1757, to July 1760, when I went to Bengal, annihilate at once all the produce of this mine.

The

* Scrafton's Sketch of the History of Bengal, from the year 1739 to 1756.—Printed at Edinburgh in the year 1761.

† Scrafton's Sketch, p. 126.

The expedition to the Decan, under Colonel Forde, cost	} 36 Lacks
The new fort, as it then stood; with money laid out for ma- terials, about - - -	
Civil and military charges, at the lowest computation, * one lack <i>per</i> month, for three years	} 36

Total of three articles 102 Lacks

Or 1,275,000 l.

Instead, therefore, of wondering which way the Company could contrive to dispose of such an immense sum, we ought rather to be astonished how the servants in Bengal found the means of sending the supplies which they did to Madras, Bombay and China; and how they provided for other Expences, not here mentioned, as, the marine charges, which, in Bengal, is no inconsiderable article, maintaining French prisoners, and repairing and rebuilding the Factories, which had been destroyed by Serajah Dowla; and lastly, how they purchased cargoes for the Company's ships.

There is a letter from Mr. Holwell to Mr. Payne, which sets this matter in a very clear light, and shews that the supply from the stipulated restitution was already exhausted, but the expences had not ceased;

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* The calculation made in Council the 7th of August 1760, was a lack and a half *per* month. See Vansittart's Narrative, p. 80. 1st. Vol.

on the contrary, were become excessive. This letter being dated at Calcutta the 30th of December, 1759, cannot be supposed to have been written, as a provision for an argument in 1767. The account he there gives of the Company's expences and finances is as follows: * " I really want courage to touch or
 " animadvert on your immense standing ex-
 " pences, as I see not any present plan we
 " can fall on for the reduction of them.
 " You will remember, Sir, that from a rough
 " calculation I made at home of receipts
 " and disbursements, I pronounced the Gen-
 " tlemen here had been too hasty in their
 " advice to the Court of Directors, that they
 " should want no supplies of money for
 " three years. We have felt the conse-
 " quence of that precipitate paragraph, and
 " were reduced to the necessity of opening
 " the Treasury Doors in August last, for the
 " supply of Madras and our current service.
 " We took this opportunity of reducing
 " the usual interest of nine *per cent.* to
 " eight. It was proposed to reduce it to six
 " *per cent.*, but had we persisted in that, we
 " might have shut our doors again; for
 " since the large sums remitted the last year,
 " money has recovered its former value from
 " its scarcity, as every thing else does."

Not only large sums were borrowed at interest, to provide for the increased expences
 of

* Vindication of Mr. Holwell, by his friends, in quarto, p. 74. Printed for Becket, 1764.

of the Company, but bills were drawn upon the Court of Directors to a very great amount, so great, that the funds of the Company in Europe were not sufficient to pay the bills, when they became due; and it is a fact well known upon the Royal Exchange, that in the year 1758, the Directors prevailed, not without difficulty, upon the bill-holders, to grant a further time for the payment of their bills: if this accommodation had failed, the consequence would have been what I need not name.

It is a miracle, that the Company, struggling with such difficulties, in the midst of a most perilous war, were not totally oppressed; and great praise is due to those Managers who upheld their credit in such desperate Circumstances.

Abroad we were not strangers to this dangerous Situation of the Company's affairs; the Directors wrote of it, very explicitly, in their general Letters, and expressed more and more strongly, their apprehensions of an approaching Crisis. Presently we shall see the Secret Committee plainly declaring to the Governors in India, that all their means were totally exhausted.

I went to Bengal, fully apprized of the difficulties, under which the Company laboured in Europe: on the Coast I left the King's and Company's Troops, advancing towards Pondicherry, become now superior to the French, after repeated acts of valour

in the siege of Madras, the Battle of Wandivash, and many other extraordinary efforts which do infinite honour to those who commanded. They were drawing near to the great and final object of all their Operations, Pondicherry, without which, all their former labours would have been fruitless; but in this pursuit they were in the utmost danger of being stopped by want of money.

At Bengal, I found upon my arrival no less distress; large arrears due to our own troops, to the Nabob's (Meer Jaffier) much larger. These last were divided into two bodies; one at Patna was intended to act jointly with the English army against the Shahzada, who was cantoned within thirty miles of the city; the other at Moorshedabad, where they daily threatened the Nabob's life, surrounding his palace in the most tumultuous manner, and declaring, that if the Nabob would not pay their arrears, they would satisfy themselves with the plunder of the capital.

The desperate situation of affairs at Patna cannot be better described than in the letters of Mr. Amyatt*, then Chief of the English factory there. In all other parts of the country the Chiefs and Rajahs despising and detesting Meer Jaffier, were ready to join against him. The † Beerboom Rajah, situated about thirty miles from Moorshedabad, had raised

* Vanfittart's Narrative, Vol. I. p. 69, 70, 71, & 112.

† See his Letter, *ibid.* p. 92.

raised a force, and was actually preparing to march to the capital, where, instead of resistance, he would have found all the Nabob's rabble ready to join in the general plunder.

In the Treasury of Calcutta, there remained ~~but~~ one single lack of rupees. There was yet due from Meer Jaffier, upon account of the stipulated restitution, about twenty lacks, and three or four months arrears of the monthly lack, which he agreed to allow for the charges of our troops, when they were actually in the field.

But very distant were our hopes of getting these balances from Meer Jaffier. Such was his jealousy of our power, that to have distressed us, he would have run the most desperate risk of being involved himself in the same ruin.

This was the Character given of him by Mr. Holwell, with whom Lord Clive left the Government, and from whom I received it; all the Gentlemen of the Committee at Calcutta joined in the same sentiments, and indeed his ill disposition towards us had appeared in so many instances of his conduct, that it was quite notorious. But lest at this day any one should doubt of this truth, I shall presently draw his Character from established facts, taken from Mr. Scrafton's own Treatise.

A revolution in the government was however far from my thoughts, as will appear plainly from the intentions I professed in
my

my Letters * of that time, before any measures were taken, or even a debate begun †. The Select Committee, in their deliberations upon the dangerous state of affairs, express their wishes to strengthen the Nabob's Government, by putting the management of his affairs into more capable hands, but declare at the same time the necessity of keeping up our force, and perhaps augmenting it; that means must be found of supporting the expence, which means could be no other than a proportionable share of the revenues of the country; that the monthly lack of rupees, which the Nabob had engaged to furnish, for the subsistence of the troops, while actually in the field, had been found by long experience to be too uncertain in the payment to be any more depended on, and insufficient to answer the purpose, supposing the payments to be regularly made; and therefore that the Nabob must assign to the Company a much larger income, and in a full and ample manner; giving the Company the sole right to certain districts for that purpose.

These were the measures, of which the Committee felt unanimously the absolute necessity; they were necessary to our very existence in Bengal, without taking into the account the distresses of the Company in Europe, in China, and at Madras.

The

* Vanf. Nar. 1st Vol. p. 64.

† Ibid. p. 83 to 92.

The Director however disputes this necessity, both in the * Pamphlet and in the † Observer. He assures us, that a lack of rupees per month “ more than sufficed for
 “ the expences of the troops in Lord Clive’s
 “ time, and that it did not enter into Lord
 “ Clive’s computation, that his successor
 “ should run up the expence to almost dou-
 “ ble that sum; nor could he, who defeated
 “ the army of Serajah Dowlah with three
 “ thousand men, conceive the English should
 “ ever keep up an army of fifteen thou-
 “ sand.”

I really believe the Director did not expect I should take the trouble to examine his assertions, and point out his contradictions. He tells us in his Treatise, that the English army at the battle of Plassy, June, 1757 †, “ consisted of 1000 Europeans, 2000 See-
 “ poys, 6 field-pieces, and a small detach-
 “ ment of sailors from the squadron.”—In Nov. following he says ‖, “ That fine army
 “ was reduced by debauchery and the un-
 “ wholesomeness of the climate to 450 Eu-
 “ ropeans and 1200 Seepoys.” But this loss was soon after recruited, for in Sept. 1758, a detachment was sent to the Decan of
 “ § 420 “ Europeans and 1400 Seepoys:”
 and there remained in Bengal ** “ 400 Eu-
 “ ropeans

* Anon. Pamph. p. 6. † Observer, N. 6, p. 34
 & 35. ‡ Scrafton’s Sketch, p. 90. ‖ Ibid.
 p. 106, § Ibid. p. 117. ** Ibid. p. 119.

“ropeans and 2500 Seepoys,” with which Col. Clive took the field in March, 1759.

In February, 1760, Col. Clive quitted India, and “left (as the Director informs us*)” “an army full ~~full~~ three times stronger than “that which he commanded the preceding “year;” that is, 1200 Europeans and 7500 Seepoys.

I cannot say whether the Director’s calculation of the force left by Colonel Clive is quite exact, but I know that no great augmentation was made by his successors, till the year 1763, and the difficulty in which we found ourselves was, how to keep up that very force.

We have seen that the amount of the stipulated restitution, although represented by the Director, to be such an immense sum, was entirely consumed, even before it was paid, for a balance of above 20 lacks remained to be collected after my arrival. As to the monthly lack, allowed by the Nabob for the expences of the troops, during the time they were actually in the field, if the Director will please to consider the Batta (camp allowance) to officers and men, the draft and carriage bullocks, and other heavy charges of the artillery, the hospital expences, the commanding officer’s table, and a thousand other incidental charges, which cannot be brought into any computation, *he* will really find that the stipulated lack, would

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 5.

would even fall short of those extraordinary field charges.

If he calls to his aid the tract of land, south of Calcutta, which was granted to the Company by Meer Jaffier, "extending," as the Director says *, "to the ocean," I will venture to say, that even then, the Company would not be reimbursed for their increased military charges. We are told in the Treatise †, that this district yielded a clear Revenue of 100,000 l. sterling *per annum*, but we must deduct out of it 30,000 l. sterling *per annum* for Lord Clive's Jaghire. The remainder would go a very little way in the military expences of Bengal, at the time we are speaking of. Besides which, in computing the Company's increased military charges, we must not forget to bring to account, the heavy additional expence incurred in Europe, for sending out troops, cannon, military and artillery stores.

The remarks ‡ which I formerly made upon the deficiency of the stipulations, in behalf of the Company in the first Treaty with Meer Jaffier, are undoubtedly just. I did not intend them as an attack upon Lord Clive; altho' the Director, for reasons very obvious, has construed them so to be. They were a material part of the argument of that necessity, which was the motive of our engagements with Meer Cossim; and I shall beg

D leave

* Anonymous Pamphlet, p. 1. † Scrafton's Sketch, p. 126. ‡ Vanfittart's Narrative, Vol. I. p. 22, and p. 99.

leave here to repeat some of those observations, as they seem to me to be founded upon principles, which no Director, nor Friend to the Company, nor Friend to Justice, can possibly deny.

To make a just computation of the Company's gains by that treaty, the sum stipulated for restitution, should be set against the past losses of the Company in the capture of Calcutta, and the failure of a year's Bengal investment, and in truth it would not more than repair those past losses. But if the constitution of the Company was altered, if from a system of œconomy and commerce, they entered upon a political and military system, as I think will appear to every sensible observer, to have been actually the case; then I say, a constant and permanent resource of money, equivalent to the increased expence of such new establishment, ought to have been provided, independant of the restitution, which, as the term implies, would only repair past losses. Before the capture of Calcutta, two hundred or two hundred and fifty soldiers, composed the whole force of Bengal, without seepoys, without artillery and camp equipage, without field allowances, without fortifications, and an innumerable train of incidental articles. Now let the Director's account be taken of the force which Colonel Clive left in Bengal; the number of men will be found to be increased forty fold, and
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the other concurrent expences in a much greater proportion; a fortification fit to command an empire succeeded to the old fort or factory at Calcutta; and an alliance was made with the Nabob of the provinces, by which the Company became his protectors, and the sole defenders of the country, instead of being a factory of merchants trading under his permission and good pleasure.

(But why do I attempt to give an account of a change, which is so much better described by the Director himself? Towards the end of his Treatise he stops in a sort of transport, and is lost in exclamation.* “ Before (says he) I close the scene of “ these glorious successes, let me take a “ view of the figure the English made at “ this period; no longer considered as mere “ merchants, we were now thought the “ Umpires of Indostan.” And again in the next page †, “ the whole settlement, from a “ state of miserable poverty, changed to a “ scene of magnificence; and a great progress made in a fortification, which when “ compleated will, with prudent management, secure these advantages to the latest posterity.”

I will do the Director the justice to affirm, that this picture was no less truly drawn, than finely coloured, excepting only in one instance, which indeed was a materi-

* Scrafton's Sketch, p. 125. † Ibid. 126.

al one, to make it a pleasing picture to the Proprietors; I mean the reality of the advantages spoken of. In truth, a revenue of 70,000 l. *per annum*, was all that was acquired to provide for this pompous increase of establishment; and in the field, a lack of rupees a month, which would not make good the extraordinary camp-charges.

But what a sad falling off in the Director's late description of the same glorious time! "The general idea (he now says *) " at this time entertained by the servants " of the Company, was, that the battle of " Plassey did only restore us to the same si- " tuation we were in, before the capture of " Calcutta; the Subah was conceived to " be as independant as ever, and the Eng- " lish returned into their commercial cha- " racter, &c." That this representation is fallacious to the last degree, let the numbers of the troops, and a thousand other undoubted facts, as stated by himself, testify. Every page of his Treatise shews the absolute state of dependance, in which Meer Jaffier was kept, and the walls of the new fort rise up in judgment, to declare that other ideas than those of commerce, then occupied the Company's servants.

This being the case, other resources must be provided, or the Company must sink into inevitable ruin, not in Bengal only, but in every part of their possessions. I had little hopes

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 5.

hopes of Meer Jaffier's consenting voluntarily to give the necessary aid, seeing in all his actions a most inveterate jealousy and ill-will towards the Company; and an entire want of confidence in the English in general.

Before I finish this Answer, I shall point out some reasons, which seem to me to have contributed to this want of confidence; besides, and prior to, those which the Director mentions*.

But here I shall be satisfied with presuming, that such a jealousy and mistrust did actually subsist; and that Meer Jaffier was not at all disposed to better the situation of the Company. Some way must be found of over-ruling these unfriendly sentiments; and an influence set up in opposition to those ministers who encouraged and inflamed the Nabob's aversion to the English. The death of his son gave Meer Cossim a fair expectation of succeeding to the vacant office (the Neabut or Deputy Government) which consisted, as the Nabob describes in his letter †, in the "command of the forces, the government of the country, the regulating of the army, and the raising of forces." Meer Jaffier had no doubt about conferring this appointment ‡ upon Meer Cossim, until a suspicion arose of his being too well inclined to the English ||. It was however

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 14. † Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I. page 74. ‡ Ibid. || Ibid. p. 41.

however the natural succession, and therefore he was the most proper person the Committee could treat with, for obtaining the wished for advantages for the Company, the assignments indispensably necessary for their support; and this object I was resolved to pursue effectually, for I saw no reason why the existence of the Company should be sacrificed to the invincible obstinacy and ingratitude of a man, who had been raised and supported by their forces. This I most solemnly aver, was the pure and single motive of my concurrence in the treaty with Meer Cossim, by which we engaged to secure to him the confirmation of the appointment of the Neabut, to which the Nabob had already destined him; and the succession to the government after Meer Jaffier's death; and he, on his part, engaged to procure us from the Nabob a grant of the districts of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong, computed to produce about 600,000 l. *per annum*.

Such were the motives, and such the engagements. I knew not Meer Cossim; I knew only the rank he bore in the country, as the next man to the Nabob, and the character he had for capacity and attention to business. I knew that he had quieted the mutinous troops, by becoming security, for their arrears of pay, preserving in that instance the Nabob from the personal insults and dangers, with which they threatened

tened his life, and the city from plunder. I never had reason to suspect him of the most distant wish against the Nabob's life; and if it is true, as mentioned in the Pamphlet *, and the Observer †, that he expressed such a thought to Mr. Holwell; I am far from defending the man, but the necessity for the measure remains the same; and as it was a circumstance unknown to me, it could not possibly affect any of my opinions.

Next, as to the manner in which the resolutions of the Committee were carried into execution, I shall not scruple to say, that I went to Moorshedabad fully determined to insist upon Meer Cossim's appointment, and to secure to the Company for ever, the additional revenue he had promised us for maintaining our forces. I expected some opposition from the servile and corrupt ministers then in power, but I did not expect to find Meer Jaffier so totally devoted to them, as rather to part with his government than with these minions. At our first meeting ‡ he gave me some hope of an easy assent, but at the second, when I stated all our difficulties in writing §, and urged him more pressingly, his behaviour shewed evidently his determination, not to follow any advice or recommendation of mine.

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 26. † Observer, p. 34. ‡ Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I. p. 110. § Ibid. page 115.

mine. It is true, he proposed Meer Cofsim as his nearest relation, and most capable manager; but the moment he saw that would be agreeable to me, he endeavoured to avoid coming to any communication with him; and many proofs will occur in the following sheets, of the resentment he always entertained, against any officer of his, whom he suspected to be connected with the English. The inconsistency so pleasantly remarked in the Observer * upon this transaction, does not lie in my report, but proceeded from the well known diffimulation of Meer Jaffier, of whose behaviour, that report contains a true description; and when we come to consider the character of Meer Jaffier, such instances of diffimulation will appear very frequently. The notes in the Observer may be designed for wit, but the same sort of ingenuity might be practised with equal success, upon any the most sensible and serious writing. I will not interrupt the present subject with an instance, but at some time, when I have a mind to dissipate an hour, in puerile amusements, I may perhaps try my skill upon a page of the Observer.

Meer Jaffier's behaviour in this conference, left me little hope of his affording willingly any relief to the Company's distresses. He returned to the same ministers who had constantly acted in opposition to us, and while

* Observer, No. VI. page 33.

while he was consulting with them upon the means of evading my propofals, I dreaded that every difpatch from Patna would bring news of a general mutiny and defection, as well of the English troops, as the Nabob's; for it was not to be expected they would ferve any longer without pay.

I waited the event of the next day after this conference, and finding that our difficulties did but increafe, I refolved to make ufe of my force, ftill determined to prefcribe no other terms to Meer Jaffier, than thofe which the Committee had agreed on, *viz.* That Meer Coffim fhould be his Naib, or Deputy, with the general management of affairs, as was before intrufted to his fon, and that provision fhould be made for the Company's expences.

I agreed with Col. Caillaud, upon fuch a plan for the conduct of the forces, as was moft likely to avoid bloodfhed, and prevent any difturbances or confufions in the city, in both which points we were fo happy as to fucceed; and as Meer Jaffier would not continue in the government upon the terms prefcribed to him, he was efcorted to Calcutta with as many of his attendants, women and neceffaries, as he defired.

The Director in his * Pamphlet, as well as in the † Observer, lays great ftrefs upon a letter, figned by fix gentlemen of the Council of Bengal, fent home to the Company privately, and afterwards printed. As this let-

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* Anon. Pamph. p. 27.

† Observer, No. 6. p. 35.

ter did not pass, in the usual way, through the hands of the Governor and Council, I knew nothing of it till I saw it in print, and of course had no opportunity of making my objections: I do not indeed wish to make many, for it is for the most part only a misrepresentation of the same facts I myself have stated; but the Director points with particular eagerness at that part of the letter which says, "So suspicious was the Nabob of being sold, that he desired to know what sum of money Cossim Aly Cawn was to give for the Subahship, and he would give half as much more to be continued;" and this is re-echoed in the * Observer, with a question to me, whether it is true?

To which question I say, that to the best of my knowledge, it is not true, but an invention of Meer Jaffier's, after he came to Calcutta; he said no such thing to me, nor in my hearing, neither at the time of his resignation, nor at any other time; nor was any such saying reported to me, till I saw it in this letter. After this candor on my part, the Director will no doubt think it fair, that I ask him a question, upon his private transactions, and I shall take the liberty to do it before I close.

