



Bodleian Libraries

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

This book is part of the collection held by the Bodleian Libraries and scanned by Google, Inc. for the Google Books Library Project.

For more information see:

<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dbooks>



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 2.0 UK: England & Wales (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0) licence.

A
T H I R D
L E T T E R

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDMUND BURKE, Esq;

ON THE

Subject of the Evidence contained in the Reports of
the Select Committee of the House of Commons.

WITH AN

INTRODUCTORY PREFACE.

“ Nothing can shew the shameless depravity of the human
“ heart so strongly, as when a few men join together, and,
“ under the sanction of delegated power, indulge the gratifi-
“ cation of their private spleen, to the injury, and sometimes
“ ruin, of an innocent individual.”

Remarks of the Rev. Recos Jepphi, tom 3, page 1.

L O N D O N :
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, M,DCC,LXXXII.



AN
INTRODUCTORY PREFACE
TO THE
THIRD LETTER
TO
EDMUND BURKE, ESQUIRE.

S I R,

YOU have disappointed me extremely, in not producing in one of the Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Asiatic judicial affairs, the evidence of Mr. Charles Goring. The man's moral and political principles coincide so exactly with your own, that I had proposed infinite pleasure to myself, from reading the commentaries of a Burke on the evidence of a Goring. When I first heard that you had been advised to call him up, in order to support, by his testimony, your elaborate and partial strictures on the limping evidence of a Cowe, I foresaw much well deserved disgrace to your faction, from your inveterate credulity. The whole East India Company's service could not furnish out a character so completely calculated to damn a cause, as this same Mr. Goring. Nor should the friends of Governor General Hastings have taken any notice of your proceedings; they ought to have known that candour and fair dealing, would be lost on the leaders of a certain Committee: they had had sufficient experience of your method of drawing up Reports, and in prudence and in policy, should have

A

permitted

permitted you to have gone on to commit yourself as disgracefully, by partial comments in the third Report, on the veracity of a Goring, as you had done in the second, on the whimsical and truly novel ideas of a Cowe. From the first reading of the second Report, it was my advice, that the Governor General's friends should keep aloof, and suffer you to go on. I saw that the Chairman of your Committee, assisted by that spleenic little Hero the Bengal Cutcherryman, and the artful Philip Francis, had discovered your credulous cullibility, and would lead you on to prostitute your superior abilities, in gilding over the evidence of any the most daring advocate they should think proper to introduce at the Speaker's chamber, to say to the Committee any thing they should dictate against the Governor General of Bengal.

Mr. Goring was introduced ; he was examined at your table ; the information he produced was entered on the face of the minutes of the Committee ; but in the Reports since delivered into the House, no notice is taken of it. Pray, Sir, is this a common custom with the Committees of the House of Commons ? Is it usual with them to drop such parts of the evidence taken at their table, as does not suit with the politics of the Chairman, or the sentiments of the Compiler ? Whatever Mr. Goring may have said, must have gratified the spleen of the enemies of the Governor General ; because the reason assigned for sending for him to the Committee, was, that at all times, and in all places, where he could claim the least attention, his practice was to calumniate in gross terms, the character of that gentleman. I must own that I had not the least conception that your Chairman would have funk his evidence, I am not entitled to dispute with the Committee, their right of withholding
any

any part of the information which may have been given in at their table ; but not having the least suspicion that they would indulge themselves in so doing, I had prepared an antidote to counteract the venom which you, Sir, as penman to the Committee, might have extracted from the partial representations of such a veteran as Mr. Goring. Some hints were given to me of the kind of matter, written and verbal, which the man produced, and which, in such hands as yours, might have been so distorted, as to have been prejudicial to the honour of Governor Hastings, at a time when the whole nation had been convinced, that the malpractices of some Asiatic managers, have involved the Company in the pernicious and ruinous war in the Carnatic. The moment was critical: The well known spleen of your Chairman to Mr. Hastings, the countenance given by the Committee to the false representations of Mr. Francis, whose implacable inveteracy to the same gentleman has been long known to the world, together with your eloquent glossary on the scraps of false information fished out of the mouth of Capt. Cowe, made me apprehend, that your whole powers would be employed to draw the attention of the House to the evidence of Mr. Goring. I knew the man from his first setting out in life. I knew that you was a stranger to his true character, and being eager in the cause of bringing about the recall of Governor General Hastings, you were the more likely to be imposed on, and that induced me to prepare a Third Letter to you, which I had intended to have published on the instant that I should have read in any one of the Reports of the Select Committee, your commentary on the evidence of Mr. Goring ; but you have dropped it for reasons best known to yourself. However, as there appear in many other parts of the Reports from the Select Committee, which have been printed and given