In Meer Jaffier's treasury were found only forty or fifty thousand rupees, and about three lacks in gold and silver plate, which Meer Cossim immediately coined †; and he applied himself

* Observer, No. 6. p. 35.

† Vansittart's Narrative, 1st Vol. p. 139.

himself so diligently to the reformation of the affairs of the Government, that in very few days he sent a supply of ten lacks to Patna; and having complied with his engagements to the Company, he gave us, over and above, a sum of five lacks for the express purpose of assisting our army before Pondicherry, * half of which was immediately dispatched, by a sloop to Madras, in the midst of the monsoon, and I heard, both from Mr. Pigot and Col. Coote, that it proved a very seasonable relief and encouragement to the troops.

The Revenue proceeding from our new grants, and the payments made by Meer Cossim in discharge of the balances due from Meer Jaffier, enabled us soon after to send further supplies of money to Madras, for the service of that settlement, and to be forwarded to China; and notice was sent to the Governor and Council of Bombay, that they might draw upon us for five lacks, which they did by the first opportunities.

In Europe the effect of these aids, obtained for the Company, was extremely seasonable; the news came to the India House in June, 1761, at the very time when the Secret Committee were communicating to the Governors abroad the most alarming intelligence of the state of the Company's affairs, that can be conceived. This was the Letter, already hinted at in page 13. It is

* Vansittart's Narrative, 1st Vol. p. 179.

to you, Gentlemen, Proprietors, I say it; and it is in your power to call for the Letter, if further satisfaction is required.

And it was about this very time too, that Mr. Scrafton published *his short Sketch of the History of Bengal*; in which he tells us, that * one of the lasting advantages accruing to the Company (from the measures taken in Bengal during the years 1757, 1758, 1759) was “ the *present* prosperous state of the “ Company’s affairs.”

As the real state of the Company’s affairs did happen to be diametrically opposite to what Mr. Scrafton represented, it is no wonder that the advices from Bengal gave a sensible satisfaction to the Court of Directors, and made them over-rate any little merit I might have in the conduct of this affair, “ upon perusal (say they in their general Letter of the 19th of June, 1761) of the several Letters and Papers, we have the agreeable satisfaction of finding, that the great Revolution in the Subahship therein mentioned has been, and is likely to prove, greatly advantageous to the Company: we have not now time to enter into any particulars on this happy event, and can therefore only recommend and leave it to you, to act in such manner, as shall be most for the Company’s interest. We clearly see, that this Revolution has been happily brought about, principally by the “ good

“ good conduct and address of our President
 “ Vanfittart ; and we accordingly sincerely
 “ and heartily return him our thanks, for
 “ his great services, and disinterested beha-
 “ viour on this occasion.”

But a single Director of this day stands forth against the four and twenty of a former time, and expects, that all other authorities and opinions should give place to his bare word. He boldly asserts, both in the * Pamphlet and in the Observer †, that the success of our army, against the Shahzada, would have removed all the distresses of the Company, and the Nabob; and would have had the same effect under Meer Jaffier as under Meer Cossim.

The single thing wanted, to remove the distresses of the Company, was, a better revenue, a source from whence they might be certified of a supply of money, to support their increased expences ; and I am fully persuaded, from what I saw of Meer Jaffier, that no argument but force could have induced him to grant the Company any increase of territory; for fear of such a claim or proposal ‡, he insisted most earnestly, that our Collectors should be removed out of those lands, which had been mortgaged for the balance of the Company's restitution, altho' a part remained yet unpaid ; and as to
 further

* Anon. Pamph. p. 31. † Observer, No. 6. p. 34.
 ‡ Vans. Nar. 1st Vol. p. 37.

further grants, he refused even to admit us to have a trading factory ^{at} Chittagong*.

So far was he from being able to supply us with money; to pay the balance he owed to the Company; to furnish the stipulated subsistence to our army; or to pay his own troops, that he looked towards us, for an aid from the Company's † Treasury, and seriously requested we would lend him a sum. Without a supply of money, neither the troops at Patna, nor at Moorshedabad, would have moved against the enemy, but more probably would have deserted to them; and the provinces would have been devoted to the ravages of the Shahzada, and of the disaffected Rajas, who ~~came~~ ^{were} in arms on every side.

It seems to me therefore quite evident, that our troops could not have even a chance of success, under the administration of Meer Jaffier; but supposing them to have submitted patiently to every distress; to have served without pay; and to have gained the victories which they did over all our enemies; the ruin of the Company was still inevitable, since they were loaded with a burthen of continual expence, without any proportional revenue; and Meer Jaffier would never have consented to make over to the Company, the districts we required and obtained from

* Vans. Nar. p. 39 & 82.

† Ibid. p. 37.

from Meer Cossim, to the value of fifty lacks, or 625,000*l. per annum.*

I take up this opinion of Meer Jaffier, not only from what I saw myself of his jealousy and ill-will towards the Company, but from innumerable instances I was acquainted with, partly from the records of the Company, and partly from the informations of other Gentlemen, of his desire to reduce our power and influence. His attempt to set up the Dutch upon our ruin, in the years 1758 and 1759, was fully understood by the Governor, (Col. Clive) and the Council of that time, and represented as a notorious fact, in their Memorial on that subject to the Court of Directors, and to the Admiral commanding the King's fleet.

* The Letters of the Dutch Directore to Meer Jaffier, which fell afterwards into our hands, (and which are now in the India House) fully proved the truth of the Governor and Council's allegations; and the Court of Directors, in their Memorial to his Majesty, in answer to the complaints of the Dutch, very plainly set forth, that the insinuations of the Dutch, against the growing power of the English were listened to, and Meer Jaffier agreed, that “ † the Dutch should
“ bring into the province a military force
“ to join his, and curb a power which was
“ re-

* See the Translations of these Letters in the Appendix to the English Memorial, No. 6.

† English Memorial, p. 9.

“ represented as so dangerous ;” and the Dutch chief, without the least reserve, puts Meer Jaffier in mind of this agreement, in one of the Letters before-mentioned.

The Director however in his * Pamphlet, and in the † Observer, gives all the opposition he can to the representations, which the whole Court of Directors submitted to his Majesty, upon such good ground, in the said Memorial, and endeavours to clear both Meer Jaffier, and the Dutch, from the designs so imputed to them, by our Company ; and this he dares to do, notwithstanding the ‡ certificate of Colonel Clive, confirming the truth of all that is stated in the Memorial.

This, will surely appear inconsistent, with the duty of any one of your Directors ; and after all, what this false “ friend to the “ Company,” can alledge, does not, when properly examined, weigh much against the Memorial ; his chief argument is, that when the Dutch commenced hostilities, Meer Jaffier sent his son with a body of troops to join us ; for as to the “ twelve “ covers of Letters || addressed to the Governor of the next province,” I cannot conceive, that they could be of any more use, than so many recommendations to the emperor of Morocco.

Meer

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 18. † Observer, No. 6, page 32. ‡ Appendix to the Memorial, No. 13. || Anonymous Pamphlet, page 19.

Meer Jaffier's son, indeed, if we may believe his * Letter, intended to destroy all the hopes of the Dutch, both in this world and the next; but when we turn to the † Letter of the Governor and Council of Calcutta, to the Court of Directors, and there see, that he did not arrive till three days after the battle, the suspicion will lie strong, that his orders from his father, and his intentions were, to wait the event of the battle, as his father did at Plassey; and then to join the victorious side to plunder the vanquished.

For the Director himself is forced to admit, that there was, or might be ‡, “ a suspicion, that at the time when there subsisted a jealousy between Meer Jaffier and the English, on account of the protection we gave to Ramnarain, the Subah (Meer Jaffier) might have expressed a desire to see two European powers, in his country, that he might oppose them to each other, and preserve the balance of power in his own hands.”

This was so natural a wish, that I think no one will doubt of Meer Jaffier's indulging in it very frequently; and yet the Director would now impose him upon

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* Appendix to English Memorial, No. 12. B. He concludes with saying, “ I will send those Chinsura cowards to Hell immediately, and then I will pay you a visit.”

† Dutch Memorial, page 6. ‡ Anonymous Pamphlet, page 18.

the world, as * “ a prince of whose friend-
 “ ship and attachment †, the Company
 “ have had many proofs,” altho’ he him-
 self has furnished, as we shall see presently,
 sufficient instances to the contrary.

As to his general character, he was uni-
 versally detested in the country, as cruel
 and tyrannical; and despised, as indolent
 and incapable of business; and so he was re-
 presented to the Company, in a ‡ Memorial
 I transmitted to England; and which has
 already been made publick. Not that
 this character of Meer Jaffier was offered as
 a charge upon which he was deprived of
 his government, but as an argument of the
 publick benefit, which was likely to ac-
 crue from the measures which had been
 taken, and a reason for the general appro-
 bation, which all the country expressed of
 this Revolution. With respect to the Com-
 pany, it will be allowed, that there was an
 absolute necessity of acquiring for their ser-
 vice a grant of farther districts, to enable
 them to bear their increased military charges.
 Meer Jaffier had no sentiment of love or
 gratitude towards the Company, that would
 give the least hope of his making willingly
 the ample provision required; both he and
 his ministers had given constant proofs of
 their intention to reduce the Company,
 instead

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 30. † Observer,
 No. 6, page 36. ‡ Vanfittart’s Narrative, Vol. I.
 page 150 and page 151.

instead of increasing their grandeur, altho' these ministers were the same he had about him, before Colonel Clive left the country. We are told Colonel Clive intended to have removed these ministers; it is mentioned in a * Letter from Colonel Caillaud and Mr. Amyatt, who give it as their opinion, that till it was done, no confidence could be expected between the Nabob and the Company. To do this, and carry the other more essential point for the Company, there was no way of treating with a man of Meer Jaffier's character, but with force; and to have even attempted friendly measures further than I did, would in all probability have been attended with the most dangerous consequences; for, besides the loss of men at Patna, by desertion, which increased every day, it would have given Meer Jaffier an opportunity of contriving some scheme of opposition, which would have occasioned an universal scene of plunder and distress throughout the provinces; for if the detachment at Moorshedabad, had been really obliged to use hostilities in the city, the army at Patna grown desperate, for want of pay, would have followed the example there; and I am seriously of opinion, that if at such a crisis the demand of the districts of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong, had been made to Meer Jaffier, and time given him to consider of it, instead

* Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I. page 66 and 67.

of relieving our distresses, he would have rejoiced at them, and joined the Shahzada to destroy the Company.

In my Memorial, a * list is given of five men and four women, who were said to have been put to death by Meer Jaffier's order. This was mentioned as an instance of his cruelty, upon the strongest affirmations of the whole country; when the Memorial was read in Council, no one doubted the truth of those informations; the six members who afterwards wrote a Letter to the Court of Directors, filled with every objection they could think of, against the proceedings of the Committee, and exculpating Meer Jaffier to the utmost of their power, these too do not attempt to clear him of this charge. During the whole time of Meer Jaffier's residence in Calcutta, a period of more than three years; during the whole time that I was in Bengal; neither did he offer to deny the charge, which might have been easily refuted, had it been false; nor did his friends ever express a doubt of the truth of it, although they daily visited him, and greedily caught at every occasion of supporting his character, and justifying their opposition to the measures of the Committee.

In the course of the war with Meer Cofsim, the fort of Dacca, in which all the state prisoners were kept, was taken by storm,

* Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I. page 151.

storm, and for a considerable time in the possession of our troops, under the command of Capt. Swinton; but I never heard that any of the unhappy people, who were said to have perished in that massacre, were at that time found among the prisoners; and there is reason to believe, that had they been of the number, persons so distinguished by their rank, and the shocking reports of their death, could not have escaped a discovery.

But the Director tells us, on the authority of a Letter from Lord Clive, that “ * tho’
 “ murders ascribed to Jaffier Allee Cawn
 “ are cruel aspersions void of all truth; for
 “ they are all now living, except the two
 “ last, who were put to death by Meeran
 “ unknown to his father.” In proof of this discovery, he produces the † Translation of an Address to Lord Clive, under the seals of seventeen persons unknown, declaring themselves to be alive; and the copy of a letter from Mr. Sykes, the Resident at the city of Moorshedabad, who writes, that ‡ “ Marada Dowlah, Agah
 “ Babah, with many other persons of qua-
 “ lity, who had been so long prisoners at
 “ Dacca, had waited upon him, and ex-
 “ pressed their gratitude for the part his
 “ Lordship had so generously taken in their
 “ favour,

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 23.
 † Ibid. page 25.

‡ Ibid. page

“ favour, by procuring their release, an act
 “ they little expected, tho’ without fault.”

To those who are satisfied with the information contained in this Pamphlet, an indulgence which there is reason to think the Director expects from all his Readers, it will appear from the clearest evidence, that the history of the assassinations is absolutely false ; and that the persons who have been so long supposed to have fallen a sacrifice to the cruelty of Meer Jaffier, are now risen in judgment upon his accusers, and in demonstration of their own existence ; but as this is an indulgence, which the Director cannot expect from me, since his whole story is calculated to draw an odium on me, for the part which I acted towards a man, so unjustly accused, so steady in his integrity to his friends, and so abundant in lenity to others, I shall take the liberty to examine into the truth of this discovery, which I shall prove to be false, even from the proofs which he has produced of the truth of it.

I remember an observation of the late Mr. Fielding, that *there is a method of conveying a falsehood in the words of truth*, which is, by suppressing such circumstances as may throw a just light upon any fact, and relating only such, as by an artful arrangement, may mislead the judgment upon it. This observation might be applied to many passages of the Anonymous Pamphlet ; two instances

stances only I shall particularise, and this is one. It is true, that a list has been published of nine persons who were put to death by Meer Jaffier's orders. This list Mr. Scrafton quotes, copying, pretty faithfully, the connections or employments of the said persons, but omitting their names. It may be true, and I believe it is, that a Letter was written to Lord Clive, sealed with the seals of seventeen indifferent persons, whose names only (excepting three unknown daughters of an unheard of father) are mentioned. But from the conclusion drawn from this latter list, that those mentioned in the former were living, it must be supposed, that both lists relate to the same persons. This the Director does not say, and if the Reader will take up the argument, where he left it, and form such a conclusion himself, he, and not the Director, must be blamed for the consequences. To prevent this I will present the Reader with the * list quoted by the Director, adding, the names as they stand in my † Memorial, the only place where I remember it to have been published, and leave it to him to compare it, with that of the subscribers to the above-mentioned Address.

1. *The widow of Serajah Dowla's uncle,
Gasseta Begum.*

2. *The*

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 25. † Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I. page 151.

2. *The mother of Serajah Dowla, Emma Begum.*
3. *The adopted son of Serajah Dowla's uncle, Murada Dowla.*
4. *The widow of Serajah Dowla, Lutfinnissa Begum.*
5. *The infant daughter of Serajah Dowla, No name.*
- 6 & 7. *The head spy; and the surveyor of the publick works.* Who the first is, I know not; but I suppose it to be Abdul Ohab Cawn, mentioned in my Memorial. The latter is Yar Mahmud.

The names remaining to compleat the number are, * Coja Haddee, and Meer Cazim.

The Director allows part of the charge against Meer Jaffier, but insists, from the proofs already recited, that the first five persons of the list are now living. The names of Murada Dowla, and Lutfin Nissa Begum, do indeed appear amongst the Writers of the Address to Lord Clive; but those of Gasseeta Begum, and Emma Begum, are not mentioned at all; nor the infant daughter of Serajah Dowla, by any marks by which she can be distinguished. The whole therefore of this exculpation amounts to no more, than that Meer Jaffier is innocent of two murders out of nine, falsely ascribed to him; and in their place, the † Director himself has furnished

* Scrafton's Sketch, p. 117. † Ibid. p. 106.

nished us with another, in the person of Mirza Mundeë, the brother of Serajah Dowla.

But if we proceed further, to examine the reality of the re-existence of the two persons, excepted from the list, even that will remain very ambiguous. Murada Dowla was an infant at the time of his father's death, nor released till after nine years imprisonment, during which he was so effectually concealed from the world, that it was not even suspected, for a great part of that time, that he was living. Lutfin Niffa Begum changed her confinement from the seraglio to a prison, and was equally excluded from all sight in both places. Yet both appear again, without the least dispute of their identity, with proofs so clear of their existence, that, as the Observer says *, *they have been seen to eat and drink, with other circumstances, very fit for an Observer, but too indecent and ludicrous for a Gentleman, and one who means to put his name to all that he writes; and at the same time too repugnant to the customs of persons of any character in Bengal, to deserve the least credit.*

This news of the Director's is introduced in the Observer in these words †: “ Unfortunately for you, (Mr. Vansittart) the men, women, and children in this list are now alive.” Instead of looking upon this

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* Observer, No. 7. page 40. † Ibid. No. 6. p. 32.

as a misfortune, I should most sincerely rejoice, that not only the five persons, mentioned in the Director's intelligence, but the four others contained in the list, recited in the Memorial, were alive. But, * " was the whole story of these murders " a cruel assertion, and void of all truth," as is affirmed, why is it laid to my charge? The story was published before I arrived in Bengal. I took it up, but as I found it, and if I was to blame in that, it was a fault which I was guilty of in common with the whole country, in common with the declared advocates and friends of Meer Jaffier, who † all allowed the fact, but justified it upon the principles of eastern policy. I am sorry to say, that instances would not yet be wanting, were these removed, of Meer Jaffier's cruelty, of which, as well as his many other eminent virtues, I shall now proceed to give a faithful description, taken from Mr. Scrafton's book.

Character of MEER JAFFIER, from Mr. SCRAFTON.

THIS hero is first introduced upon the stage, as a principal officer in the service of Serajah Dowla †, " who thought he " discovered some appearance of disaffection " in

* Anon. Pamph. p. 23. † Mr. Amyatt's Minute in the Nar. 1st Vol. p. 161. ‡ Scrafton's Sketch, p. 70.

“ in his conduct in the battle with the
 “ English, the 5th of February, 1757.” —
 “ Two months after, he* (Meer Jaffier)
 “ and Roydulub sent a man privately to
 “ Mr. Watts, with a hint, that many of
 “ the principal officers had determined to
 “ depose Serajah Dowla, and if the English
 “ would support him in his views on the
 “ Subahship, he would readily make any
 “ concessions, that might be found necessary
 “ to indemnify the English for the losses
 “ they had sustained, and to render their
 “ trade advantageous to them.” After the
 Committee, upon this encouragement, had
 resolved to renew the war with Serajah
 Dowla, and our army had begun their march,
 Serajah Dowla, knowing how much import-
 ance Meer Jaffier’s fidelity would be, on this
 occasion, sent for him †, “ introduced the
 “ Koran, swore that he would never at-
 “ tempt his life; and Meer Jaffier swore,
 “ that he would be his faithful soldier, and
 “ fight for him to the last drop of his blood.”
 Then again, in the midst of the battle of
 Plassey, Serajah Dowla “ † sent for Meer
 “ Jaffier, threw his turband at his feet, and
 “ told him, with a most dejected counte-
 “ nance, that it was he that must protect
 “ that turband; meaning, that it was he
 “ that was to cover him from shame. Whe-
 G 2 “ ther

* Scrafton’s Sketch, p. 80.

† Ibid. p. 90.

† Ibid. p. 93 & 94.