to the public since the recess of Parliament, strong marks of party spleen and personal malice to Mr. Hastings, which I attribute to a very few individuals amongst you, it may be of use to the other Members of the Committee, and to the House at large, to know a little more of the true characters of Mr. Philip Francis, whose evidence you have given up, and of Mr. Charles Goring, whose information you have thought proper to suppress. With this view, Sir, I now publish my Third Letter to Mr. Burke; and this Introduction to it I not only intend as a Preface, but also as a channel, in which to convey to you some few remarks on other parts of the Reports, in which I think that I shall convince others that your rancour is so sharp, that you have been induced to admit into your Reports, matter totally beneath the dignity of the House of Commons to take notice of; matter so frivolous and trifling in itself, that it is impossible to account for the introduction of it, without adverting to the personal attachments and dislikes of the managers.

I shall single out two instances; the first from the fifth Report, and the other from the sixth, which I think will be fully sufficient to shew, that by some means, better known to you than to me, the Select Committee have condescended to act the part of Echo to a party, long since dissolved by the death of General Clavering and Colonel Monson, in retailing to the nation the ridiculous and uninteresting stuff compiled by Mr. Philip Francis some years past, to serve the political purposes of the triumvirate, composed of himself, and the two gentlemen above mentioned: the second, to point out the extreme malice of your Chairman, who, with a beam in his own eye, that would have blinded, if not silenced any modest man, pretends to discover a moat in that of the Governor General.

In my First Letter to you, Sir, I gave you a simple detail of the conduct of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, towards Mr. Hastings, on their first arrival at Bengal. The facts I there produced, have never been denied by Mr. Francis, or any one of his abettors. It was an unvarnished tale, founded on truth, and artlessly related. It spoke home to the bosom of every unprejudiced person, because every man who read the pamphlet, saw that the author trusted to truth alone, stating facts as they were, without intention to deceive. You will find the following Letter drawn up on the same principles, and supported in the same manner. Some apology indeed may be necessary for the author's extreme contempt for the men, who had so far forgot themselves, and the dignity of their station, as to attempt to impose on the judgement of the House of Commons, and the nation at large, such infamous assertions as were given up by Mr. Goring. But you must remember that I could not foresee that the same man who had so elaborately commented on the evidence of Capt. Cowe, would boggle at drawing similar conclusions from the well conned lesson of a Goring. However, it appears that some grains of grace yet remained; and as you have been ashamed to give the evidence, or even so much as to mention the man's name, in any one of your Reports, I also feel disconcerted at having employed so much time in commenting on the conduct of such a being. However, I shall let him retain his seat at the board where I have placed him, until you shall furnish me with a member more worthy. Mr. Francis, General Smith, and Mr. Rous, might feel displeas'd at the man's being taken from them, and as I have no quarrel with those gentlemen, but what arises from their having pursued similar measures, to obtain the same ends, I will not offend them by striking the name of Goring from a list, in which theirs must for ever remain.

I have

I have been told that the little Bengal Justice, or Cutcherry Hero, was so much offended at my First Letter to you, Sir, that he talked of employing the hangman to burn it, and having the Author to the Bar of the House. I am not malicious ; but I wish a blister on the tongue of that man, who prevented him from moving for such orders. Does the man conceive that the Report of a Committee is no more to be canvassed in this country, than a decree of the Sudder Dawannee Adawlut is in the country where he made his fortune ? I recommend it to him to be quiet ; silence and retirement will suit better with his limited parts ; and nature has laid a bar in the way to his ever becoming an admired orator. There are spots in his character that may pass unnoticed in the shade of obscurity, but which, if he will examine his own heart, it will inform him, are not calculated to see the light. The Chairman, whose whole life has been spent in acts of hasty accumulation, or ostentatious expence of what he lightly acquired, or Mr. Francis, who never yet sacrificed at the shrine of truth, whilst his interest made misrepresentation necessary, are much better calculated to act the part of modern patriots ; and Mr. Rous will do wisely to leave them intirely.