“ ther this moved Meer Jaffier’s compassion,
 “ or his politicks were to save appearances
 “ with both parties, is uncertain; but he
 “ did not offer to join us, only wrote the
 “ Colonel a note, advising him to push for-
 “ ward, for that the battle was more than
 “ half won. In every thing else he stood
 “ neuter during the whole action.” The
 battle was won; Serajah Dowla fled, and
 “ * Meer Jaffier halted a few miles from the
 “ English army. In the morning, the
 “ Colonel sent Omarbeg (a moorman, par-
 “ ticularly attached to Meer Jaffier) and Mr.
 “ Scrafton, to conduct him to Doudpoor,
 “ where he halted that night. As soon
 “ as he saw the messengers, he advanced
 “ forwards, with his son, to meet them;
 “ but was far from testifying that joy which
 “ might have been expected: probably he
 “ harboured some suspicion, that the Colo-
 “ nel might resent his conduct, in not join-
 “ ing him, conformably to his promises; for
 “ afterwards, when the guards drew out to
 “ receive him, as he past, he started, as if he
 “ thought it was all over with him; nor did
 “ his countenance brighten up, till the Co-
 “ lonel embraced him, and saluted him Su-
 “ bah of the three provinces.” — † “ Meer
 “ Jaffier, whether conscious how little he
 “ had contributed to our success, or that a
 “ Mussulman could not conceive such mo-
 “ deration,

* Scrafton’s Sketch, p. 94.

† Ibid. p. 96.

“ deration, where we had the whole in our
 “ power, still doubted the reality of his ex-
 “ altation; and it was with great difficulty,
 “ that Mess. Watts and Walsh could prevail
 “ on him to act as Subah.” A few days af-
 “ ter, * “ Serajah Dowla, travelling in dis-
 “ guise, was discovered at Rajamahl; and
 “ advice of it reaching Meer Jaffier, he im-
 “ mediately sent his son to take him pri-
 “ soner, and bring him to the city, where he
 “ arrived the 4th of July, at night, unknown
 “ to the Colonel, and was privately put to
 “ death, by Meer Jaffier’s order.—Meer
 “ Jaffier held a Council of his most intimate
 “ friends about the disposal of him, who all
 “ agreed, that it would be dangerous to
 “ grant him his life, but that he should im-
 “ mediately be put to death, least the Colo-
 “ nel’s clemency and moderation should plead
 “ for his preservation. Serajah Dowla re-
 “ ceived the dreadful sentence trembling;
 “ he wept bitterly, and pleaded hard for his
 “ life, on any terms; but when he found
 “ all intreaty in vain, he desired only a delay
 “ of a few moments, to wash and say his
 “ prayers in. His merciless executioners
 “ flung a pot of water over him, and dis-
 “ patched him, with their swords. His
 “ remains were exposed on an elephant round
 “ the city, and then interred, near the tomb
 “ of his grandfather.

“ The

* Scrafton’s Sketch. p. 99.

“ * The Nabob of Patna, was one Ram-
 “ narain, a Gentoo, faithfully attached to
 “ his late master, who, supposing Meer Jaf-
 “ fier would not confirm him in his govern-
 “ ment, was meditating a junction, with the
 “ Subah of Oude. There was such evident
 “ proof of this, that Col. Clive advised Meer
 “ Jaffier to displace him, which was ap-
 “ proved, accepted, and the order sent; but
 “ different passions now began to operate;
 “ and Meer Jaffier, from some unknown
 “ motive, determined to effect his purpose
 “ by other means.”

The Director then proceeds to give an account of these different passions, which already (in less than a month) began to operate upon Meer Jaffier; and very sublimely introduces them, with a deduction from human nature, and a simile from the nature of beasts, leaving the reader to judge which best suits our hero.

† “ Whoever (says he) considers human
 “ nature, will easily perceive, that the har-
 “ mony, between Meer Jaffier and us, was
 “ liable to many interruptions. As the
 “ brute creation retain no longer their af-
 “ fections for their parents, than while they
 “ need their help to nourish them; so Meer
 “ Jaffier, now feeling his own strength,
 “ forgot the authors of his greatness. He
 “ seemed to look on us, rather as rivals than
 “ allies,

* Scrafton's Sketch, p. 103.

† Ibid. p. 104.

“ allies, and his first thoughts were how to
 “ check our power, and evade the execution
 “ of the treaty.—He seemed to think himself
 “ sufficiently powerful to dispute with us
 “ the remainder of the treaty; and to this
 “ he bent all his future politics; the natu-
 “ ral consequence of which was, that we
 “ were necessitated to strengthen ourselves
 “ by forming a party, in his own Court, to
 “ be a continual check upon him.”

* “ In October 1757, Meer Jaffier fixed
 “ his standard to the north, with great ex-
 “ pectations of rendering himself as power-
 “ ful and arbitrary as his old master Aliver-
 “ dee, whose example he endeavoured to
 “ imitate in his government; he had pro-
 “ jected a very extensive plan, to which he
 “ was by no means equal. 1st, He propos-
 “ ed the destruction of Roydoulub, † and
 “ his party. 2dly, To crush the rebellion in
 “ Purnea, where the late Governor refused
 “ to own his authority. 3dly, By force or
 “ stratagem to get the Nabob of Patna into
 “ his power, and give that province to his
 “ brother; and having made himself thus
 “ powerful, he finally proposed to awe the
 “ English, into the relinquishing the re-
 “ mainder of the money, due to them, and
 “ the other articles stipulated by the treaty.”

“ * This

* Scrafton's Sketch, page 105.

† In the preceding page of the Sketch, this man is
 mentioned as “ closely connected with Meer Jaffier,
 “ and a fellow conspirator of equal rank.”

“ * This project opened with the death
 “ of Mirza Munde, Serajah Dowla’s bro-
 “ ther, a weak, helpless youth, whom his
 “ Spies and Parasites had insinuated to him,
 “ Roydoulub intended to set up for Subah.
 “ The same jealousy induced him to send
 “ the widow of Aliverdee into confinement
 “ at Dacca; and a strict watch was kept
 “ over an infant, called Murada Dowla †.
 “ These steps so alarmed Roydoulub,
 “ that, under pretence of sickness, he ab-
 “ sented himself from Court, and declined
 “ taking the field with Meer Jaffier. This
 “ was the first obstacle Meer Jaffier met
 “ with; and now he began to apprehend,
 “ that should he march from his capital,
 “ it was possible the Colonel, penetrating
 “ his view, might join with Roydoulub,
 “ and attack his son, whom he left Go-
 “ vernor in his absence. He long hesitat-
 “ ed what part to act with the Colonel, but
 “ at last determined on writing to him, to
 “ desire him to march up, with his troops,
 “ hoping either to awe him by the parade
 “ of his numerous forces, or win him by
 “ profitable offers to abandon Roydoulub.
 “ ———But now that he (Colonel Clive)
 “ saw Meer Jaffier’s jealousy was incurable,
 “ he determined to check him effectually.
 “ —† At their first interview, the Colonel
 “ reproached Meer Jaffier with his weak
 “ and

* Scrafton’s Sketch, page 106. † Nephew of Se-
 rajah Dowla. ‡ Scrafton’s Sketch, page 107.

“ and unfaithful conduct, reminded him of
 “ the agreement, entered into at Jagutfeet’s
 “ house, declaring himself Roydoulub’s
 “ protector, and demanded security for the
 “ payment of the remainder of the treaty-
 “ money, of which, even the first half was
 “ not yet paid, although the time was
 “ elapsed for the first payment of the se-
 “ cond half.

“ * Meer Jaffier, who burnt with desire
 “ to free himself from our yoke, now form-
 “ ed a project, from which he hoped some
 “ relief. He ordered Coja Haddee, a ge-
 “ neral who commanded 16,000 men, to
 “ make a forced march, and enter the ci-
 “ ty (of Patna) before our army, which
 “ had always been the van of the whole.
 “ This officer was much suspected of an at-
 “ tachment to Roydoulub, and therefore
 “ Meer Jaffier aimed at embroiling him in
 “ a skirmish with us, indifferent who had
 “ the advantage, where he wanted to be rid
 “ of both. † He accordingly gave him or-
 “ ders, that when he entered the city, he
 “ should shut the gates, and permit no
 “ troops to enter the city, without farther
 “ orders. Coja Haddee, not perceiving the
 “ snare, passed our army, in proper order
 “ for action ; when the Colonel came near
 “ the city, he sent word to Coja Haddee,
 “ that Meer Jaffier had laid this snare to
 “ destroy him, and advised him not to op-

H

“ pose

* Scrafton’s Sketch, page 109.

† Ibid. page 110.

" pose him, as he was determined to enter.
 " Coja Haddee immediately retired, and
 " sent Meer Jaffier a message, that he pre-
 " sumed, his orders could not regard his
 " friend Sabut Jung (Col. Clive) whom
 " he had let pass. The Colonel marched
 " through the city, and encamped on the
 " opposite side; Meer Jaffier followed with
 " sullen slowness, mortified at his disap-
 " pointment, and enraged to see the Colo-
 " nel carrying away the glory of the cam-
 " paign, while himself appeared only as his
 " General. And now ensued a scene of
 " plots and conspiracies, wherein the sever-
 " al actors displayed the arts of treachery
 " and dissimulation, with all the refined sub-
 " tlety of eastern politicians.
 " * " Meer Jaffier's views this campaign
 " were, as already-mentioned, to break the
 " power of the minister, make his brother
 " Nabob of Patna, and finally, to awe
 " the English into the relinquishing
 " the treaty-money. Let us now see
 " how the different parties endeavoured to
 " counteract him. † Ramnarain and Roy-
 " dulub soon found they were tending to
 " the same centre, which was the destruc-
 " tion of a master they thought they could
 " never trust. Coja Haddee, Cossim Allee
 " Cawn, and most of the general officers,
 " were of their party; and entered into a
 " written agreement to support each other.
 " " They

* Scrafton's Sketch, page 110. † Ibid. page 111.

“ They frequently sounded Col. Clive, and
 “ endeavoured, by every artifice and strata-
 “ gem, to set him at open variance with
 “ Meer Jaffier, while their party at Court,
 “ acted the same part with Meer Jaffier, by
 “ continually insinuating to him, that the
 “ Colonel was won over by Roydoulub
 “ and Ramnarain, and would certainly at-
 “ tempt his life. While Meer Jaffier’s mind
 “ was thus agitated, by suspicion of all
 “ parties, an accident happened, that almost
 “ brought every body to lay aside the mask,
 “ and act in their real characters. Colonel
 “ Clive kept his head quarters at the Eng-
 “ lish factory, the army being encamped to
 “ the westward of Patna, Meer Jaffier’s
 “ camp to the eastward, but a vast num-
 “ ber of his troops in the city, as were also
 “ Ramnarain’s; and with the Colonel was
 “ a guard of two hundred seepoys. Near
 “ the factory was quartered a body of Ram-
 “ narain’s horse, and both used the same
 “ market. A dispute arose between them,
 “ which from words came to blows, and
 “ some of the Colonel’s seepoys were
 “ wounded; they came to complain, and
 “ the Colonel permitted them to go and
 “ take their own revenge; they immedi-
 “ ately sallied out, and attacked the horse-
 “ men, whom they soon routed, and one or
 “ two of them were killed. The alarm
 “ spread instantly throughout the city, all
 “ parties were in arms; Spies were running

“ backwards and forwards, over the city,
 “ every one making a different report, ac-
 “ cording to the fears or wishes of their
 “ master. * Meer Jaffier, who had his
 “ head quarters in a palace, on the eastern
 “ side of the city, immediately suspected
 “ Colonel Clive, Ramnarain and Roydou-
 “ lub were forming a design to attack
 “ him; full of this thought, he instant-
 “ ly put his women, papers and jewels, on
 “ elephants; sent a party to secure his re-
 “ treat, and put all his troops under arms;
 “ Roydoulub and Ramnarain were also un-
 “ der arms, and it was a miracle the city
 “ was not fired and plundered. But as the
 “ rise of this disorder was entirely acciden-
 “ tal, so nobody was prepared to take any
 “ advantage of it; and by the intercourse
 “ of messengers, the tumult subsided, and
 “ every one sheltered himself under the
 “ cloak of dissimulation; first reflecting,
 “ whether they had done any thing, in the
 “ first heat of the alarm, that might have
 “ betrayed their sentiments. The next
 “ morning all the grandees visited Colonel
 “ Clive; and the Commander of the horse,
 “ whose people had begun the skirmish
 “ with the English seepoys, was ordered
 “ out of the city. Meer Jaffier lived in
 “ continual apprehensions, but the Colonel
 “ was too steady to be led astray by either;
 “ his honour, and the publick interest,
 “ strong-

* Scrafton's Sketch, page 112.

“ strongly attached him to Meer Jaffier,
 “ though at the same time it was our inte-
 “ rest to reduce his power to the proper li-
 “ mits, which nothing could more effec-
 “ tually restrain, than supporting Ramnarain
 “ in the Nabobship of Patna, and Roydou-
 “ lub in the ministry ; and just so far he
 “ entered into their views. The Rajahs
 “ refused to pay their submissions, but thro’
 “ the mediation of the Colonel, which
 “ Meer Jaffier was too haughty to accept,
 “ and the close connection between Ram-
 “ narain, and Roydoulub, both supported
 “ by us, prevented the rest. Thus Meer
 “ Jaffier equally mistrusting, and mistrusted
 “ of all, had the mortification to see all his
 “ projects vanish.—* When Meer Jaf-
 “ fier found that all his endeavours, to win
 “ the Colonel, were in vain, he endeavour-
 “ ed to out-stay him, hoping his presence
 “ would be required in Calcutta, and that
 “ he would be obliged to abandon his friends
 “ to him ; but even that proving ineffectual,
 “ he at last, after a stay of four months, at
 “ an immense expence, was obliged to con-
 “ firm Ramnarain in the Nabobship of
 “ Patna, Roydoulub in the ministry, and
 “ to return to his capital, totally disappoint-
 “ ed in all his views.”

“ † The arrival of the French squadron,
 “ and the loss of Fort St. David, had an
 “ instant ~~effect~~ effect on our influence in the coun-
 “ try.

* Scrafton's Sketch, page 113. † Ibid. p. 115.

“ try. The Colonel considering, that if
 “ Meer Jaffier could be prevailed on to pay
 “ him a visit in Calcutta, it would deceive
 “ our enemies, into a firm persuasion, that
 “ there subsisted a perfect amity between
 “ us.”—“ * This outward appearance of
 “ harmony was equally necessary to Meer
 “ Jaffier, as it was our alliance and protec-
 “ tion, that alone made him formidable to
 “ his neighbours. Mr. Watts was sent,
 “ with the invitation, which he readily ac-
 “ cepted, but observing how much we
 “ courted his friendship, he thought he
 “ might now execute his designs against
 “ Roydoulub. He left the city under
 “ charge of his son, first dismissing his mi-
 “ nister from all his employs, and (to all
 “ appearance) left an order to his son to
 “ put him to death ; for no sooner was his
 “ father out of his sight, than he prepared
 “ to attack him ; but as our reputation and
 “ influence in the country, intirely depend-
 “ ed on our protecting him in his life and
 “ honour, Mr. Scrafton, then resident at the
 “ Nabob’s Court, marched a company of
 “ men, to his assistance, and took him un-
 “ der his protection.”

“ † The departure of so great a part of
 “ our force (the troops sent with Colonel
 “ Ford to the Decan) made Meer Jaffier
 “ more haughty in his conduct. He had
 “ lately cut off two of his general officers,
 “ Coja

* Scrafton’s Sketch, page 116. † Ibid. page 117.

“ Coja Haddee, and Cazim Aly Cawn, whom
 “ I have before mentioned to be of Roydu-
 “ lub’s party; the former he ordered out of
 “ the country, and in his passage through
 “ the pass of Sicklagully, he ordered the
 “ Mountaineers, and Governor of Rajamahl,
 “ to fall upon him; the other, his son assas-
 “ sinated, at an entertainment; and now he
 “ sent a forged letter to prove, that Roydu-
 “ lub was concerned with them, in a conspi-
 “ racy to murder him; but the forgery was
 “ evidently proved, and the Colonel perse-
 “ vered in protecting him. Meer Jaffier
 “ seemed inclined to resent this refusal, and
 “ hinted, that he expected the mortgaged
 “ provinces should be restored to him; but
 “ the news of Col. Ford’s success checked
 “ him for the present.”

“ * But now a new scene opened;”
 (the invasion of the Shahzada) “ Meer
 Jaffier had “ lately given such proofs of
 “ his inclination to avoid all farther con-
 “ nections with us, that he apprehended,
 “ the Colonel would not be very ready to
 “ assist him, and therefore declined, as
 “ long as possible, acquainting him with
 “ the threatened invasion; but like a sloth-
 “ ful man, who is not sensible of his weak-
 “ ness, till occasion requires him to put his
 “ strength to the trial, now that the exigen-
 “ cy of his affairs demanded he should exert
 “ himself, he found how little able he was

“ to

“ to cope with an enemy. The immense
 “ forces” (having at least 80,000 men in his
 pay) “ he had kept up to no manner of pur-
 “ pose, and had quite exhausted his treasury,
 “ had still vast arrears due to him ; far from
 “ assisting him, they even threatened his life,
 “ if he did not immediately comply with
 “ their demands.”

“ Thus every thing looked as if Meer
 “ Jaffier would lose his life and government,
 “ without a sword being drawn in his be-
 “ half. In this distress, he at last applied
 “ to Col. Clive,” — “ * who immediately
 “ begun his march to Moorshedabad, where
 “ he arrived on the 20th of March (1759)
 “ and reproached Meer Jaffier, very severely,
 “ for his weak, unsteady conduct, particu-
 “ larly for the manner in which he destroyed
 “ his two general officers, which had quite
 “ alienated the affections of his army from
 “ him ; and for his late behaviour to the
 “ English.”

† “ The appearance of our army obliged
 “ the Shahzada to raise the siege (of Patna) ;
 “ — and thus was Meer Jaffier once more
 “ indebted to us for his life and govern-
 “ ment, both which must have inevitably
 “ fallen, but for this vigorous effort.”

I shall conclude this Character with the
 only article that Mr. Scrafton, through-
 out his whole book, mentions in favour of
 Meer

* Scrafton's Sketch, p. 119. † Ibid. p. 120.

Meer Jaffier. “ * I must here do Meer Jaffier the justice to say, that however jealous of the English power, he has ever shewn a sincere regard for the Colonel.”

Here endeth the Character of Meer Jaffier, by Mr. Scrafton; and the only doubt that can ensue upon it, is, which of his vices and defects we shall most admire? His treason, perjury, and cruelty to his prince? His perfidy and ingratitude towards the Company? His indolence in the management of affairs? Or his capacity in the arts of assassination, forgery, treachery, and dissimulation?

The single palliative, which Mr. Scrafton applies, is contradicted by himself, in a thousand instances, which he records of the suspicions and jealousies he entertained against Col. Clive, and his constant disregard to his advice, till it was accompanied with force.

I have said, in page 23, that the want of confidence, between Meer Jaffier and the English, which I lamented upon my arrival in Bengal, arose from causes different from, and prior to those, which the Director mentions in his † Pamphlet. If there be any of my readers, who do not sufficiently see, in the extracts I have given from Mr. Scrafton's Sketch, the constant growth of that want of confidence, from the very moment of Meer Jaf-

* Scrafton's Sketch, p. 115.
Pamphlet, page 14.

† Anonymous

Jaffier's being raised to the government, I recommend to him to take the trouble to read the Sketch itself, from page 80 to the end.

“ * In those Eastern Courts, jealousy”
 (as Mr. Mr. Scrafton observes) “ is a weed
 “ that grows apace ;” and indeed it was so
 frequently cultivated, that it was impossible
 it should not thrive. Presently after Meer
 Jaffier's appointment, Roydoulub, “ a fel-
 “ low conspirator, of equal rank,” thought
 himself not sufficiently rewarded ; and Col.
 Clive, already judging it necessary to strengthen
 himself against Meer Jaffier, “ † entered into
 “ strict engagements, with Roydoulub, to
 “ protect him, as far as life and honour, pro-
 “ vided he attempted nothing against Meer
 “ Jaffier's person, or government ; and he
 “ promised to use all the power and interest
 “ his posts gave him, to oblige Meer Jaffier
 “ to the faithful execution of the articles of
 “ the treaty. The close connection which
 “ appeared between us, widened the breach
 “ between them, till mutual distrust increa-
 “ sed to that pitch, that each began to
 “ strengthen his party. Roydoulub endea-
 “ voured to gain the officers of the army to
 “ him ; and Meer Jaffier dismissed from his
 “ court, all those who had shewed too great
 “ an attachment to a Minister he had made
 “ too powerful.” The consequence of this
 pro-

* Scrafton's Sketch, p. 104.