Perhaps the above digressive attention to individuals, may have given you just cause of offence. I will, therefore, return to more general subjects, and by divesting your Reports of their glossy chicanery, which confounds and bewilders the plain matters of fact, relate the stories of Messrs. Bristow, Fowke, and Mahommed Reza Cawn, just as they happened, and in language that every body shall understand.

In my First Letter, I gave you a very concise, retrospective view, into the situation of the Company's affairs at Bengal, when the Majority arrived there in 1774, as also of the conduct of Governor General Hastings in the thirty preceding months which included the whole of his government. To that letter, and the following one, I might with safety refer you, without further quotation here ; but references are at all times awkward, and few readers are sufficiently interested to be at the trouble of making them. The facts I want not only to explain, but also to imprint on the mind of the reader, are few, but very interesting, and of important consequence in the defence of Governor Hastings. It suited the policy of the late triumvirate in the government of Bengal, to mistake and wrongfully represent every part of his conduct ; and their representations have been adopted not only by the Managers in Leadenhall-Street, but also by your Committee. I shall mention a few instances. In Report the fifth, the House of Commons and the Public are informed, that Governor Hastings had disobeyed the orders of the Court of Directors, in not replacing Mahommed Reza Cawn. You introduce some arguments, and abundance of official papers, the production of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, to prove this supposed refractory disposition in the Governor ; but you had not candour enough to give the whole story as you ought to have done, from which the House and the Public might have judged for themselves. It is this want of candour in the Committee, arising from the partiality of your Chairman and yourself, to the prejudice of Mr. Hastings, of which I have and will complain, whilst you continue to shew it. Mark how a plain unvarnished tale shall put you down.

I am

I am obliged to do what you in justice ought to have done, go back in the Company's Bengal affairs to the year 1771. In that year Mr. Hastings was ordered from being Second in the Council at Madras, to proceed to Bengal, and take charge of the government there. The bills for a million sterling, which had been drawn on the Company from the Presidency of Bengal only, (a measure strongly enforced by General Richard Smith, then Third in the Council, and Commander in Chief of the Army, and who paid into the treasury on his own account, nearly one tenth part of the money, (how collected, you will see in the accompanying Letter) had alarmed them very much. The famine followed the bills ; and the nation was terrified and disgusted at the infamous accounts which had been transmitted by interested men, of the causes which were said to have brought it on. Not only all our daily papers execrated the Managers at Bengal, (who, by the bye, were just as guilty of it, as they are of the late gales of wind on the banks of Newfoundland) but the Abbé Renail has fouled his page, by giving up dismal stories of what never happened. In that hour of general accusation, the Court of Directors were taught to believe, that Mahommed Reza Cawn, the Naib Subah, or Deputy Nabob of Bengal, had used his influence in the provinces, to monopolize the rice, and thereby starve to death a third of the common inhabitants of the kingdom. With this idea in their minds, the Secret Committee at the India House, wrote privately to Mr. Hastings the following Letter.

Letter

Letter from the Secret Committee of the
Court of Directors to Warren Hastings, Esq.
dated the 28th of August, 1771.

S I R,

BY our general address, you will be informed of the reasons we have to be dissatisfied with the administration of Mahommed Reza Cawn, and will perceive the expediency of our divesting him of the rank and influence he holds as Naib Dewan of the kingdom of Bengal. But though we have declared our resolution in this respect to our President and Council, yet as the measures to be taken in consequence thereof, might be defeated by that Minister, and all enquiry into his conduct rendered ineffectual, were he to have any previous intimation of our design, we, the Secret Committee, having the most perfect confidence in your judgement, prudence, and integrity, have thought proper to entrust to your especial care, the execution of those measures, which alone can render the Naib's conduct subject to the effect of a full enquiry, and secure that retribution which may be due on the detection of any fraud, embezzlement, or collusive practice, in his public or private transactions.