† Ibid. p. 105.

protection was, that Roydoulub dissipated and appropriated to himself, a vast sum of the publick treasure, and then was escorted to a safe retreat in Calcutta. We do not find that he had any success, in obliging Meer Jaffier to the faithful execution of the articles of the treaty; for notwithstanding Roydoulub's assistance, and farther, that Mr. Scrafton was * left, at the Subah's court, to receive the money due to the Company; yet we find, that the payments were very backward. It was agreed, for the reasons mentioned in page 97, of Mr. Scrafton's Sketch, that it would be more consistent with the general interest, to accept of one half of the stipulated money, by the last day of October, and the remainder to be paid off within the compass of three years. This agreement was made, upon the Nabob's appointment, in June; yet we are informed, by the same book, in page 107, that in November, the first half was not yet paid, although the time was elapsed for the first payment of the second half; whereupon Col. Clive obliged the Nabob to mortgage the revenues of three districts, for the security of the publick money, no longer depending upon the diligence of Mr. Scrafton, and the assistance of Roydoulub. Here is no appearance of the evident partiality, which Roydoulub was said, in the † Pamphlet, to have

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 3.

† Ibid.

manifested to the Company ~~in~~ this important circumstance.

Ramnarain was another man, who, we are told, merited our protection against his master: we have seen, that this man, being * convicted, upon evident proof of conspiring with a foreign prince, Col. Clive advised Meer Jaffier to displace him from his government of Patna, which was approved, accepted, and the order sent; but the execution delayed by Meer Jaffier, from unknown motives. Some months after, Col. Clive, and Meer Jaffier, marching towards Patna †, Ramnarain took the field, with a very considerable army, and would not submit to Meer Jaffier, till he was assured of Col. Clive's protection. Meer Jaffier was very averse to this, but finding Roydoulub had won over the greatest part of his officers, who were more likely to espouse Ramnarain's cause, than his own, he at last consented, and the Colonel gladly embraced this office of mediator, from the motive, that it would be a constant check on Meer Jaffier, to have the Nabob of Patna devoted to us. But Ramnarain, regardless of this mediation, and promise of fidelity, no sooner heard of the Shahzada's approach, with an army to invade the province, than he embraced the opportunity of going back into rebellion ‡, entered into a treaty with the Shahzada, went out of the city,

* Scrafton's Sketch, p. 103.

† Ibid, p. 109.

‡ Ibid. p. 118, 119, & 120.

city, paid his submission to the Shahzada, and made him a present of a considerable sum of money. Intimidated, by the news of the march of the English army, he again broke his treaty with the Shahzada, and shut the gates of the city against him; but this could not repair the injury which he had done his master, by supplying the Shahzada with a considerable sum of money, to enable him to carry on the war. To the Nabob he remitted no money out of all the produce of the rents of the Patna province; but on the contrary, demanded continual supplies from Moorshedabad, to pay the troops under his command; with which, as we have seen, he was always more ready to rebel against his master, than to oppose his enemies.* To support this man in his government, Meer Jaffier was kept four months at Patna at an immense expence.

Another man, named † Omarbeg, has been mentioned, as one particularly attached to Meer Jaffier, and sent, with Mr. Scrafton, to conduct Meer Jaffier to the English army, the day after the battle of Plassey. This man was appointed Fougedar of Hoogly, and finding more advantage in the protection of the English, than in preserving his fidelity to his master, and rendering a just account of his administration, he dissipated, or appropriated to his own use, a large sum of the publick money, and then took his passage in an
English

* Scrafton's Sketch, p. 113.

† Ibid. p. 94.

English ship to Bufforah. The reason the Director gives for this desertion in his late Pamphlet*, is, "because he had no confidence " in any one but Lord Clive", and therefore when Lord Clive came to England, he went to Persia, although we are told at first, he was a man particularly attached to Meer Jaffier.

The truth is, that none of the Nabob's officers have ever sought the English protection, with any other view, but that of defrauding their master. They are always bad subjects who apply for foreign protection; as soon as they are assured of it, they keep no longer within any bounds of respect; and their own ruin, or their masters, becomes the immediate consequence. The Court of Directors, from their own reflections, upon the instances that had occurred in Bengal, gave very strong and very sensible injunctions, against this practice, by the ships dispatched from England, about the end of the year 1760. I am particular as to the time, because I would have it appear, that these animadversions were made upon the conduct of the servants, in the time of Meer Jaffier; and were the pure result of ~~the Director's own sentiments~~, and not in consequence of any opinion of mine, for I was then but just arrived in Bengal. In conformity to these sentiments, the Governor and Council gave a caution to Mr. Ellis, in their

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 18.

the Sentiments of the Directors themselves

their instructions, for his conduct in September 1761 ; and as this caution sets forth, very particularly, the bad effects of the practice we are speaking of, I shall beg leave to insert it.

* “ Our Honourable Masters, sensible of
 “ the impropriety of protecting a servant,
 “ against his master, and of the bad conse-
 “ quences that may result therefrom, have
 “ cautioned us very particularly on that sub-
 “ ject, in their last general letter. We
 “ think such their caution, very judicious ;
 “ and that nothing but jealousy and ill-will
 “ between the Nabob, and the Company,
 “ can be the consequence of our interfering,
 “ in the support of any Zemindar, or other
 “ person, holding office, grant, or autho-
 “ rity, under the government. It is ex-
 “ pressly contrary to our engagements, with
 “ the Nabob, and besides must end in the
 “ ruin of the person so protected, who pre-
 “ suming on our interposition, throws off
 “ his respect to his master, and consequent-
 “ ly shuts up all the ways of accommoda-
 “ tion. Every one that has been admitted
 “ under such protection, from the begin-
 “ ning of Jaffier Allee Cawn’s government,
 “ may be quoted, as an instance of the truth
 “ of this observation ; we enjoin you, there-
 “ fore, not to interfere, directly or indirectly,
 “ in any affairs of the country government,
 “ or with the people belonging to it.”

Mr.

* Vansittart’s Narrative, Vol. I. page 292.

Mr. Amyatt, Colonel Coote, and Major Carnac *, though they objected to another part of Mr. Ellis's instructions, yet did not contest the truth of the observations in the article here recited. That such causes must produce such effects is plain, even to demonstration, and I will presume to give it as my opinion, that the distresses, which accompanied Meer Jaffier thro' his government, proceeded in a great measure, from the protection given to his servants against him. Not only the sums, which were embezzled, by the three particular persons, I have mentioned, were lost to Meer Jaffier, but every other Zemindar and Collector, who had the charge of the publick money, seeing the little authority of their master, and the independence in which some of his officers were supported, made more court, and paid more money to those officers, than to the Nabob, who fell naturally into utter contempt, both of the people of the country, and the English Company's servants; and others. Meer Jaffier, thus subjected to continual insults, from those who depended on the Company's protection, was not at all disposed to increase the grandeur, or power of the Company; nor could his government, so fettered, endure many years; I say with submission, that I do not think Colonel Clive could have supported him twelve months longer, if he had stayed. What depended

* Vanfittart's Narrative, Vol. I. page 295.

depended only on military assistance, to be given to Meer Jaffier, I do not doubt would have been effected, as long as the Company's treasury could furnish money to pay our troops; and it was Colonel Clive's good fortune, to leave India, before that was totally exhausted, and while there was yet some supply coming in, for the balance of the stipulated restitution. When that debt was discharged, and we had no further demand upon the Nabob, nor other resource of our own, it must of necessity have been sought in the country. Colonel Clive, during his government, had nothing to ask of Meer Jaffier, for the Company, but what by the treaty he had a right to demand; and yet he found all possible opposition, and every method taken to evade the execution; an intention even more than once repeated to awe the English, to relinquish the treaty-money. Can we then possibly suppose he would have granted the Company any thing by way of favour? No. If Colonel Clive had asked him for additional districts of 600,000 l. *per annum*, to bear the Company's expences, it is natural to believe, he would have answered, that he himself was equally distressed; that by the protection given to Ramnarain, Roydoulub, and Omarbeg, he had been spoiled of vast sums; that he had paid, with difficulty, the money due by the treaty; that he was insulted daily by

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his

his own people ; and that he did not wish to hold his government upon such terms.

I will venture to say, that in the treaty of 1757, the Company's interest was very little understood, or very much neglected ; and the conduct observed towards Meer Jaffier afterwards, tended to bring him to speedy ruin. A larger revenue should have been secured for the Company, independent of the Restitution, which, as I have already observed, was no profit, nor a resource that could continue. If this had been done, the Company would have been enabled to maintain a respectable force, and the Nabob might have been suffered to enter (with real and regular, not mock and interrupted power) into * the " full and independent " exercise of his authority," which, however unfit he might be, would have been more for the good of the country, than those sudden flashes of despotism, mixed with rage and resentment, which he could only send forth, when the English were at a distance. If he had had his regular authority, he would perhaps have used it with more moderation, and he would not have been provoked, by those conspiracies, and other acts of rebellion, to which his officers were encouraged, by the hope of the English protection ; although I am as well persuaded, as the Director himself, that Colonel Clive never meant to countenance them. He would not

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 3.

not have been defrauded of his revenues; and the Company, on their part, would have duly received the produce of the districts, which might have been assigned to them; Meer Jaffier, so treated, would not have been urged, by jealousy, to wish so much for the Company's destruction; but finally, if after such unmolested enjoyment of the rights of his own government, he had dared to infringe the privileges of the Company, or invade their possessions, Colonel Clive might have pulled him down again, as he set him up, and punished his ingratitude.

My study was always to acquire real benefits to the Company, rather than mock honour. I call that mock honour, which some servants of the Company have pretended to derive from protections given to officers of the Nabob, against their master; and in the same light I must consider that honour of the Patna factory, which was concerned in opposing the Nabob's shutting up one of the gates of the city, and closing a breach between the wall and the river*. I never could define this honour, and I crave the Director's assistance, taking the cases as they are stated by himself. † “Colonel Clive entered into strict engagements with Roydoulub, to protect him, as far as life and honour; provided he attempted nothing, against Meer Jaffier's person or government.” Soon after “ ‡ Roydoulub

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“ endea-

* Vansittart's Nar. Vol. II. p. 270.
Sketch, page 105.

† Ibid.

‡ Scrafton's

“endeavoured to gain the officers of the
 “army to him.” Roydoulub actually did
 “* win over the greatest part of the offi-
 “cers, who were more likely to espouse
 “Ramnarain’s cause, than Meer Jaffier’s.”
 Again, “Ramnarain and Roydoulub, soon
 “found they were tending to the same
 “centre, which was the destruction of a
 “master, they thought they could never
 “trust.”

Of the protection given to Ramnarain, Mr. Scrafton does not acquaint us with the particular terms, only that † Colonel Clive thought it necessary to have the Nabob of Patna devoted to us, to be a constant check on Meer Jaffier; but we find in a ‡ Letter of instructions from Colonel Clive, and the rest of the Committee, to Colonel Caillaud, an order to protect Ramnarain, in case of the Nabob’s making any attempt against his person or honour. Ramnarain conspired with Roydoulub, for the destruction of their master; he engaged afterwards in treaty with an open enemy, the Shahzada, and supplied him with a considerable sum of money, but to his master the Nabob, he would pay no rents. I put the questions now to the Director, whether these persons, guilty of such abominable crimes, were entitled to the Company’s protection? And how far Lord Clive’s engagements to these men obliged him

* Scrafton’s Sketch, page 111. † Ibid. page 109.
 ‡ Vansittart’s Narrative, Vol. I. page 180.

him to protect their honour, when they themselves had forfeited it, in so many scandalous instances ?

I found Roydoulub at Calcutta, and there I left him; and I supported * Ramnarain at Patna, until it became a dispute, whether he should be accountable to the Nabob for the revenues of the province, or not ? And until Meer Cossim was almost ruined, by a long fruitless stay at Patna, at an immense expence, as Meer Jaffier had been before, by the arts of the same man.

The fate of Juggutseet, and his cousin ; the Director might lament as I do ; the more, because being bankers, or remitters, and holding no office under the government, they were not, as I believe, concerned in any intrigues, plots, or conspiracies. But it is shameful of the Director, to say, † “ they “ were abandoned,” knowing the contrary by the advices in the India House ; which do plainly prove, that we (the Governor and Council) did what we could to serve them in their unhappy circumstances. Moorshe-
dabad, the capital, was the usual place of residence of these gentlemen ; but on account of the wars, which had disturbed Dehly, Agra, and almost every considerable place in Indostan, where these bankers had shops ; they had drawn their business into as narrow a compass as possible, and upon some occa-
sion,

* Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I. page 276 to 281.

† Anonymous Pamphlet, page 41.

tion, had declined transacting a small remittance to Dehly for Meer Cossim, who had taken it ill, as appears by his letter*. They, however, lived quietly in their house, until about the middle of April, 1763, just at the time that Mr. Amyatt was going with the demands of the Council to Meer Cossim. Mr. Amyatt was at Moorshedabad, on his way, when an order arrived from Meer Cossim, for the Seets to attend him at Mongheer; they were allowed one or two days to prepare for their journey, and then set out with a guard; or, as Mr. Amyatt very justly wrote, they were seized and carried to Mongheer. Upon the first receipt of this news, I wrote to Meer Cossim, and urged every argument, that might be most likely to prevail for their release; which † letter is recited, with his answer, in the Narrative. It was afterwards made an article ‡ in the demands Mr. Amyatt delivered to Meer Cossim; who speaks to it in his § reply to those articles; and Mr. Amyatt, in a subsequent letter || from Mongheer, says they were not ill treated. But when the war broke out, and Meer Cossim saw himself inevitably ruined, he fell into acts of revenge and desperation; which, as I have said in another place, cannot be justified, but may be accounted for**.

Upon so sudden an order, to repair to Mongheer, it was impossible for the Seets to

ask

* Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. III. p. 206. † Ibid.
 ‡ Ibid. page 228. § Ibid. page 234. || Ibid.
 page 245. ** Ibid. p. 396.

ask the English protection, or us to grant it, with any effect: before an answer could have been received from Calcutta, they were half way to Mongheer; and before a force could have marched to their house, to rescue them, they were actually in Meer Cossim's presence. Whenever any subject of India is to be protected by the English, against his sovereign, he must be put out of his master's power; for, as Mr. Scrafton tells us, in the case of Roydoulub, "the connection between us, widens the breach between them;" he must either be placed in a distant government, and made stronger than his sovereign, as Ramnarain was; or he must take up his residence in the English settlements, as Roydoulub did; or he must fly the country in an English ship, as Omarbeg did. Of these three expedients, the only one, that the Seets could have accepted, was, the second; and this, they did not chuse, because, I suppose, the quitting their usual place of residence might have hurt the credit of their house, in different parts of Indostan. I say, they did not chuse it, (or at least would not take such a course, till the last necessity, when perhaps they wished it too late) because, some days before their summons to Mongheer, I wrote to them, by the desire of one of their Vackeels, or agents, that if any alarms should happen at the city, so as to make them apprehensive of insult, or danger from any quarter, they might come to Calcutta, and be assured of a safe

a safe retreat; and with this, inclosed a letter to Mr. Chambers, then Chief of Coſſimbuzar, directing him to let them have, upon application, a few of the Seepoys of the factory, to ſee them ſafe to Calcutta.

But it was out of their power to make uſe of this refuge, after the order arrived from Mongheer.

Having thus endeavoured to ſet forth, as fully as poſſible, my reaſons for diſſenting from that maxim of government, which teaches the practice of protecting a ſervant againſt his maſter, I ſhall proceed in my endeavours to ſhew, that in the other parts of my conduct, which the Director has attacked, I preſerved always the ſtricteſt attention to the Company's intereſt; and I ſhall point out the farther good effects of the treaty with Meer Coſſim.

It will be allowed, that an addition of 600,000 l. *per annum*, to the revenue, with a very ſmall addition to our charges, was an aid of ſome conſequence; accordingly, annual ſupplies of money were ſent to China, one ſeaſon only (the beginning of 1764) excepted, when the war with Shuja Dowla prevented it, but it was made up at the end of the year; Madras was aſſiſted as long as they required it; Bombay drew every year for five lacks, or more; the ſhips were loaded with full cargoes; while the bills or drafts upon the Court of Directors were leſſened. It will be argued, that all theſe aids were
given,

given, in like manner, before the year 1760; but let it be remembered, that what stood then in the place of revenue, was a course of payments towards the discharge of the restitution money; which sum being completed, there ensued a total and dreadful stoppage. The difference is like that, which every merchant will conceive, between living upon the principal, and living upon the interest and profits: the restitution was so much recovered of the Company's capital, or principal stock, which had been lost; the revenue, acquired in 1760, was an annual profit.

Afterwards, when a necessity arose for a considerable augmentation of the army, it will be seen that a farther grant or subsidy was obtained from the Nabob, still to bear the Company harmless, and leave them an overplus for the demands of their trade.

That necessity arose, partly from the war with Meer Cossim, but chiefly from the more dangerous war that immediately ensued with Shuja Dowla.

The war with Meer Cossim was occasioned by a chain of events and causes, of which so full a detail is given in the Narrative, that it would be quite superfluous to repeat them here. I shall confine myself to the single circumstance, the practice of which, the Director says, and the abuse of which, I say, was * "one of the real causes of the war;

L I mean,

* Anonymous Pamphlet, p. 36.

“ I mean, the trade carried on by the ser-
 vants of the Company, in salt, beetlenut,
 tobacco, and other articles of inland con-
 sumption.” The Director promises, im-
 mediately after these words, to treat of each
 distinctly; but I do not find he goes any far-
 ther, than to acquaint us, that Mr. Varelst
 did carry on a trade in salt, and that Lord
 Clive did not carry on a trade in salt; in
 both which assertions I agree, for I have al-
 ways understood that Lord Clive engaged in
 no trade, during his first government.

But I do positively deny the conclusion,
 to which he immediately proceeds, * “ that
 it was from this time (after Lord Clive’s
 departure) the inland trade was generally
 given into.” The Director saw, that if,
 according to his promise, he had treated of
 each article, salt, beetlenut, and tobacco,
 distinctly, he must have encountered innu-
 merable instances, contradicting the falla-
 cious opinion, which he meant to impose
 upon his readers; and therefore he forgets
 his promise, and jumps to his conclusion.

I shall venture to maintain, that this trade
 was generally given into, during Lord Clive’s
 government; that is to say, that a great
 number of the Company’s servants carried it
 on, either with his express permission, or
 with his knowledge. He would not suffer
 it to be carried on, under the Company’s
 duty, custom free; but under the Nabob’s
 Per-

* Anonymous Pamphlet, p. 37.

Perwannah, or pass, he allowed the practice constantly. He himself procured that pass for several; and many others carried on the trade, with his knowledge, and of course, we must presume, with his approbation, since he did not prevent or forbid it. The Director's allegation, "that Lord Clive never gave a pass, (unless deceived into it) but for the regular articles of export and import*," is a mere evasion. I grant, that he never gave a dustuck, by which the trade in salt, beetlenut, and tobacco, should pass, free of customs; but he gave his permission for many to engage in it with the Nabob's pass; and many others traded in the same articles, with his knowledge, if not with his permission.

The Director informs us, that when he, as Resident at the Nabob's Court, made a report to Lord Clive, and the principal agents of the Company, of the trade which Mr. Varelst carried on in salt, they gave it as their opinion †, "that the English had acquired no one additional privilege in trade, by our treaty with Meer Jaffier." I never have seen any authentick opinion of the Governor and Council of that time; but it appears, very plainly, that the members of the Council, at the time of my arrival, were of opinion, that all the servants had an undoubted right to trade in salt, beetlenut, and

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tobacco,

* Anonymous Pamphlet, p. 37.

† Ibid.

tobacco, even without any leave of the Nabob, and without paying any duties. They were very indifferent, whether the English had, or had not, acquired additional privileges, by the treaty with Meer Jaffier, for they understood the original privileges of the firmaun to be so ample, that they could admit of no addition; all distinctions between inland trade, and foreign trade, they looked upon as unjust restraints, exercised by the arbitrary power of the Nabobs, when we were unable to dispute with them; but no longer binding upon us, when we had nothing to fear from their resentment. The Director will please to read the minutes of a very full debate upon this subject*, at a Council of twelve Gentlemen, all (except Major Adams) old servants of the Company. In the conclusion, ten were of opinion, that the Firmaun granted a right to trade, in all articles, custom free; two only (Mr. Hastings and I) thought the firmaun granted no right to the inland trade. † Mr. Amyatt and Major Carnac, who were much in Lord Clive's confidence, were in the number of those who held the privileges of the servants in this extensive light, and were, if possible, more strenuous than the rest of the Gentlemen, in insisting that the dustuck should not be clogged with any distinctions.

It

* Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II. p. 316 to 395.

† Ibid. p. 263 to 271.

It is undoubtedly true, that a great number of the Company's servants traded in salt, beetlenut, and tobacco, during Lord Clive's government. The Director could, if he pleased, name many instances, besides that one, which he has thought fit to mention of Mr. Varelt. In his letter of July, 1758*, from the Nabob's Court to the Chief and Council at Dacca, he mentions an English Gomastah at Chilmarree, who could be there for no other purpose, than the sale of salt; and who, I suppose, was the same Mr. Chevalier, mentioned some months afterwards, in the letters of † Mr. Hastings, who succeeded Mr. Scrafton, at the Nabob's court. There it appears, that the Dacca Gentlemen had begun to trade largely in salt, beetlenut, and tobacco, and that they refused to pay the duties; but the Gentlemen maintained, that they had paid the duties. Mr. Amyatt declared frequently at the board, as a proof of the right of the servants to the inland trade, that he had dealt largely in beetlenut, when he was chief of Luckipour, and afterwards as largely in salt, when he was chief at Patna; as did all the other Gentlemen of the factory.

All these were facts well known to Lord Clive. To say that he granted this right of trade to some, and refused it to others, would be accusing him of a partiality, for which

* Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I. p. 25.
p. 26, 27, 28.

† Ibid.

which I can see no reason. I should rather imagine, that he did not restrain any, who had an opportunity of dealing in those articles, only taking care, that they paid the Nabob's duties. He permitted the trade, but without dustucks, not considering it as a firmaun privilege.

My opinion of the inland trade, from the beginning, was this; that the firmaun gave us no sort of right to it; and I agree with the Director, that it is absurd to suppose it ever could be intended. In foreign trade, the firmaun grants us an exemption from duties; in inland trade it leaves us upon a footing with the natives of the country. Paying such duties as were established by the Nabob, and taking his dustuck or pass, the English might trade in it, equally with his own subjects.

Such orders from the Company, upon this subject, as were in being, at the time of my arrival, did not contradict this opinion, nor give me the least authority to take away from the subjects a benefit, which they had enjoyed in the time of both my predecessors, Lord Clive and Mr. Holwell. I looked upon it, as a matter, already determined, by long prescription, that whatever inhabitant of Calcutta, Company's servant, or other, had paid the Nabob's duties at Hoogly, upon his producing the receipt and the pass, from the proper office there, had a right to go on with his trade.

Large

Large purchases of salt were made in the Company's lands, as well in the districts of Calcutta, as in those of Burdwan, and Midnapore; upon this also the Nabob's duties were paid at Hoogly, because it was an inland trade, wherein I thought we could claim no preference, over the people of the country.

This was the distinction I always understood, and explained myself upon, very fully on many occasions, particularly in my * Letter from Mongheer, of the 15th of December 1762. † Minute in consultation of the 1st of February 1763, ‡ further Minute 15th of February 1763, § further Minute 1st of March 1763. In my § dissent from that article of Mr. Amyatt's instructions, which required him to insist upon Meer Cossim's admitting an unlimited right of trading custom-free; and finally, in my ** dissent from that article in the subsequent treaty with Meer Jaffier.

But paying the Nabob's duties, and trading under his passport, I did not conceive this practice to be any infringement of the Company's orders. The most recent instructions I could find, were in a Letter of the year 1748, the terms of which, as well as I remember, were far from being conclusive any farther, than that it was a trade, not

* Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II. page 150. † Ibid. page 234. ‡ Ibid. 275. § Ibid. Vol. III. page 135. || Ibid. 391. ** Ibid. page 342.

not to be carried on as a firmaun privilege, exempt from customs to the country government.

I searched carefully for later, and more particular orders, but could find none, and knowing that the trade had been openly carried on, by numbers, ever since the appointment of Meer Jaffier, with which the Company could not be unacquainted, I regarded it as a right established by custom and prescription. I had no conception, that some should be permitted to follow it, and others be restrained, and therefore I prohibited no Company's servant, nor other inhabitant from this trade; and I traded in it, equally myself, nor at this day can I see any reason, why the servants of the Company should be restrained from dealing in this trade, upon a footing of equality with the people of the country. Had I thought otherwise, and wished to put a stop to the trade, it would have been utterly out of my power. No example nor orders of mine could have prevailed, where we have seen that the Council were unanimous (only one gentleman excepted) in declaring a full right to this trade, custom free, as derived to us from the firmaun.

I am aware, that it will be said, the duties we paid to the Nabob, were by no means equal to what was paid, by the people of the country: this is undoubtedly true, but I knew not what the people of the

the country paid, till I went up to Mongheer, two years after my arrival in Bengal. The duty we paid at Hoogly was $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the price fixed in the Nabob's pass, which price being always considerably above the real cost, brought it to about $4\frac{1}{2}$ ficca rupees per 100 maunds of salt, as rated in consultation * 1st of March 1763. This was the duty that had been required by the Nabob's officers, from the first beginning of this trade, in the year 1758; receiving this duty they gave the pass, and no objection was made as to the rate of duty, till the year 1762. Complaints were made at different times, that the gentlemen at some of the factories would pay no duties, and that their agents or gomastahs were guilty of oppressions, which I endeavoured as much as I could to redress; but as to the rate of duties, I was not sensible of any necessity for an alteration, till the time before-mentioned.

The complaints of the country merchants to Meer Cossim, of the advantage we had over them, in this trade, were strongly urged by Meer Cossim to me, upon my arrival at Mongheer, in December 1762; and as it was my wish to establish an universal equality in a trade, which consisted chiefly in the necessaries of life, I readily agreed in the duty, which he proposed † of 9 per cent.

* Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II. page 399. † Ibid. page 165.

cent. and which was the same the Mussulmen merchants paid.

Enquiring afterwards, in my way down the river from the agents, which I met upon their passage up, with several fleets of boats belonging to the country merchants, I found the duties demanded from them at several places, amounted to above 25 rupees *per* 100 maunds, which, reckoning the salt at 80 rupees *per* 100 maunds, would be 20 *per cent.* upon the cost. Regarding this as an imposition and extortion of the Collectors, or of the Zemindars of the districts, bordering upon the river, (since the Nabob himself had computed the duties only at 9 *per cent.*.) * I represented the case to him, and recommended to him to free the merchants in general, from such a variety of demands, by receiving from them, as from us, a reasonable rate of customs, in one place only.

But in these my endeavours, to establish a general equality, in this trade, I was assisted by only one of the Council, Mr. Hastings; the rest of the gentlemen opposed it violently, insisting, that by the firmaun we had a right to deal in this trade custom-free, as well as in the foreign trade; and accordingly Mr. Amyatt, upon his deputation to Meer Coffim, was positively enjoined in his instructions to claim this right, and then to tell the Nabob he should be allowed 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.*

* Vanfittart's Narrative, Vol. II. page 193.

cent. upon salt * as an indulgence ; in exact conformity to the plan proposed by Major Carnac, in his minute of the 1st of March †. Thus founded, I say it was the abuse of this trade, the claiming it as a firmaun privilege, duty-free, that was “ one † of the real causes of the war ;” for I must agree with the Director, that “ || to insist upon carrying on the inland trade, paying 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was the same in effect as insisting upon the Subah’s consent to the ruin of himself and all his subjects,” especially when it is considered that this was to be on salt only, while the natives were to pay largely on all articles.

I have mentioned what orders of the Company, in relation to this trade, existed in Bengal at the time of my arrival, none more recent than 1748 ; and although it was well known to have come into frequent and continual practice, from the year 1758, no other orders were received on the subject, until those which the Director mentions, dated the 8th of February 1764, and received in Bengal in August or September following. As I have no copy by me, and do not particularly recollect the terms of those orders, I shall suppose they were such as the Director states them, and enjoined positively, that a stop should be put to the

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inland

* Vanfittart’s Narrative, Vol. III. p. 126. † Ibid. Vol. II. page 374. ‡ Anonymous Pamphlet, page 36. § Anonymous Pamphlet, page 40.

inland trade in salt; but these orders could not serve for our government, before we were possessed of them, and when they arrived, two or three very strong circumstances came under the consideration of the Governor and the Council, along with them, as being circumstances the Directors were unacquainted with, when they wrote the order. These were, the war with Meer Cossim, his defeat and expulsion, and the appointment of Meer Jaffier, who in his treaty had consented expressly, that the English might trade free of customs, in all articles, excepting salt, upon which $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was to be paid at Hoogly.

About the same time that the Company's before-mentioned order arrived, Meer Jaffier came to Calcutta, and having found great losses and inconveniencies from this article of the treaty (from which it will be remembered, that Mr. Hastings and I dissented) the Board had upon his representations agreed to take the subject of the inland trade into fresh consideration, and waving the right, which by this treaty they had acquired, to establish such limitations and restrictions, in concert with the Nabob, as that it should neither be oppressive to the natives, nor hurtful to the Nabob's revenue.

Such a plan was actually completed, some time in the month of October, and the Director has no doubt read it upon the face of the consultations. All the distant branches

branches of this trade were cut off to prevent the oppressions which were committed by the agents and gomastahs, in those places, where no authority of the Company was present to restrain them. All Europeans were forbid to go up the country; and in short, such regulations were made as promised all the wished for good effects.

But just as we were issuing the orders, to enforce these regulations, the ship Success arrived (the 27th of October 1764 or thereabouts) with a Letter from the Court of Directors, dated in May, in which we were told that Lord Clive, and the Select Committee, would have powers to regulate the inland trade.

In obedience to which notice, the plan we had formed, was ordered to lie for the emendation of that Committee; I left Bengal soon after, and can safely aver, that I did not engage in any of this trade, after the receipt of the order of the 8th of February. This is the fact which the Director has most disingenuously endeavoured to represent, as a wilful and interested breach, on my part of the Company's orders, artfully concealing all the circumstances, he says, " * Mr. Vanfittart, and his Council, met " to debate on this order, and came to a " resolution to carry it on, paying 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent." This is the second instance (pointed to in page 40) of the truth of Mr. Fielding's observation. I have

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 49.

I have been very particular, on this subject, because I did always value myself upon being an obedient, as well as a zealous servant of the Company, and it is a merit I do not care to give up.

It is very fortunate, that nothing farther was done, in respect to regulating this trade, until the arrival of the Select Committee, for it would only have subjected the merchants to unnecessary losses; since the plan, which the Committee resolved upon, in conformity, they say, to particular orders from the Court of Directors, differs entirely from the directions of the 8th of February, as well as from what the Governor and Council had settled in concert with Meer Jaffer. It is a monopoly, in my opinion, of the most injurious nature. I have my information from an advertisement, which, as it was affixed by way of proclamation, in all the public places of the settlement, is, I suppose, in the hands of every body; but I will just re-ite the preamble, as a proof of what I have alledged.

Calcutta 12 August, 1765.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

“ THE Honourable the Court of Di-
 “ rectors, having thought proper to
 “ send out particular orders for limiting the
 “ inland trade in the articles of salt, beetle-
 “ nut, and tobacco, the same is now to be
 “ carried

“ carried on, in conformity to those orders,
 “ by a publick society of proprietors, to be
 “ formed for that purpose, and an exclusive
 “ right to the trade of those articles will be
 “ vested in this society, by an authority de-
 “ rived from the Company and from the
 “ Nabob; all manner of persons, dependent
 “ on the Honourable Company’s Govern-
 “ ment, are hereby strictly prohibited from
 “ dealing, in any respect, directly or indi-
 “ rectly, in the articles of salt, beetlenut,
 “ or tobacco, from the date hereof; that is
 “ to say, that they shall not enter into any
 “ new engagements, unless as contractors,
 “ either for the purchase or sale of the ar-
 “ ticles with the society of trade.”

I wish the Director would be so honest,
 as to say truly, whether he, who in such
 strong and pathetic terms, has set forth the
 ruinous consequences, which any trade in
 the beforementioned articles, carried on by
 the English, would draw on the country,
 has, with the same zeal, given his advice and
 opinion, in his Director’s chair, against the
 monopoly now established, by which the na-
 tives are totally excluded from this trade.

As I am of opinion, that an universal
 equality of trade in these articles would be
 the most beneficial footing, it could stand
 upon; so I think that a monopoly of it, in
 the hands of a few men of power, is the
 most cruel and oppressive; the poor people
 of the country have not now a hope of re-
 dress,

dress, for the Nabob's name is introduced as joining with the Company in giving authority to the monopoly. I must suppose, with the Director, that neither Meer Jaffier, nor Meer Cossim, could have been induced* to "consent to the ruin of themselves and all their subjects;" but the present Nabob, if he may be so called, has so great a respect for the Committee, that he goes hand in hand, in introducing this ruin. He actually issued orders to all the Zemindars of the country to attend at Calcutta, and enter into bond to trade only with the Committee; the order of the Committee to the same purpose, went forth at the same time, and the Zemindars were forced to repair to Calcutta, and enter into bonds accordingly; of which orders and bonds the following are copies:

Translation of the Nabob's order to the Zemindars of the country, dated the 3d of Suffer, in the 6th year of the Mogul's reign (August, 1765)

TO THE GOMASTAH of Luckeynarain, Choudry of the Perganah of Ieclamoota. BE IT UNDERSTOOD, that a request has been made by the Governor and the Gentlemen of the Committee and Council, to this purport, "that until the contracts for salt of the said Gentlemen are settled, no salt be made or got ready in any district; that a
" Go-

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 40.

“ Gomastah be sent to attend on the said
 “ Gentlemen, and having given a bond, he
 “ may then proceed to his business, and
 “ make salt; but till the bond is given to
 “ the Governor and the Gentlemen of the
 “ Committee and Council, they should
 “ make none.” THEREFORE, this order
 is written, that you send, without delay, your
 Gomastah, to the said Gentlemen, in Cal-
 cutta, and give your bond and settle your
 business, and then proceed to the making of
 salt. In case of any delay, it will not be for
 your good. Regard this as a strict order.

Translation of an order to the Zemindars,
 under the seal of the Committee, in conse-
 quence of the beforegoing order from the
 Nabob.

The Seal
 Committee,
 words in
 as within

<p>The English Society of Merchants, for buying and selling all the Salt, Beetle, and Tobacco; in the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, &c.</p>

of the
 with the
 Persian,
 written.

TRUSTY AND WELL BELOVED. Anunde-
 laul we greet you well. WHEREAS it has
 been resolved, that whatever salt shall be pro-
 curable in the salt works of the Soubah of
 Bengal, &c. the trade thereof shall be reserved
~~to~~ to the English * Sircar, and shall not
 be meddled with by others, to which pur-
 N pose

* State or government.

pose a * Perwannah from his excellency the Nabob has issued.

THEREFORE this order is written, that the moment it reaches your hands, you are to send a † Vackeel and a trusty Gomastah, that he may come here and receive the Nabob's Perwannah, and act in obedience to the same, and settle the trade of your salt with the Governor and the Gentlemen.

Translation of the bond taken from the Zemindars.

I JADOORAM Choudry of the Perganah of Deroodumna, in the district of Ingelee, conformably to an order, which has issued from the Nabob, to this purpose, “ that I should
 “ attend upon the Gentlemen of the Com-
 “ mittee and Council, in order to settle my
 “ trade in salt, and that I should not deal
 “ with any other person ;” do accordingly oblige myself and give this writing, that excepting the said Gentlemen, called *the English Society of Merchants, for buying and selling all the Salt, Beetle, and Tobacco, in the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orisa, &c.* I will on no account trade with any other person, for the salt to be made in the year 1173; and without their order, I will not otherwise make away with, or dispose of a
 single

* A grant or letter under a great seal from any man of power, to a dependent.

† Envoy, or a person sent on any particular commission.

single grain of salt; but whatever salt shall be made within the dependencies of my Zemindary, I will faithfully deliver it all, without delay, to the said society, and I will receive the money, according to the agreement, which I shall make in writing; and I will deliver the whole and entire quantity of the salt produced, and without the leave of the said Committee, I will not carry to any other place, nor sell to any other person a single measure of salt. If such a thing should be proved against me, I will pay to the Sircar of the said society a penalty of five rupees for every * Maund. IN WITNESS whereof I have written this by way of obligation. Dated the 17th of Rabe-al-aful, the 6th year of the reign (September, 1765.)

I could set forth the unhappy condition of the people, under this grievous monopoly, in the words of a letter, which I have received from one of the country merchants; but I think it needless, because it must occur sufficiently to every reader who has any feeling.

The profits of this monopoly are divided among the principal servants of the Company, civil and military; and as in p. 76, I agreed with the Director that Lord Clive did not carry on a trade in salt, at the time there mentioned; so I trust, that now the Director will agree with me, that his Lordship does

N 2

trade

* 80 lb. weight.

trade largely in salt, beetle, and tobacco, as a principal share of the profit of the society is allotted to him.

The Director has reproved me, very severely, for that regulation, whereby our agents and Gomastahs, employed in the country, are required, in case of disputes, to apply for justice to the officers of the Nabob. He says, it was “ a * most inexcusable error in any man, who had resided only a month in that country.” The English Gentlemen, now employed by the Committee, for carrying on the monopoly, are obliged to enter into bond, that upon all occasions of dispute, they will so apply to the officers of the Nabob; which I mention only to shew, that it is not easy to lay down any rule but this, for preserving some sort of government, in places, where the jurisdiction of the charter does not extend.

It is time I should quit this subject, and proceed to an examination of the increase of military expences, in which the Director endeavours to make it appear, that I have put the Company to unnecessary expences. He sets out with asserting, that in Lord Clive's time †, a lack of rupees *per* month, more than sufficed for the expence of the army, when in the field; to which I have said, (and I shall give further proofs of it) that in his calculation, he must have omitted some considerable articles. He then proceeds

* Anonymous Pamphlet, p. 39. † Ibid. p. 6.

ceeds to tell us, that “ * it did not enter into
 “ Lord Clive’s computation, that his succes-
 “ for should run up the expence to almost
 “ double that sum; nor could he, who had
 “ defeated the army of Serajah Dowla, with
 “ three thousand men, conceive the English
 “ should ever keep up an army of fifteen
 “ thousand.” Afterwards he mentions the
 battle gained by Col. Monro at Buxar; but
 he says, “ † the expence of the army was
 “ enormous, for we did not now fight our
 “ battles with a handful of men, as at Plas-
 “ sy, in 1757. The military establishment
 “ had been annually increasing ever since
 “ Lord Clive left the country, and now
 “ consisted of eighteen thousand horse and
 “ foot.”