In order, therefore, to make him amenable to a due course of justice, and to prevent the ill consequences which might result from the resentment and revenge which he may conceive on the knowledge of our intentions, we hereby direct and enjoin you (immediately on the receipt of this Letter) to issue your private orders for the securing the person of Mahommed Reza Cawn, together with his whole family, and his known partizans

B

and

‘ and adherents, and to make use of such measures as your
‘ prudence shall suggest, for bringing them down to Cal-
‘ cutta; and it is our pleasure, that they by no means be
‘ suffered to quit the place, until Mahommed Reza Cawn
‘ shall have exculpated himself from the crimes of which he
‘ now stands charged or suspected, or shall have duly ac-
‘ counted for the revenues collected by him in the Chucklah
‘ of Dacca, and have made restitution of all sums which he
‘ may have appropriated to his own use, either from the
‘ Dewanny revenues, or the Nabob’s stipends, and until
‘ he also shall have satisfied the claims of all such persons,
‘ as may have suffered by any act of injustice or oppression,
‘ committed by him in the office of Naib Dewan.

‘ As the detection of any corrupt practices of which
‘ Mahommed Reza Cawn may have been guilty, and the
‘ retribution which in such cases is to be required of him,
‘ are equally the objects of public justice and the Company’s
‘ interest, we assure ourselves that you will sedulously en-
‘ deavour to penetrate into the most hidden parts of his ad-
‘ ministration, and discover the reality of the several facts
‘ with which he is charged, or the justness of the suspicions
‘ we have of his conduct.

‘ In this research, your own judgment will direct you to
‘ all such means of information, as may be likely to bring to
‘ light the most secret of his transactions. We, however,
‘ cannot forbear recommending to you, to avail yourself of
‘ the intelligence which NUNDCOMAR may be able to give
‘ respecting the Naib’s administration; and, while the
‘ envy which NUNDCOMAR is supposed to bear this Minis-
‘ try, may prompt him to a ready communication of all
‘ proceedings which have come to his knowledge, we are
‘ persuaded,

‘ persuaded that no scrutible part of the Naib’s conduct can
 ‘ have escaped the watchful eye of his jealous and penetra-
 ‘ ting rival.

‘ Hence we cannot doubt but that the abilities and dispa-
 ‘ sition of NUNDCOMAR may be successfully employed in
 ‘ the investigation of Mahommed Reza Cawn’s administra-
 ‘ tion, and bring to light any embezzlement, fraud, or
 ‘ malversation, which he may have committed in the office
 ‘ of Naib Dewan, or in the station he has held under the
 ‘ several successive Subahs: and while we assure ourselves
 ‘ that you will make the necessary use of NUNDCOMAR’S
 ‘ intelligence, we have such confidence in your wisdom and
 ‘ caution, that we have nothing to fear from any secret
 ‘ motives or designs, which may induce him to detect the
 ‘ mal-administration of one whose power has been the ob-
 ‘ ject of his envy, and whose office the aim of his ambition:
 ‘ for we have the satisfaction to reflect, that you are too
 ‘ well apprised of the subtilty and disposition of NUNDCO-
 ‘ MAR, to yield him any trust or authority, which may be
 ‘ turned to his own advantage, and prove detrimental to
 ‘ the Company’s interest.

‘ Though we have thought it necessary to intimate to you,
 ‘ how little we are disposed to delegate any power or influ-
 ‘ ence to NUNDCOMAR, yet, should his information and
 ‘ assistance be serviceable to you, in your investigating the
 ‘ conduct of Mahommed Reza Cawn, you will yield him
 ‘ such encouragement and reward, as his trouble and the
 ‘ extent of his services may deserve.

‘ By our general advices, we deemed it adviseable to
 ‘ mention only, that we had received information of Ma-
 ‘ hommed Reza Cawn’s having increased the calamities of
 ‘ the

‘ the poor, during the height of famine, by a Monopoly of
‘ Rice, and other necessaries of life. We were, indeed, re-
‘ strained from an open communication on this subject,
‘ fearing the consequences which might ensue from the
‘ Minister’s revenge, should he learn by whom such accusa-
‘ tion had been brought against him; but, persuaded, as
‘ we are, of your secrecy and discretion, we herewith trans-
‘ mit to you, Extract of a Letter from ~~_____~~ to _____,
‘ wherein Mahommed Reza Cawn is charged with a crime
‘ of so atrocious a nature; and we the rather advise you of
‘ _____’s information, as we rely on your endeavours to
‘ obtain full evidence respecting the truth of this allega-
‘ tion, as well as of such others, as are the objects of the
‘ scrutiny we have directed to be made into the Naib’s
‘ conduct.