Thus the 15,000 (like Falstaff’s men in buckram) are increased to 18,000, while he is telling the story; but I shall take the liberty to examine this matter more particularly.

The Director has stated the force left by Col. Clive, to be ‡ 1200 Europeans and 7500 Seepoys; together, 8700: But I think the number of Europeans could not have been so many, and I shall reckon the whole to be only 8000, after the return of Col. Forde’s command from the Decan.

This number was somewhat increased, in the years 1761 and 1762, upon the representation of the commanding officers, of the necessity of keeping a larger force at Patna;

* Anon. Pamph. p. 6. † Ibid. p. 47. ‡ See p. 18.

na; and by a request from the Governor and Council of Madras, to have a body of Seepoys raised at Bengal, for the service of an expedition to Manila. The increase, however, was not very considerable, at the time the war broke out with Meer Cossim, about the middle of the year 1763. Our force then, may be pretty nearly computed from accurate accounts.

We find, at Patna, under the command of Capt. Carstairs*, 220 Europeans and 2700 Seepoys. The rest of our force was collected, as much as possible, to take the field with Major Adams, who had, at the battle of Gheriah, † 800 Europeans and 2200 Seepoys. There was a detachment, at that time, to the Eastward, with Capt. Swinton; and there was a considerable number of Seepoys at Chittagong and Dacca; for all which, and the troops left at Calcutta, sick and well, I judge we may allow 300 Europeans and 4000 Seepoys, which will make the whole amount to 1320 Europeans and 8900 Seepoys; together, 10220.

From the year 1760, to the year 1763, very few recruits came to Bengal from England; the expedition to Manila, and other services, having occasioned their detention at Madras; but this want was supplied by his Majesty's 84th Regiment, (Colonel Coote's) which made a very considerable part of the
before-

* See the return in Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. III. p. 160. † Ibid. p. 392.

before-mentioned force, which took the field with Major Adams.

From Major Adams's march, in July 1763, to the battle of Buxar, by Colonel Munro, in October 1764, was one continued campaign; during which, the body of the army was always at a great distance from Calcutta. In this time we were under a necessity of raising some additional Seepoys, for various services; but especially when Shuja Dowla invaded the province with all his force, and the name and presence of the Mogul, we were obliged to augment our numbers considerably. It was necessary to defend every part of the country, against a more formidable enemy than all that we had before engaged with. We were called upon, to protect both sides of the Ganges; to garrison the forts of Mongheer and Patna; to secure the Passes, and to guard the frontiers of Burdwan and Midnapore. Meer Jaffier was not able to contribute, in the least degree, to these services; and therefore we could do no otherwise than increase the Company's forces, and call upon him to pay the additional expence.

Our European force we could not recruit; on the contrary, we had lost the greatest part of Col. Coote's regiment, who were embarked for Europe; but in their place came a detachment of his Majesty's 89th regiment (Col. Morris's) from Bombay, with Col Monro; a detachment of the 96th regiment

giment (Col. Monson's) from Madras; and the marines of the King's squadron.

During the course of the campaign, our Seepoys were, for the before-mentioned reasons, augmented to eighteen battalions of 700 men each, officers included, making 12,600; and it was found absolutely necessary to have a small body of cavalry, to cover the baggage and provisions of the army, and prevent the troops from being continually harrassed by the vast numbers of the enemy's horse: for this service one thousand of the country horse were taken into the Company's pay; to which, adding the Europeans, about the same number as before, (1320) I judge our whole force in Bengal, at the time of the battle of Buxar, to have been about 15,000.

But these were stationed in different posts and garrisons, from Chittagong, the eastern boundary of Bengal; to Patna, the western; and there was a detachment, on the way up, to join the army; all which being considered and deducted, together with the sick, Col. Monro could carry into the field scarce 8000 men of all sorts, as appears by the return of the troops at the battle of Buxar, which I happen to have by me, and stands thus:

His Majesty's troops, consisting of detachments of the 84th, 89th, and 96th regiments, and the marines of

Capt.

Capt. Tinker's Squadron	-	-	-	237
Company's infantry	-	-	-	628
European cavalry	-	-	-	45
Artillery	-	-	-	152
				<u>1062</u>
Black cavalry	-	-	-	1002
Seepoys	-	-	-	<u>5806</u>
Total, including officers,				<u>7870</u>

To what end does the Director labour to exaggerate the merit of the battle of Plaffy, and depreciate that of Buxar? Does he mean to add any thing to Lord Clive's military reputation? The Director knows, that the battle of Plaffy was the least of his Lordship's military achievements; and that an abler pen than his, or mine, has been employed, to transmit to posterity an account of very many actions, on the coast of Coromandel, that do great honour to his character. Does the Director mean then to detract from the merit of Colonel Monro? If he does, I am happy, in having materials by me, to do justice to that officer, to whom the Company owe so much. From the victory he gained at Buxar, all that we now possess in Bengal was immediately derived. As fast as our troops marched, Shuja Dowla fled, until he abandoned his whole country to us: the Mogul seeing Shuja Dowla defeated, surrendered himself to our protection, and our wishes became the laws of the empire, as far as our army could enforce obedience.

After the account the * Director himself has given us of Serajah Dowla's pusillanimous behaviour, before, in, and after the battle of Plassy, none of his readers can be much inclined to compare that wretched Nabob of Bengal with Shuja Dowla, the Nabob of Oude; of whom the same Director says, " † He is son of the late Visir Munfor Ali Cawn, and is the most formidable Soubah of India, with respect to the goodness of his troops; but he is not rich."

Such indeed was the reputation he had acquired; and the number of his forces, at the battle of Buxar, with the attendants and followers of the king, who was joined with him, was computed to be at least eighty thousand.

Does the Director mean to impute it to me, as a crime, that I took what precautions I could to defend the Company's estate, against the attack of such formidable enemies? This was evidently his design, and a design with which he must have been quite enraptured, when he could suffer it to lead him so far from the truth, as to assert, that the military establishment " † now consisted of 18000 horse and foot, the expence of which soon swallowed up the thirty lacks paid by Meer Jaffier; as also the further sum of five lacks *per* month, which Meer Jaffier had agreed to pay, while the war lasted; and the Company were sinking from

* Scrafton's Sketch, p. 90, to 95. † Scrafton's Sketch, note to p. 124. ‡ Anonymous Pamphlet, p. 48.

“ from forty to fifty thousand pounds, every month, of their capital.”

This is a horrible gulph indeed, and if it was a true representation, must have a dreadful effect upon the value of India stock, which I shall first shew by calculation; and then I shall endeavour to dissipate the alarm, by proving that the whole is only a flight of the Director's genius, without the least foundation.

The number of troops at this time, in the Company's pay, was 15000; which, according to the Director's account, *swallowed up* the thirty lacks paid by Meer Jaffier, for losses and expences in the war with Meer Cossim, (in one year) is,

	Lacks	Rupees
Per month	2,	50000
The monthly sum, which Meer Jaffier had agreed to pay while the war lasted	5,	00000
Forty or fifty thousand pounds per month, of the Company's capital, say forty-five	3,	60000
And before we come to the capital, we must of course reckon the revenue which the Company then possessed in Bengal, but which the Director has forgot	4,	50000
Total monthly expence *	15,	60000



O 2

In

* 195,000 l.

In the same proportion, the military establishment in Bengal, consisting now of above twenty thousand men, would come to a monthly expence of 2,080,000 rupees, or 260,000*l.* which I suppose is nearly equal to the whole produce of the revenue; and, in such case, nothing would remain, to make good, what we have engaged to pay to the Mogul and the Nabob.

Let us look back likewise for a moment, and observe the effect, which the Director's statement would have upon the amount of military expences, at the time Lord Clive quitted Bengal, in February 1760. We have seen, that the Director has made out the numbers then to be 7500 Seepoys, and 1200 Europeans; together, 8700: But I have reckoned them to be only 8000; the expence of which, in proportion to the above statement, would be 830,000 rupees, or 103,750*l.* *per* month, or 1,245,000*l.* *per ann.* to support which, the Company were provided only with seventy thousand pounds *per ann.* revenue of the Calcutta lands, clear of the jaghire, and one lack of rupees *per* month, stipulated to be paid by the Nabob, during such time as the troops were actually in the field.

But the truth is, the Director's view has not been to inform the Reader, but to scandalize me; and therefore he represents all expences before the year 1760, as no deduction at all, from the then revenue of
70,000 *l.*

70,000 l. *per annum*, and the expences afterwards, as consuming in a moment, the increased revenue of 600,000 l. *per annum*, and the very capital of the Company.

When the before-mentioned augmentation of our forces became necessary, upon the invasion of the King, and Shuja Dowla, the strictest care was likewise requisite, in supplying the army regularly with money, for even without a pretence of wanting pay, they were too much inclined to mutiny. Not therefore to depend entirely on Meer Jaffier's payments, we gave the Chief and Council at Patna, unlimited power to draw upon us (the Governor and Council of Calcutta) for whatever sums might be wanted, for the supply of the army. Bills came accordingly, for many great sums, which were discharged, sometimes in cash, and sometimes in bonds, as was agreed with the bill-holders.

At the same time, we did not neglect to make several considerable advances, for the investment.

The time I speak of was from the month of February 1764, to my departure from Bengal, in November following; during which period, if the Director will look to the Commissary General's accounts of camp expences, I believe he will find them amount monthly, to between four and five lacks of rupees.

But when we came to consider this expence jointly, with what the Company disbursed

buried in Europe for raising troops, and sending them out, and the purchase of military and artillery stores; with what the military store-keeper disbursed in Bengal, for the purchase of further stores, making tents, gun-carriages, gunpowder, and many other very expensive requisites; when we came, I say, to add all these articles to the monthly account (as the Director should have done when he made his calculation of former expences) we found it necessary to represent the sum total of the expence in a rough estimate to Meer Jaffier, as amounting nearly to seven lacks; and as this unavoidable increase, was a burthen brought upon the Company, as much for the defence of the provinces, in general, as of the Company's own possessions, it seemed just, that he (the Nabob) should bear a large part.

At the same time therefore that we settled a plan, for restraining the inland trade, and for establishing other regulations, which Meer Jaffier desired; it was insisted, that he should pay a subsidy to the Company, of five lacks *per* month, as long as the prosecution of the war, with Shuja Dowla, should render it necessary, to keep up this augmented military establishment.

This being added to the revenue of the districts before granted us, there remained still a considerable over-plus, as an aid to the commercial concerns of the Company.

Those concerns were attended to, notwithstanding this burthensome and alarming war;

war; supplies of money were sent to the aurungs and factories, for the purchase of goods, whenever the more urgent demands of the army would admit of it; and the Director's assertion, that the ships were sent " * half loaded to Europe", is most unjust. Three ships, the Devonshire, Vanfittart, and Bute, were dispatched to Europe, at the usual season, with full cargoes; and the Caernarvon was half loaded, and sent to Madras, to be filled up there, according to the request of the Governor and Council of that settlement. The Bute was the last ship dispatched that season, and she was so well filled, that several bales of goods, which were sent down the river to her, were returned to the settlement for want of room.

It is true, however, that the quantity of goods purchased this season, fell short of what had been provided in former years, as the money could not be advanced in due and early time; and some inconvenience of this sort is unavoidable, in the midst of a war, in which the first attention must be to provide money to supply the wants of the army. I have said, that this indispensable care, prevented our sending an aid of money to China, the beginning of the same year (1764), but it was an object we thought of with the utmost anxiety, knowing it to be a very essential article, for the welfare of the Company's trade; and therefore we
were

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 49.

were determined to exert all our endeavours to make up for this deficiency, at the end of the year; and accordingly we did send a supply of ten lacks of current rupees, or 116,000 l. in the month of November.

It was particularly to enable us, to complete that sum, that we received gladly, what money was offered to the Company's treasury, at interest of eight *per cent.* which is the same interest the Company have given in Bengal, ever since the year 1759, before which time it was nine *per cent.*

It is the lowest interest that ever was known in Bengal. The Committee for carrying on the monopoly of the inland trade, in the same advertisement (the preamble of which, I have recited in page 88.) offer 10 *per cent.* interest, for any sum without limitation.

Why then does the Director endeavour here again, to throw an unjust reproach upon me, insinuating, as a crime, that the Company were “* obliged to borrow great sums of money of their servants, at eight *per cent.* interest.” It was borrowed, from any, who chose to lend; but the sum offered was not very considerable. The amount of the debt at interest, in Bengal, at the time of my coming away, the end of November 1764, was about thirty lacks of current rupees, or 350,000 l. and that had been the usual amount, at the same

* Anonymous Pamphlet, p. 49.

same period, in every year. Upon the departure of the ships to Europe, this debt used to be partly discharged by bills, upon the Court of Directors, and so reduced to about twelve, or fifteen lacks, from which it rose again in the interval, to about thirty, as before-mentioned; this was not found to be any inconvenience to the Company, as it was not suffered to be extended, beyond what I have represented. The present Governor and Council, whose judgment the Director will not dispute, do not see this article, in so grievous a light, as he represents it; if it is true, as I have been well informed, that the debt at interest was increased, when the last ship came away, to full seventy lacks of current rupees, or 816,660 l. notwithstanding the additional income the Company have got, by the possession of the whole Bengal revenue.

I come now to speak to the article of the last treaty, with Meer Jaffier, stipulating an indemnification for private losses, which the Director says in his Pamphlet “* proved a source of the most dishonourable oppression.” And in the Observer, “† the restitution-money you so honourably stipulated for, will probably never be paid.” Is then a single Director authorized to declare against the right of thousands, and to threaten them with an arbitrary seizure of their property?

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 48. † Observer, No. VI. page 35.

perty? It is an attempt, I defy him to defend, by any one argument in law or equity, and I shall not grudge the trouble, it may cost me, to expose the unprecedented tyranny of this declaration, and to do justice to the incontestable rights of the whole body of the inhabitants, living under the Company's protection, whether in their service, or out of their service.

It is well known, that in the first treaty with Meer Jaffier, in 1757, a certain indemnification was stipulated, for the losses sustained in the war, by all the inhabitants of Calcutta, viz*.

For the English inhabitants	-	-	-	-	50 lacks or 625,000
For the Gentoos, Moors, &c. (Natives)	20	-	-	-	or 250,000
For the Armenians	7	-	-	-	or 87,500
					77 lacks or 962,500

It would have been much more equitable, and honourable to our nation, if the whole sum for indemnification had been stipulated in one article, and a just and proportionable dividend made of the whole, without distinction of religion or complexion; for all were equally entitled to the Company's protection and assistance.

The consequence of this unbecoming partiality was, that the natives received only $\frac{2}{7}$, and a quarter of a sixteenth, or $\frac{3}{84}$ of the amount of their losses; the Armenians received

* Scrafton's Sketch, p. 85.

received their bare principal, while the English received their full principal, with 20 *per cent.* interest; and a small over-plus of the fifty lacks remained in the Company's treasury.

It came into the Company's treasury, by being mixed, with other payments, from the Nabob, but it was held, that the Company had no right to detain a shilling of it; and accordingly the English inhabitants (notwithstanding an interest of 20 *per cent.* already received) have a suit in Chancery against the Company for the over-plus money.

But how great, Gentlemen, will be your surprize, when I tell you that this very Director, Mr. Scrafton, is himself a party to this suit against the Company. This very Director, who now so seriously threatens to invade the property of others.

The Company, in their answer to this suit, do not even pretend a right to the over-plus money, but they dispute the amount as stated by the claimants.

Law and equity will be found, equally on the side of the claimants, under the last treaty with Meer Jaffier. Equally did I say? Yet more; for there, all the inhabitants, of whatever religion or nation, were impartially regarded, whoever depended on the Company's protection at Calcutta, or the subordinate factories.

The words of the treaty are, “ * I will
 “ reimburse to all private persons, the
 “ amount of such losses, proved before the
 “ Governor and Council, as they may sus-
 “ tain in their trade in the country; if I
 “ should not be able to discharge this, in
 “ ready money, I will give assignments of
 “ land for the amount.”

It is impossible for words to convey a stronger right; the claimants could not have been better secured, if at the time of making this stipulation in their behalf, the Governor and Council had been aware of the oppressive design of this unmerciful Director.

The objections, which have appeared against this right, are three. First, † That Meer Jaffier was in the beginning assured, the amount of losses would be only ten lacks; but it came afterwards to be fifty-three lacks. Secondly, That ‡ a great part of the losses were sustained in an illicit monopoly carried on against the orders of the Company. And thirdly, That a || question remains to be determined, whether these losses *were* considerable.

To the first objection I say it is true, that a Committee of three of the Council, who were appointed to consider of three of the articles, for forming a treaty with Meer Jaffier §, proposed, that the sum of ten lacks should be

* Vanfittart's Nar. Vol. III. p. 362. † Anonymous Pamphlet, p. 48, and Obs. No. II. p. 13. ‡ Anon. Pamp. p. 48, and Observer, No. II. p. 12. || Observer, No. II. p. 12. § Vanf. Nar. Vol. III. p. 339.

be paid, for reimbursing to private persons the losses they might sustain, in their trade in the country. Business then pressed, and we had not time for calculation; it was meant to give the merchants full restitution for their losses, but among other more material publick concerns, that were then under the consideration of the Governor and Council, the proposal for the restitution, as brought in by the Committee, was not particularly objected to. None of these proposals were conclusive; they were only materials for a treaty to be formed; and as such, an article that did not concern the Public, was not closely regarded. If Meer Jaffier had agreed to it, and it had been returned to the Governor and Council, as an article for the treaty, probably it would have occurred to some one or other of the Members of the Council, that the sum was very deficient, and an amendment would have been made.

It happened, however, that Meer Jaffier himself, made the objection; he said he would readily make good the losses of the merchants, according to the accounts, which should be proved, to the satisfaction of the Governor and Council, but would not agree upon a fixed sum.

This was of course, more agreeable to the Governor and Council, as it secured to the merchants the indemnification we intended, and saved the necessity of present calculation;

calculation ; on the part of the merchants, I should have been very much concerned, if for want of calculation, an insufficient provision had been agreed upon ; and on the part of the Nabob, I can aver, with the greatest truth, that the utmost diligence and attention, was exerted by the Governor and Council, in examining the accounts, as they were produced, and preventing all unjust and unreasonable charges. Upon an application from some of the merchants, to have the expected profits of their trade allowed along with the principal, it was most expressly declared, to be the resolution of the Governor and Council, to pass no account for more, than the prime cost of the goods (of which the members of the Board were competent judges) interest of 10 *per cent.* for the time the money had been employed, and the payment of the restitution delayed (as will presently be mentioned more particularly) and certain reasonable allowances for risks to different places, according to the rates affixed in the advertisement ; all which resolutions were faithfully observed through the whole course of this examination.

The Committee persevered, in refusing to allow the merchants, the expected profits of their goods, notwithstanding what was thrown out, that they would be liable to prosecution, and to be made answerable ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ their own persons, for the difference ; and the merchants so seriously thought themselves

selves aggrieved, that the case has actually been laid before two eminent gentlemen in the law for their opinion; whether the sufferers are not intitled to be indemnified according to the prices of the goods, at the places where they were lost. I shall produce the case and opinions, to shew what a risk the ^{mittee} Company run, to make this burthen, as light as possible, to the Nabob.

C A S E.

Previous to the late revolution in Bengal, when Cossim Aly Cawn was deposed, and Jaffier Aly Cawn again invested with the Subahship, a treaty was entered into with Jaffier Aly Cawn, relative to the restitution of the losses, sustained by the tyranny and oppression of Cossim Aly Cawn, and amongst other articles of the treaty, there is the following:

“ And I will reimburse to all private persons the amount of such losses, proved before the Governor and Council, *as they may sustain in their trade in the country.* If I should not be able to discharge this in ready money, I will give assignments of land for the amount.”