‘ Sensible, as you must be, of the importance of the
‘ charge thus confidentially committed to you, we shall not
‘ seek to animate your zeal for the Company’s welfare; but
‘ observe only, that, by the effectual execution of the sepa-
‘ rate trust reposed in you, you will at once render the
‘ Company a signal and essential service, and approve your-
‘ self worthy of the opinion we have formed of your judge-
‘ ment, prudence, and integrity, and which we have so
‘ fully manifested, in selecting you to preside in the admi-
‘ nistration of the Government of Bengal.

‘ We are

London,

‘ Your loving friends, &c.’

28th August, 1771.

‘ A person who shall read the above Letter, with attention
‘ to the matter it contains, will need no explanations, further
‘ than

than my observing, that in consequence of it, Mahommed Reza Cawn was divested of his power, and brought down to Calcutta, where a severe and strict enquiry was entered into relative to his preceding conduct, as Naib Subah of the Provinces. The proceedings were regularly transmitted to the Company by every ship; they are as voluminous, and as unconnected with the matter in hand, as many papers in your reports are to the business recommended by the House to your enquiry: nor shall I notice them; but fortunately for the cause of truth, and the honour of Governor General Hastings, he had thought it necessary to sum up the whole of the evidence, and to give his opinion on it to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, as a full answer to their private Letter to him on the subject. For once in your life, Sir, be candid, read his answer with temper, and particularly note, that it is dated in Calcutta, at the very moment of time, when, by appointment of the legislature, the furious triumvirate, General Clavering, Col. Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis, were added to the Council General, with the declared purpose of aiding and assisting Mr. Hastings in his government of Bengal.

Letter from Governor Hastings to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, for the Affairs of the Honourable United East-India Company.

Fort William, the 24th March, 1774.

GENTLEMEN,

ALTHOUGH the proceedings of the Board contain, very minutely recorded, all the measures which were taken for prosecuting the enquiry into the conduct
of

' of Mahommed Reza Cawn, and my own sentiments,
 ' both in the course and issue of it, are therein inserted at
 ' large, yet as I was originally honoured with your especial
 ' commands for conducting this intricate business, I con-
 ' ceive it to be in some measure incumbent upon me to ad-
 ' dress you on its conclusion, that I may account for any
 ' apparent deficiency, by stating the difficulties which I
 ' have had to encounter in the discharge of it. I will speak
 ' first of that charge which was more particularly the object
 ' of your attention and our enquiry; I mean the monopoly
 ' of grain.

' You will be pleased to recollect that the charge was ge-
 ' neral, without any specification of time, places, or per-
 ' sons. I had neither witnesses, nor vouchers, nor mate-
 ' rials of any sort, to begin with; for these I relied chiefly
 ' on the abilities, observation, and active malignity, of
 ' Maha Rajah NUNDCOMAR; but not resting wholly on
 ' his aid, I took such other precautions as were most likely
 ' to produce informations against Mahommed Reza Cawn,
 ' if his conduct had really merited that return from the
 ' people of this country. In concurrence with the Com-
 ' mittee of Circuit at Cossimbuzar, and with the Council
 ' here, I published advertisements, inviting all persons to
 ' give information against such as had contributed to the
 ' distresses of the country, in the time of the famine, by the
 ' monopoly of grain, or any other unfair practices on the
 ' wants and necessities of the people. I allowed all who
 ' had any thing to offer on these subjects to have access to
 ' me; and, although I never had much time to spare, I pa-
 ' tiently bestowed many hours, and even days, of it, in
 ' listening to the multiplied, but indefinite suggestions of
 ' NUNDCOMAR. In a word, I omitted no means which
 ' were

‘ were consistent with my character, to bring the truth of
‘ this accusation to light.

‘ In the course of the enquiry, I proceeded with the most
‘ rigid impartiality, not suffering (I can safely say) the
‘ smallest bias to incline me. You will see with what ma-
‘ terials I was furnished. I am sorry to say, that some were
‘ collected with so little decency and regard to truth, as to
‘ make me apprehensive of the effects which they might
‘ have produced on my character, from the countenance
‘ which I afforded to the principal agent in the prosecution,
‘ had I not in my own immediate conduct, invariably ad-
‘ hered to the strictest rule of justice. My judgement was
‘ formed with the same temper of mind; and I continue in
‘ the persuasion, that it will be found perfectly consistent
‘ with the evidence before me, which cost me much labour
‘ and attention, in the midst of continued interruption, to
‘ collect it from the records of near thirty different exami-
‘ nations.

‘ I informed Rajah Huzzoorymul of the reference which
‘ you had been pleased to direct me to make to him, for the
‘ facts on which his information (a copy of which I re-
‘ ceived in your commands by the Lapwing) was grounded.
‘ He came several times to me, with the express purpose
‘ and promise of entering into a full communication of the
‘ subject, and brought with him an old and respectable
‘ Merchant of this City, since deceased, who, he said, was
‘ equally apprised of these circumstances with himself, to
‘ aid him in his informations; but after much timid hesi-
‘ tation, mutual reference, and procrastination, they both
‘ at length declined it; nor could I ever obtain the smallest
‘ intelligence from either. I should be sorry if this report
‘ were

• were to give you an unfavourable opinion of Rajah
• Huzzoorymul : I can truly affirm, that I know not a man
• of a more guarded conduct, or a more conscientious in-
• tegrity. Either the fear of the consequences affecting his
• character, restrained him from avowing what he knew,
• or (which I think more likely) he was misled by the cla-
• mours of the people, in the information which he origi-
• nally gave to Mr. Gregory.

• With respect to the accounts of the Nizamut, and the
• balance said to be due from Mahommed Reza Cawn, for
• the collections made by him at Dacca, during the life time
• of Jaffier Ally Cawn, it was certainly more in the power
• of NUNDCOMAR, than of any other person, to furnish me
• with the fullest and most authentic state of both. Besides
• an official and practical knowledge which he possessed of
• the nature of the former, of which at one time he had the
• entire management, he had at this time the command of
• all the accounts of the Nizamut, through the means of his
• son, Rajah Goordas, who is the Dewan of that office.

• He possessed the entire confidence of the Nabob Meer
• Jaffier, at the time in which Mahommed Reza Cawn was
• employed as Agent for the Dacca Collections, and had
• actually entered into a scrutiny of his conduct, during the
• life of that Nabob, which scrutiny produced the balance
• now appearing against him.

• All the accounts on these heads, which I have ever re-
• ceived from Rajah NUNDCOMAR, stand upon record, and
• they are such as appear more calculated to acquit Mahom-
• med Reza Cawn, than establish any proofs against him.
• Indeed, he has lately offered to furnish me with very mi-
• nute

‘ nute accounts of the Dacca Collections, during the period
‘ of Mahommed Reza Cawn’s agency ; but these were not
‘ put into my hands until the enquiry was closed, although
‘ he had taken other indirect means (I know not why) to
‘ bring them to the notice of the Board. And as to the
‘ Nizamut accounts, although I have used every means, for
‘ upwards of ten months past, both with him and his son,
‘ which could operate either on their hopes or fears, to ob-
‘ tain them, they were not delivered till the latter end of
‘ January last, and were then accompanied with the promise
‘ of a separate proof of embezzlement in the article of Ex-
‘ change, which, after fresh importunity, both from my-
‘ self and from the Board, was transmitted so late, that it
‘ arrived only on the 10th instant : nor did this, more than
‘ any other papers furnished by NUNDCOMAR, afford any
‘ thing like proofs, but only reiterated charges, without one
‘ voucher, or the least aid that might direct us to one.

‘ I am at a loss to discover the secret spring which governs
‘ the mysterious conduct of this man, as I am certain he is
‘ impelled by nothing less than a desire to favour Mahom-
‘ med Reza Cawn. It might suit well with his private
‘ views to procrastinate the issue of the enquiry, although
‘ it would be little consistent with the credit or justice of
‘ your Administration, to prolong it to a farther period, two
‘ years having been already consumed in bringing it to a
‘ close on our proceedings. Many attempts, indeed, were
‘ made by NUNDCOMAR, both in the course of this affair,
‘ and in the examination of Maha Rajah Shitabroy, to ob-
‘ tain a formal commission for making a personal and local
‘ inquiry into the accounts of the collections depending
‘ on both ; but of this I disapproved, knowing that such a
‘ power might be converted, and believing that in his hands,
‘ it would be converted to purposes very detrimental to the
‘ revenue,

‘ revenue, and oppressive to the people : it was proposed to
 ‘ the Board, and by them peremptorily refused.