There was a Committee of restitution, consisting of nine persons, appointed to ascertain the losses of the sufferers; and by the 4th article of their regulations, it is declared,

“ The

“ The Calcutta market price of all sorts
 “ of exports to markets in the country, and
 “ the Aurung price of imports to Calcutta,
 “ shall be esteemed the prime cost, except
 “ where it can be proved, the goods were
 “ actually sold and delivered, and afterwards
 “ lost, in which case the price the purchaser
 “ gave, to be esteemed his prime cost.”

And by article the 5th,

“ The charges merchandize shall be al-
 “ lowed on all estimates, and an allowance
 “ of 10 *per cent.* in lieu of interest.”

N. B. Aurung is a market, or fair, in the country, and the words, imports and exports, are applied to goods, brought from the interior parts of the country to Calcutta, and sent from Calcutta to the country.

Several merchants lost large quantities of merchandize, during the depredations of Cossim Aly Cawn, which had been bought at Calcutta, and other places, and sent to Patna, where they would have produced very considerable profits, if they had disposed of the same; and as by the resolutions of the Committee of Restitution, they were entitled only to the prime cost of their goods at Calcutta, and the charges of merchandize, and 10 *per cent.* interest, they presented a memorial to the Committee, complaining of the rule they had established, for ascertaining the losses; and insisting that by the true spirit, and meaning of the treaty, with Jaffier Aly Cawn, they were entitled to be fully
 in-

indemnified, to the amount of the value of their goods, at Patna, where they were lost, the value of them there, being *the loss actually sustained by the sufferers in their trade*; and on the 16th of March, 1764, the Committee * of Restitution took the memorial of the merchants into consideration, and came to the following resolution thereon.

“ Read again the letter, delivered in, at
 “ our last meeting, by nine merchants on
 “ the subject of the regulations, at first esta-
 “ blished, for the government of those, who
 “ have claims to deliver in. Taking the same
 “ into consideration we are unanimously of
 “ opinion, that these Gentlemen extend their
 “ pretensions, beyond what the nature of the
 “ case will admit. In the publick calami-
 “ ties of war, merchants will undoubtedly
 “ be sufferers, and it is very seldom that go-
 “ vernments can, or do procure any satisfac-
 “ tion or reparation for such losses; nor can
 “ any right be set up to such reparation.
 “ In the present case, the Nabob, in whose
 “ favour we declared, has engaged to make
 “ good the losses of the merchants, being
 “ under the Company’s protection, so far as
 “ the accounts shall be passed and approved
 “ by the Governor and Council; when we
 “ proposed to the Nabob, that such a sti-
 “ pulation should be made, we had no
 Q “ thoughts

* Present Mess. Vanfittart, Hastings, Marriott, Watts, Middleton, Leycester, Burdett, and Graham.

“ thoughts of requiring more, than the re-
 “ stitution of the principal and interest, by
 “ no means intending to charge the Nabob,
 “ with the expected profits, which in some
 “ cases will amount to 100 *per cent.* or more.
 “ The arguments alledged by the merchants,
 “ in their address, for adding the expected
 “ profits to the principal, did not escape the
 “ consideration of the Committee, but they
 “ were not thought to carry sufficient rea-
 “ son, for increasing the charge upon the
 “ Nabob, for whom we would determine
 “ (since he has made us the judges) in the
 “ same reasonable manner, as if the restitu-
 “ tion was to be paid by our own govern-
 “ ment. The members of the Committee
 “ are perhaps the most considerable sufferers
 “ themselves, but they, and all the rest of
 “ the merchants, may be thankful after such
 “ calamities to receive back the principal
 “ and interest of their losses.”

“ The regulations being here again read,
 “ AGREED, that the first, second, third, fifth,
 “ sixth, and seventh do stand confirmed. The
 “ fourth being liable to the objection men-
 “ tioned by the merchants, it is necessary
 “ to signify, and it is hereby declared to be
 “ our meaning, that salt shall be reckoned
 “ an import to Calcutta, and charged, like
 “ other Aurung goods, at the prime cost.
 “ AGREED farther, that in consideration of
 “ risque, an additional sum of 15 *per cent.*
 “ be

“ be allowed on all claims for goods, ex-
 “ ported from Calcutta to Patna, and there
 “ lost, and so in proportion for exports
 “ lost, at all other places, to be ascertained
 “ by the Committee, as the accounts are
 “ delivered in. ORDERED, that the Secre-
 “ tary do transmit to the merchants, in an-
 “ swer to their letter, a copy of the proceed-
 “ ings, and that he do farther publish them,
 “ throughout the town, and forward other
 “ copies to the chiefs of the subordinates.”

N. B. The suggestion, that the members
 of the Committee were the most considera-
 ble sufferers, is not admitted to be fact; five
 of the Committee having suffered no loss at
 all; and the loss of two others, to wit Mr.
 Billers, and Mr. Leycester, not exceeding
 100,000 rupees between them; with respect
 to the loss of the two remaining members of
 the Council, nothing is known with any
 certainty.

The sufferers are greatly aggrieved, by the
 resolution of the Committee of restitution;
 the difference between the value of their
 merchandizes, at the places where they were
 bought, and at Patna where they were lost,
 amounting to several thousand pounds.

Quere 1st, YOUR OPINION is therefore de-
 sired, whether according to the true spirit
 and meaning of the treaty, with the Nabob
 Jaffier Aly Cawn, the sufferers are not inti-
 tled to be indemnified to the full amount

and value of their goods and merchandizes, according to the prices thereof, at the places where the same were seized, by Coffim Aly Cawn, and lost, without regard being had to the prices thereof, at the places where the same were bought?

Mr. YORKE'S Opinion.

I am of opinion, that the reasons given in the resolution of the Committee, of the 16th of March, 1764, for not carrying in an *estimate* to the Nabob, of profits lost, which were expected in the course of trade, but which had not been made upon an actual sale, are just weighty and satisfactory. Prime cost, charges of merchandize, and 10 *per cent.* interest, are the proper articles to form the estimate. Expected profits of sale are precarious, and depend upon contingencies of time and market, and quality of the goods as well as upon locality.

Sir FLETCHER NORTON'S Opinion.

If this was a question undecided, I should have thought the rule, by which the loss of the merchants was to be estimated, must be the reasonable value of the merchandize, at the place where the loss happened, without any regard to the prime cost, or the value at any other place; but as the Nabob was by the treaty, to pay such losses only, as should be proved before the Governor and Council; and they having appointed a Committee, to liquidate those losses, I think the Nabob
has

has fulfilled the treaty, according to the true spirit and meaning of it, if he makes a satisfaction to the merchants who have suffered to the value and amount, which shall be deemed reasonable by such Committee; and the Committee having revised their first adjustment of the losses, and adhering to it, I think the question is not now open; and the merchants should acquiesce, notwithstanding the hardship of the case, and indeed I do not see what more can be done for them.

From hence it appears, that if there is any cause of complaint, against the Committee, it is on the part of the merchants, for limiting their demands too closely; not on the part of the Nabob, for admitting too largely.

The amount therefore, of the collected accounts, cannot be made a reasonable objection to the right of the claimants, under the treaty: Neither does the sum exceed, what might have been expected comparatively with the former account of restitution, for which the sum granted was, as has been already set forth 77 lacks or 962,500l.

To have done equal justice to all the inhabitants, there was wanting

For the natives - - 33 lacks or 412,500l.

For the Armenians - 1,40000 or 17,500l.

Total should have been 111,40000 or 1,392,500l.

The

The present account of restitution granting to all the inhabitants, full and equal indemnification, came to 53 lacks or 662,500l. a sum considerably less than half of the before-mentioned, and therefore is really not surprizing, considering the settlement in a state of "flourishing trade," as Mr. Scrafton represents it, in page 126, of his Sketch, and which all the well-wishers of the Company will rather rejoice at, than lament.

The second objection is, that a great part of the loss, was sustained in an illicit monopoly, carried on against the orders of the Company.

I have already shewn what orders from the Company, I met with on this subject, in some letters of the year 1748, and preceding. These contained no orders, but what might be dispensed with, under the consent of the Nabob; and his pass, which every follower of this trade took out, paying his duties, seems to me to convey a full proof of consent.

The orders of the 8th of February 1764, can have no sort of relation to this subject, although the * Director, very artfully endeavours, to make them appear, as a conclusive argument against the claimants. The fact is, those orders did not arrive in Bengal, till after all the accounts of restitution were delivered in, so that he will strive in vain to prove, that they should, or could have any effect,

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 48.

effect, upon the trade of the settlement, for six years before.

Let the Director then produce the orders, by which he thinks himself authorized to stop any part of the restitution. The Nabob bound himself to pay it, to the inhabitants under the Company's protection, expressly to make good the losses, they might sustain, in their *trade in the country*. He was sensible at the same time, and so were the Governor and Council, that the greatest part of the amount, would consist in such trade, which trade, Meer Jaffier knew had been carried on, ever since he first came to the government, and to the continuance of which he had now given full consent in his treaty. This therefore can be no just argument, against the right of the claimants. If any orders of the Company, more positive than those I have mentioned, were ever sent, they were not to be met with, in my time. Many books and papers were lost, at the capture of Calcutta, in 1756, of which the Directors being advised, they formed, in 1758, a new system or collection of laws, for the government of their servants in Bengal, among which laws, nothing is mentioned on the subject of the inland trade. Upon the whole I must repeat, that there was not, according to the best of my knowledge, any express order against this trade, until the 8th of February 1764. It was treated in general, as illicit, as not being a firmaun privilege,

lege, and under that to be carried on custom-free; but it seemed always left open for the inhabitants residing under the Company's protection, to deal in, equally with the other inhabitants of the country, under the Nabob's pass, and paying his duties.

The orders, of the 8th of February 1764, were of very short duration; for two months after their arrival came an explanation, which brought the matter back, to the footing just mentioned. The agents in Bengal were informed, as the Director says, that “* Lord Clive, and the Committee, would have powers, to regulate the inland trade;” and he adds “meaning to regulate it so, that it should neither be oppressive to the natives, nor hurtful to the Nabob's revenue.”

But there must have been some other more *particular orders*, in conformity to which, the Advertisement mentioned in page 88, announces that the trade in salt, beetle-nut and tobacco, is to be carried on, altho' the Director has not thought proper to inform us farther.

This leads me to the plea of “monopoly,” which makes another part of the Director's second objection, to the right of the claimants, under the treaty with Meer Jaffier; to which I shall only say, that there was no monopoly in my time, whatever there may be now. I have mentioned that

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 49.

that I met, when I came down the river from Mongheer, several fleets of boats, loaded with salt, belonging to the country merchants, going up to Patna, and the same were seen every day in all parts. It is true, they were not upon a footing of equality with the English, and it is no less true, I used my endeavours to make them so, in respect of this trade. I have mentioned one instance to shew, that the country merchants were not excluded from their share of this trade, which the Director stigmatizes, with the name of monopoly; a thousand evidences may be produced to the same effect; I may therefore venture to pass from this subject, to his third objection, which stands thus; “ A question remains to be determined, whether these losses *were* considerable;” that is to say, whether the Governor and Council, who were commissioned by the Nabob, in his treaty, to examine the accounts of the claimants, did not for themselves, or for other inhabitants, pass false and fraudulent accounts.

On In answer to such a scandalous insinuation, from a man, who has seen none of the accounts, what can be said, but that it is a most false and injurious supposition; such a one, as no man of fair and honest intentions would attempt to propagate, without a fact to support it. If he is in possession of any such, I call upon him, solemnly, to produce it; if he does not, then let him take

to himself the shame, that attends those anonymous writers, who lurk in dark corners to assassinate the reputation of others.

The Nabob made the Governor and Council the final judges of the claims of the inhabitants for restitution, under the treaty; yet I am very willing, and I think it right, that the Court of Directors should revise those accounts, and if it should appear, that by any wilful neglect or connivance, the Governor and Council admitted any unjust charge, let them be made accountable to the Nabob or his heirs; but this (which I believe will not be found in any one instance) ought not to be made a pretence, for depriving the whole body of the inhabitants of their property.

I shall close this subject, with some very excellent rules, out of the Observer. The right of the claimants, in the case before us cannot be seized, “* without breaking down the sacred barriers of property; which, according to Mr. Locke’s principles, would at once be a dissolution of all government.” “† I defy any man, to produce a single instance, from the Revolution downwards, where private property has been wilfully violated by the legislative power.” “‡ The property of one subject, should be as sacred, as the property of another; and the smallest de-

* Observer, p. 20. † Ibid. p. 24. ‡ Ibid. p. 30.

violation, from impartiality, is a palpable
injustice.*

I shall next endeavour to shew, that the
Nabob was not unreasonably pressed, as to
the time of paying the restitution money,
although the Director alledges, that "all
delicacy of conduct was laid aside in the
manner in which the payment was ob-
tained."

† The Director has stated, that in the
year 1757, Meer Jaffier engaged, separate-
ly, to give the army, for their services,
twenty-five lacks of rupees; and the navy,
for their services, twenty-five more.

In like manner, on this second occasion,
he engaged to give the army twenty-five
lacks, and the navy twelve and a half.

The sum, stipulated for the Company,
was first paid; it was very nearly, if not
wholly discharged, between the time of
Meer Jaffier's departure from Calcutta, in
July 1763; and his return in August 1764.

The money for the army, was almost in
equal forwardness; the troops being muti-
nous, and the Nabob present with them, he
endeavoured to discharge what was due to
them, as fast as possible.

The sum for the navy was not even fixed,
till three months after the Nabob's return to
Calcutta. No part of it was paid, when
Lord Clive arrived in May 1765. His

R 2 Lord-

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 49. † Scrafton's
Sketch, page 86.

Lordship did not think proper to have it paid, and the Directors doubted, until your justice, Gentlemen, interposed at a late general Court, and decided in favour of a corps, which had done the Company so many important services, in the course of the war, infomuch, that it may very truly be said, we are indebted to them for the preservation of India.

For the account of restitution, not a rupee was paid, during the Nabob's absence. The complaints of the merchants were always answered, that the urgent demands of the public must be first considered; these being effectually taken care of, the proper representations were made to the Nabob, to engage him to fulfil, as soon as possible, the article of his treaty, in behalf of the inhabitants; and the first payments were made, in November 1764, sixteen months after the ratification of the treaty, and after all the danger of the war was over.

If these, which I have mentioned, are all the "** private accounts*," upon which the Director says, "*Meer Jaffier was closely pressed*," I hope he will accept the foregoing, for a sufficient answer; if he means any others, I desire he will speak out; this very insinuation was spread about, by the same Director last April, in an anonymous Letter in a news paper; and forced me to declare, that a very handsome present (no less

less than fifty thousand pounds) had been offered, and pressed upon me by Meer Jaffier, just before I left Bengal, and that I refused it, sensible of the great demands he had to provide for, in military charges, and in the amount of restitution, due to the merchants. I referred the Director, and I refer again for the truth of this, to Meer Jaffier's Minister, Nuncomar, who being no friend of mine, will not give false evidence to screen me from censure.

Turning back to the treaty of 1757, I am reminded of the charge, that lies against me in the *Observer*, of suppressing one of the articles. The *Friend to the Company* says, " * One thing I had almost forgot. In your Narrative, Mr. Vansittart, you have, with your usual candour, omitted to make mention of that article of our first treaty with Meer Jaffier, in which the English oblige themselves to support him in the Subahship, and which was sworn to, by the servants of the Company."

The astonishment with which I was seized, upon reading this accusation, was but increased, when I referred to a copy of the treaty, and found nothing of this article. I thought my copy was erroneous, till recovering from my surprize, I recollected that this was the very article which had been much sought after, in the year 1762, upon

a charge which the Dutch Company brought against the English Company, that “* they had entered into a treaty with Meer Jaffier offensive and defensive.”

The Dutch called this, the 13th article, by which they assert, that the English had promised † “not only to assist Meer Jaffier, with all their power, to obtain the government of Bengal ; but also afterwards give him the like assistance, against all his enemies whatever ; not only against those, who should undertake any acts of hostility, against the Nabob, but also against all others, who in any case whatsoever, should presume to refuse what the Nabob should demand.”

They charged further, that it appeared to them very extraordinary, if it should be true, ‡ that by virtue of this offensive and defensive alliance, with a native prince, one European nation may in a hostile manner fall upon another.” And they insisted, that such engagements were contrary to the treaties, subsisting between his Britannick Majesty, and the States General.

The Directors of the English Company, in their Memorial to his Majesty, in answer to these heavy complaints of the Dutch, astonished at being charged, with a 13th article of which they had never heard, reply in these words, “§ We presume to think “ that

* Dutch Memorial, p. 27.

† Ibid. p. 28.

‡ Ibid.

§ English Memorial, p. 27.

“ that the same regard to treaties, and to
 “ justice, which forbad the Dutch Company
 “ to assist Serajah Dowla, required from us
 “ the assistance we lent to Meer Jaffier; not
 “ that we had really concluded a treaty, en-
 “ titling him, to expect succours from us,
 “ against those who had undertaken, or
 “ should undertake any hostilities against
 “ him, and even against all others, who on
 “ what account soever, should refuse what
 “ he required of them, how unjust, ill-
 “ grounded, or even tyrannical the demand
 “ might be, which is asserted to be the sub-
 “ stance of the treaty, as explained by Col.
 “ Clive. That such a treaty should have
 “ been concluded, or that Col. Clive should
 “ so represent it, are equally incredible;
 “ and speaking from our advices as to the
 “ former, and having his authority for the
 “ latter, we presume to say, that both parts
 “ of the assertion are absolutely false.”

And at the close of this Memorial, sub-
 mitted to his Majesty, by the Directors, is
 Lord Clive's confirmation in the following
 words : *

“ This is to certify, that I have carefully
 “ perused the annexed Memorial of the
 “ English East India Company to his Ma-
 “ jesty, and do solemnly declare, that such
 “ of the facts therein mentioned, as I was
 “ any ways concerned in, are truly stated,
 “ and

* Appendix, No. XIII.

“ and that I verily believe the rest to be
 “ so.”

The Directors took the first opportunity of writing to Bengal to enquire after this article, which the Dutch had imputed to them, as inconsistent, with the national treaties. The original articles, with Meer Jaffier, were examined in Council, and found to be only twelve, the same exactly, as they stand in the Narrative *, where “ the Friend to the Company” discovered this wicked suppression, the “ *one thing*,” which he had “ *almost forgot*” to reproach me with.

If the copies in the India House; if the representation of the Directors to his Majesty; if Lord Clive’s solemn testimony; if the original treaty; and finally, if all these together are not sufficient to satisfy the “ Friend to the Company” of my innocence in this matter, I shall bring in an evidence, which he dare not dispute, without calling in question his own veracity. Let him turn to page 85, of Mr. Scrafton’s Sketch, where he will find the treaty recited, with the same twelve articles, as in the Narrative.

If the Dutch, upon any fresh information, had revived this charge, it would not have been surprizing; but who would have expected it to come from a Director, or a *Friend to the Company*? It is a charge so sufficiently refuted, that from this moment, I think myself, no further concerned in it,
 than

* Vansittart’s Narrative, Vol. I. page 19.

than as one of the proprietors of East India Stock. As such, Gentlemen, I must give it, as my opinion, that it behoves us, to take care to prevent the impositions of this anonymous Writer from reaching the throne, without being accompanied with an ample declaration of their falsity; we should not suffer such scandal to go forth without contradiction, nor let a report prevail, that may give the least cause for suspicion, that the Company in their Memorial, were guilty of wilful misrepresentation to his Majesty.

I think I have taken notice of all the material articles in the Pamphlet, and in the Observer; and I shall only request your patience, for a few moments longer, while I pursue the Director, into some of his byeways, and make him ashamed, if that is possible, of the base arts, and unfair weapons he has used.