‘ Notwithstanding the consciousness which I possess of
 ‘ my own integrity, and the certainty that my conduct
 ‘ throughout this ungrateful business, will, on the most ri-
 ‘ gid scrutiny, do me credit, yet I am not without my fears.
 ‘ I am aware of the violent prejudices which were taken up
 ‘ at once against Mahommed Reza Cawn by all ranks of
 ‘ people, both here and at home. I am also aware, that in
 ‘ England, where the very name of enquiry into the past
 ‘ management of affairs in India, flatters the passion of the
 ‘ times, and raises expectations of great and important de-
 ‘ tections, the result may baulk those expectations, and turn
 ‘ the torrent of public clamour another way. In many of
 ‘ the private letters which I received from my friends in
 ‘ England, I was warned to act with the greatest caution
 ‘ in this enquiry, as the confirmation of my credit with the
 ‘ public, and, forgive me for adding, with your Honoura-
 ‘ ble Court, depended upon it.

‘ The magnitude of the charges which were alledged a-
 ‘ gainst Mahommed Reza Cawn, his reputed wealth, the
 ‘ means which that afforded him both of suppressing evi-
 ‘ dence, and even of influencing his judges in his favour,
 ‘ and the natural conclusion deducible from so many exag-
 ‘ gerated accusations, that some part of them at least was
 ‘ true, gave additional force to these cautionary intimations,
 ‘ and made me fear for the consequences ; not only as they
 ‘ might affect my reputation, which it has been the study
 ‘ of my life to maintain unblemished, but as they might
 ‘ blast all my hopes from the continuation of your favour,
 ‘ which I hold solely on the credit of my integrity.

‘ It is possible that, on a review of the Proceedings, you
 ‘ may find some critical circumstances disregarded, some
 ‘ facts of consequence not sufficiently traced through all
 ‘ their connexions or dependent events, by which the truth
 ‘ might have been more successfully followed. I can only
 ‘ say, that I have never quitted this prosecution but for af-
 ‘ fairs of greater moment; and although I ever bear the
 ‘ most respectful deference for your commands, and have
 ‘ never suffered my zeal to slacken in their execution, yet I
 ‘ must candidly own, that I never gave up a portion of my
 ‘ time to this business, without feeling a painful regret, that
 ‘ so much of it was lost to the care of your real interests;
 ‘ and how much of it I have bestowed on that, your re-
 ‘ cords in the various departments over which I preside,
 ‘ will abundantly testify.

*‘ I must declare that I have another motive for my fears ;
 ‘ the dark and deceitful character of NUNDCOMAR, whose
 ‘ gratitude no kindness can bind, nor even his own interest dis-
 ‘ engage him from the crooked politics which have been the
 ‘ study and practice of his whole life. Of this I have had ma-
 ‘ ny very extraordinary proofs : I shall instance only two, as
 ‘ most expressive of his ruling character.*

‘ Before my departure from Fort St. George, when my
 ‘ appointment to this Presidency was known, a messenger,
 ‘ expressly deputed from Munny Begum, came to me there
 ‘ with Letters from her, intreating my protection in the
 ‘ most earnest terms, both for her house and for the people
 ‘ of Bengal, against the tyranny of Mahommed Reza Cawn,
 ‘ and referring me for farther information, to Maha Rajah
 ‘ NUNDCOMAR, from whom I received similar Addresses on
 ‘ the same subject, and by the same hand. The Begum

‘ has since solemnly disowned her having ever written such
‘ Letters, or authorised such a commission.

‘ A very short time after the elevation of his son to the
‘ high office which he now possesses as Dewan to the Nabob,
‘ NUNDCOMAR sent draughts of Letters to the Begum,
‘ which he recommended to her to write to me, enumerating
‘ the many encroachments which had been made by
‘ the English government on the rights of the Nizamut,
‘ and claiming them for the behalf of the Nabob. Copies
‘ of these draughts, communicated to me by the Resident,
‘ Mr. Middleton, and by other channels, are actually in
‘ my possession.