Mr. Holwell's Answer to Meer Cossim*, and his Letter to Mr. Woollaston, have been frequently levelled against me, by the Director, as implying, that when the Present, which Meer Cossim, first offered, was refused, a right to a future claim was reserved.

This offer was pressed, both upon Mr. Holwell and me, but what particular words he made use of, when he refused it, I did not hear. I was a stranger to the obligation Mr. Holwell received from Meer Cossim, some days afterwards; and a stranger likewise

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* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 30.

to the Letter, which Mr. Holwell wrote from England to Mr. Woollaston, the purport of which, he has related very fairly to the public. *

On the other hand, Mr. Holwell could not be acquainted, farther than I informed him, of what I said to Meer Coffin, when I refused his offer, because he was not present. Meer Coffin paid me a visit, at the time we were concluding the treaty with him, about the end of September, 1760, and delivered me a Persian paper, which I returned the moment I had read it, and absolutely declined the offer, without any reservation whatever of any future claim. My sentiments, on this subject, are to be seen at large, in a † minute of Council, the 22d of March, 1762, nearly to this purport, that no private interest of mine should ever come in competition, with the demands of the Company and the public; and I defy the Director, under all his disguises, to produce an instance, of my deviating from this maxim.

Although Mr. Holwell's Letter to Mr. Woollaston, does not in any manner concern me, I cannot help taking notice of the contrivances, by which it was made public; as I look upon it to be no inconsiderable instance of the industry of the Director, and his friends, in procuring informers. The † Observer acquaints us, that "it fell into
" the

* Obs. Extra, by Mr. Holwell, p. 5. † Vanf. Nar. Vol. II. page 29. † Observer, No. VII. page 42.

“ *the hands of some gentlemen, who were*
 “ enemies to the Revolution, and who sent
 “ it home, for the perusal of their masters.”

This is too general an account; from others I have been more particularly informed, that a certain person, by the unfortunate death of a near relation, became possessed of a confidential letter, and handed it to another person, which other person sent it home to the India House; and the Director, from the notice he has taken of it on different occasions, means no doubt to ascribe to himself much honour, insensible to those feelings, which to every man of generous principles will make this transaction appear, as a most detestable breach of trust.

But if the Director thinks that his duty to the Company renders such informations indispensable, he ought to have laid before the Court, at the same time, a Copy of his own Letter, to a friend at Patna, desiring him to recommend secrecy, to two or three people in Bengal, in regard to a private money-transaction in which he was concerned, in the year 1757, at the time, when he was resident at the Nabob's Court, and in trust for receiving the stipulated sums for the Company, the Army, the Navy, and the Merchants.

Mr. Scrafton * mentions one Omichund, who was employed, as an agent, under Mr. Watts at Moorshedabad, and tells us of

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some

* Scrafton's Sketch, page 79.

some services, which he rendered in the year 1757, in encouraging the conspiracy against Serajah Dowla; but he does not say a word of the reward which this man met with. As Mr. Scrafton was a principal performer, upon this occasion, he ought to have informed the public, of all the particulars of a transaction, which would serve to throw a great light, upon the history of the time he treats of.

And I think this may be a proper place, for me to ask Mr. Scrafton, a question or two, in confirmation of what I took the liberty to say to him, at a late general court, upon the first notice of his anonymous attack upon me.

Whether it is not true, that he made his fortune out of the public treasury at Moorshedabad, or by presents from Meer Jaffier soon after the battle of Plassy, although we are told by himself, that for fear of distressing Meer Jaffier, at so critical a time, “* it was thought more consistent with the general interest to accept of one half” of the public money; that is, the Company’s, the restitution to the merchants, and the reward to the army and navy, “by the last day of October; and the remainder to be paid off, within the compass of three years, by equal payments every six months,” and although Meer Jaffier failed, even in these payments, notwithstanding

* Scrafton’s Sketch, page 97.

ing the diligence of Mr. Sraffton, who was left at the Nabob's Court to receive the Company's money?

And whether it is not likewise true that Mr. Sraffton, having so made his fortune, did take great offence, at some order or appointment of the Court of Directors, and thereupon wrote a letter to the Governor and Council of Bengal, to resign the service, in which letter he expressed himself, very insolently, against the Court of Directors, and then took his passage for Europe?

This last circumstance, I was induced to mention at the general Court, in order to shew how unreasonable it was, for such a Director to censure a very decent and respectful Memorial, which has been lately submitted to the Court of Directors, by the whole body of the servants in Bengal, upon occasion of a measure resolved on, and executed by the Select Committee there. The measure in question was this; several vacancies having happened in the Council of Bengal, the Select Committee (upon whom indeed it did not properly depend to fill the vacancies, it belonging to the Governor and Council) would not suffer the promotion to go on in the usual order, but called four gentlemen from another settlement, to fill the vacant seats in the Bengal Council. The Bengal servants complained of this, as an unprecedented hardship, and the Select Committee, as a reason for their proceeding, impeached the integrity and capacity of the
whole

whole body, in one general charge, without a single fact or instance offered. This cruel report, having gained so much credit, as to be in every mouth, and to be heard in all assemblies; I thought it might become me, as having served in both settlements, to take some public occasion, of declaring my opinion, and attempting to give some little check to a torrent of abuse, which bore down all characters in one undistinguished ruin. I said, that no one could dispute the power of the Court of Directors, to appoint whom they pleased to every station in their service; but that no Governor, or Council, or Committee abroad, had ever before attempted to call in servants, from another settlement, to fill up vacancies in Council; and that without disparagement to those gentlemen, whom the Committee had called from Madras, I could venture to say, there were a great number among the servants in Bengal, as well qualified, in every respect, to fill the vacant seats in Council; and that during my residence in Bengal, I had no reason to complain of the want of diligence, capacity, or integrity in the servants in general.

This is what is called in the Observer, “* professing myself the leader of the discontented servants.” I take the part of no Company’s servant, against whom the Court of Directors have any cause of complaint; but surely, it is not a crime, to speak

* Observer, No. VI. page 35.

to speak to the characters of a whole body of Gentlemen, who are accused, without a fault, and punished without a hearing; and to endeavour to remove a prejudice, which had taken such deep root, for want of examination.

It is said, but not truly, in the * Observer, that “the Directors had adopted the very same measure *previous* to any knowledge of Lord Clive’s intention;” Lord Clive himself mentions, that he recommended it to the Court of Directors, by the Admiral Stevens packet; and it is well known, that it was resolved by the Court of Directors *in consequence* of that recommendation. The servants in Bengal will be very glad to see the hopes the Observer gives, † that it was “only a temporary expedient;” and whenever the Court of Directors may think proper to redress this grievance, I am sure the servants will entertain the warmest sentiments of respect and gratitude for the favour.

It seems strange, that one who is so ready to inveigh, against the least appearance of disrespect in the servants of the Company, should in the same moment recommend a public act of disobedience. The Director says, the resident at the Nabob’s Court (an inferior servant) should have wrote to the Governor and Council against the trade in salt, beetlenut, and tobacco, and ‡ “if they

* Observer, No. VI. page 35.
 † Anonymous Pamphlet, page 38.

† Ibid. ‡ A-

“ they persisted” in their own opinion, he should have “ quitted the Nabob’s Court.” Whenever he happens to lay aside the disguise of his office, and nature resumes her power, he appears an enemy to all the rules of subordination.

He did not however practice, what he advises, when the case was actually his own. He knew very well, that many of the Company’s servants carried on a trade in one or other of those articles, in the year 1758, when he was resident at the Nabob’s Court; but we do not find that he took any such violent measures to bring his superiors to order.

Speaking of this trade, it is incumbent on me to take notice of two other circumstances, which the Director mentions, as a reproach to my character. He says*, I should have “ set the example of self-denial,” and not engaged in the inland trade, “ which was more immediately my duty,” as well from the rank I bore, as in gratitude to my employers, from whom I at this time received near 20,000 l. *per annum*. I do acknowledge very thankfully, that when the revenue of the lands, amounted to 600,000 l. *per annum*, the commission I was allowed of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* came to 15,000 l. and the other appointments of the Governor, might bring it up to 18, or 19,000 l. but I ask the Director, who is a judge of the expences in Bengal, (which

* Anonymous Pamphlet, p. 39.

no man can be who has not resided there a considerable time) whether the vast number of attendants a Governor there, must have in pay; the sort of parade he is obliged to keep up; and the character he ought to maintain in hospitalities of many kinds, will not require a very considerable part of that sum, great and noble as it is? It is true, that Lord Clive, in his Letter to the Court of Directors of the 27th of April, 1764, gave it as his opinion, that this “allowance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the Company’s territorial possessions, was too great a burthen on the Company’s estate, and left it to the Directors, to make him whatever allowance they might think consistent with his station.” In consequence of this advice, I have heard an order was sent to discontinue the commission, and in lieu thereof, his Lordship was granted, exclusive of the jaghire of 30,000 l. *per annum*, a salary of 6000 l. *per annum*; and the Company to bear all his expences. The accounts of those expences, I suppose have been sent home, and I wish to have this question decided, by the face of those accounts. If it should appear, that besides the jaghire and salary, the expences exceed all that I was allowed, I hope it will be an inducement to the Court of Directors, to continue to future Governors, the same appointments they indulged me with.

I do not however mean to offer this necessity of great expences, as a reason for my being concerned in the inland trade. I put allowances and expences out of the question, and traded, as a matter of course and common right, which I have before sufficiently explained. I was, however, (I might say unfortunately) chiefly engaged in the foreign or shipping trade, which though not so profitable to the merchant, was of more general use to the settlement, as employing a greater number of people. For this reason my concerns in the inland trade were comparatively small, comparatively I mean, with a great number of the inferior servants; as may partly be judged of by the restitution accounts, when they come to be published, in which my claim will appear among the most moderate.

The other circumstance, is concerning one Mustapha, who the Director says, “* was thrown into prison as a spy, and afterwards became one of Mr. Vansittart’s agents for his inland trade.” It is true this man was taken up for a spy, and it is true he was kept in prison many months, at Masulipatam, and Bengal; so much the Director has thought proper to relate of the story of Mustapha, but the circumstances he has purposely omitted, in order to give his scandal, the air of truth are these; that the man was a native of Turkey, educated
at

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 17.

at Paris, employed first in the French service upon the coast, and afterwards in the English service at Bengal, as an interpreter; being discharged from this office, he was travelling back by land to the coast, to seek employment, where he could, perhaps with the French again, which according to my apprehension would have been no crime. On his way he was stopped, and carried prisoner to Masulipatam, together with a large parcel of papers, which circumstance was taken to be enough, to constitute him a spy. The man was sent to Bengal to be tried, but the papers were forgot; after a long and grievous imprisonment the papers arrived, and were found to contain journals of his travels, mixed with some observations in his own particular way, for he is that uncommon sort of man, which we may conceive to be formed from a mixture of Turkish gravity, with the affectation of French improvements. He appeared to the Council to merit compassion, rather than punishment; and an order was given for his release, as may be seen upon the Minutes, I believe in March 1761. I forget whether any little allowance was granted him as an amends for his sufferings, but I know it was purely the circumstance of his distress, that induced me afterwards, to take an opportunity of giving him bread, by employing him, in my trade. There appeared no

scheme between him, * and Coja Haddee for introducing the French to Bengal, nor does the Director mention any suspicion of that sort, against Coja Haddee, when he tells us of his being murdered by Meer Jaffier; nor afterwards, when he mentions Colonel Clive reproaching Meer Jaffier with this crime.

Thus much for a Turk. For the Armenians I say, that they were always regarded, as a considerable body among the merchants, residing under the Company's protection in Bengal, as may be judged from the particular stipulation, for their restitution, in the treaty with Meer Jaffier of 1757; and there was one in particular, Coja Petrus, who was employed, in some degree, by the Committee, in the negociation with Meer Cofsim, soon after my arrival in Bengal, and who had been employed in some political transactions before. As merchants I regarded and protected them; but that *I suffered them about my person*, in the sense the Director † implies, that I consulted them, upon any affairs of the Company, political or commercial, I do positively deny. Not that I had any particular prejudice against them, but it was none of their business. The Director, after pronouncing them to be a set of people, unfit to be trusted, tells us upon the authority of one of them, that

“ * a

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 17. † Ibid. page 42.

“ * a few months delay” (in the war with Meer Cossim) “ would have overfet us, and
 “ stripped us of every privilege and pos-
 “ session in that country;” and the gentle-
 man, who fends this Armenian’s opinion to
 the Director, gives his own at the same time
 as follows : “ † this I firmly believe, had we
 “ not began with him, he would with us,
 “ whenever his forces were brought into
 “ that regularity of discipline he intended.”
 I will not take advantage, from the Direc-
 tor’s example, to difpute this Armenian’s
 authority ; I will admit it to be of equal
 credit, with the gentleman’s, or even with
 the Director’s own. But he must not infift
 on my giving up my opinion, to either, or
 both, or all three together. I do not think
 Meer Cossim would have begun a war with
 us, but if he had, we should have carried
 on a juft war, instead of an unjust ; and as
 to the event, begin when he would, as far
 as fuch events can be forefeen, his ruin was
 inevitable. We could never have fet out
 with a greater misfortune than we did, in
 the lofs of almost half our force, by that
 ftrange fatality, which attended our troops
 at Patna, after they had affaulted and taken
 the city.

Among the various arts, which I have
 had occasion to mention, in my courfe thro’
 the Anonymous Pamphlet, and the Observ-
 er, I do not recollect whether I have taken
 notice

* Anonymous Pamphlet, page 43. † Ibid.

notice of any false quotations. There is one however in the Observer, No. II. page 12, which ought not to be forgot, lest it should leave a wrong impresson, upon the mind of the reader, as was intended. The Observer is painting, as he calls it, *the Tyranny of the Company's servants in every station, and the miserable situation of the unfortunate Natives*, occasioned by our dealing in the inland trade. In order to finish his picture, he puts a note, wherein he says, "so extremely apprehensive
 " were the Indians of the English, that in
 " a letter from Mr. Warren Hastings, resi-
 " dent at the Nabob's Court, dated Bau-
 " glepoor, 25 April 1762, he informs the
 " Governor, that upon his way, the petty
 " towns and serais were deserted at his
 " approach, and the shops shut up through
 " a fear, that he and his Company were a
 " party of the *Armed Traders*, by whom
 " they were generally plundered and op-
 " pressed."

This Letter from Mr. Hastings, being referred to, as it is printed in the Narrative, Vol. II. pag. 79 to 84, the Article in question will be found to run thus.

P. 81. "A party of *Seepoys*, who were
 " on the march before us, afforded suffici-
 " ent proofs of the rapacious, and insolent
 " spirit of *those people*, where they are left
 " to their own discretion. Many complaints
 " against them were made me on the road,
 " and

“ and most of the petty towns and serais
 “ were deserted at our approach ; and the
 “ shops shut up, from the apprehensions of
 “ the same treatment from us.”

The seepoys are the black regimented troops of the Company, who think as little of trade as the English troops. Mr. Hastings observed, that when those people were left to themselves, they were apt to be guilty of oppressions, on their march ; and in order to prevent this, it was the care of the Governor, and the military Commanders, to send European Officers, with the seepoys, whenever it was possible.

This being understood will prove to be rather a compliment to the English, than a reproach ; as it shews they not only refrained from oppression themselves, but prevented others.

The concluding paragraph of the Anonymous Pamphlet, which acquaints us with the causes of Meer Jaffier's death is almost too ridiculous to merit a serious refutation. He says, “ the persecution of Meer Jaffier,
 “ for payment of the several demands on
 “ him,” and “ the indignities he suffered,
 “ hastened his death, by bringing on a bad
 “ state of health which ended in a dropsy,
 “ of which he died two months after Mr.
 “ Vansittart left the country.” I am happy that he lived so long after my departure ; for if he had died, during my government,
 I think

I think the Director would not have let me escape with so slight a charge; but the truth is, Meer Jaffier died in a good old age of a total decay; and considering his debauched life, it is wonderful he held out so long.

If demands of money, and indignities suffered, are admitted to be causes of a dropsy, the present Nabob, son of Meer Jaffier, must have a more violent attack than his father, since he has not only lost the command of his revenue, but is totally deprived of every part of his dignity.

I left the Company, in quiet possession of lands, to the value of about 700,000 l. *per annum*; and a subsidy from the Nabob of five lacks of rupees *per month*, or 750,000 l. *per annum* to support their increased military charges. In every other respect Meer Jaffier was master of his revenue, and his government.

* I might have taken for the Company the grant of the Duany, which they now possess; the Court of Directors were acquainted, that it was offered in the year 1761 by the same Mogul, after his defeat and surrender to Major Carnac; and the Secret Committee were apprized of my reasons for declining it.

I have said, that I left Meer Jaffier Master of his Revenue and Government, after provision made for the Company.
He

* Vanfittart's Narrative, Vol. I. page 255 to 263.

He was in a situation to plead the cause of his own subjects, and assert their rights, which he did with good effect, in settling with the Governor and Council, several limitations and restrictions, in the inland trade, as mentioned in page 86. His son is reduced to a very different condition, both as to revenue and dignity; for the first he depends on the Company's allowance, and as to dignity, what greater proof can be given of his total disgrace, than that which has been produced in page 90, an order under his own hand and seal, enjoining the Chiefs of the country to go to Calcutta, and give bonds not to trade in salt with any other persons except the Committee?

I shall say nothing in defence of my * *countenance* nor my *figure* at the last April Election, because no Arguments of mine are wanted to prove, that every Proprietor has a right to give his Vote as he pleases; but whatever offence the present Directors may have taken against me, I declare I would be as willing to settle an account with them, as with any other Gentlemen; and therefore if it is true, as is said in the † Observer, that any Account of mine is unsettled, of which, however, I have not the smallest recollection, I repeat here, what I have said before, that I shall be ready to attend the Directors, at any time

U they

* Observer, No. VI. p. 35. † Ibid. No. VII. page 38.

they appoint, for examining such account, and answering their enquiries.

I hate, and detest Ingratitude, and therefore cannot be silent, under the reproaches, thrown out in the Observer, upon this subject. The obligation to Lord Clive there alluded to arises from his recommending me, to some of the principal Directors as a proper person, to succeed him in the Government of Bengal; and I have always acknowledged myself very thankful for his good opinion. The success of this recommendation, was rendered easy, by the favourable reports, which had been made of me frequently to the Court of Directors, by Mr. Saunders, and Mr. Pigot, under whom I served at Madras; yet I have never underrated the favour done me by Lord Clive; and if his Lordship accuses me upon this point, I hope to be able to prove, that I have not failed in that regard, which I owe him. At present I am far from thinking, that he encourages this Director's scandalous attempts, or expects me to submit, without reply to the abuses of the lowest of his Dependents.

I very sincerely ask pardon, for the length of this Letter; and only intreat that the assertions in the Anonymous Pamphlet, and in the Observer, may be weighed in that balance, which the author professes to be his standard. “ * He desires no credit for
“ any

* Observer, No. I. page 2.

“ any assertion, that is not justified by reason, and supported by fact.” I give you Gentlemen, and myself this trouble, once for all, for I will not demean myself with entering into any further discussions, with a man, who seeks to propagate his scandal, under so many disguises ; by anonymous libels in Observers and News-papers ; by defamatory Pamphlets, without the name either of author or printer ; by opposite facts, and sentiments, asserted at different times, to serve present purposes ; * by ambiguous insinuations, as groundless as abusive ; by false statements of real facts, and all sorts of impositions ; and finally by insidious endeavours, to draw in Lord Clive, and the Court of Directors, to support his malevolence.

He endeavours to give to the most just and reasonable measures, the name of Party, in order to revive and nourish that detestable support of his own power. The force of Party made him, what he is ; and if that was banished, which I hope in time it will be, he must sink, to the level of his own merits ; and be no more heard of, but in the records of his political transactions with Meer Jaffer, Roydoulub, and Omichund.

* See the motto to the Observer, No. VI.