‘ I trust to his own genius to furnish you with nearer
‘ proofs in the representations which he has already made, or
‘ which he may at this time convey to your knowledge.

‘ My experience of his character has never altered my
‘ behaviour to him, but in such instances only, and such
‘ have occurred, as required it for the public tranquillity.
‘ I have supported the authority of Rajah Goordafs, even
‘ in opposition to the Begum, because it was consistent
‘ with the credit and dignity of your Administration, that
‘ the system, which it had been thought proper on well-
‘ considered grounds to appoint, should be steadily sup-
‘ ported.

‘ I have also, in many little instances, by my countenance,
‘ assisted the personal influence of Maha Rajah
‘ NUNDCOMAR, and I have endeavoured to turn both his
‘ good and bad qualities to account for the advantage of the
‘ Honourable Company, in such occasions as could admit
‘ of the application of either; but I must say, that I have
‘ been

‘ been disappointed in all my past expectations from him,
‘ and do not promise myself much benefit from his abilities
‘ in time to come, as the scene in which he had the fairest
‘ opportunity of displaying them, is now closed.

‘ *Whatever your resolution may be concerning the future fate
‘ of Mahommed Reza Cawn, it is my duty, although I be-
‘ lieve it unnecessary, to represent, that, whatever reparation
‘ you may think due for his past sufferings, the restoration of
‘ any part of the power which he before possessed, will inevitably
‘ tend to the injury of the Company’s affairs, and the diminu-
‘ tion of your influence and authority.*

‘ There can be but one Government and one power in
‘ this Province. Even the pretensions of the Nabob may
‘ prove a source of great embarrassment, when he is of age
‘ to claim his release from the present state of pupilage,
‘ which prevents his asserting them.

‘ I have the honour to be,

‘ Gentlemen,

‘ Your most obedient and

‘ Most faithful Servant,

‘ WARREN HASTINGS.”

Have you read the above Letter, Sir, in the manner that I recommended you to read it? Can human evidence furnish stronger proofs of the Governor General’s opinion of the true character and real abilities of the two great rivals for power, Maha Rajah Nundcomar, and Mahommed Reza Cawn? This valuable Letter was written at Bengal, before it was known there, that new powers were coming out to India, which, in effect, superseded his own: and it was
in

in the possession of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, before Clavering, Monson, and Francis, arrived in Calcutta. I have caused the 12th and 18th paragraphs to be printed in Italics, and I desire you, Sir, to keep them in your mind. The 12th is as explicit as words can make it, of the Governor's free sentiments of Nundcomar's character; and the 18th, in precisely the same number of lines, as expressive of his sentiments as to the conduct the Company should pursue in future, relative to employing as an officer of government, Mahommed Reza Cawn. Here you have the political creed of the Governor General under his own hands, though in a private Letter to the Chairman, and Deputy Chairman, of the Court of Directors, dated more than eight years ago. If, in one single instance, he has, in his public or private conduct, acted contrary to the sentiments so fully expressed in the above curious Letter, why has it not been produced? But it is impossible to produce what never did exist; and for that reason you have, in your reports, swelled the appendixes with useless papers, in order to confound and puzzle the mind of your readers, with matters as foreign to the purpose, as your prototype, Bolingbroke, says, the neighing of the horse of the son of Hytapsis, is to good government. But I will supply your deficiency by a little narration of facts, that shall please all but those concerned with you, in injuring the character of Governor Hastings.

It must not be forgotten, that the foregoing Letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors to Mr. Hastings, and his answer to it, were private, and in Bengal known only to the Governor himself; and he kept the secret so inviolably, that in its consequences, it had nearly destroyed his own moral character at Calcutta, and to this moment continues to operate against it in this country. Virtue
is

is said to be its own reward; and in no instance could a person depend more upon it than Mr. Hastings has done. I believe, Sir, that it was to his conduct in this particular, that you referred, when you called his politicks crooked politicks. You have been deceived in his character, Sir, and under that deception, have proceeded to injure him to a degree that you cannot forgive. You know the human heart, and want no explanation of the assertion. At Bengal, the seizure of Mahommed Reza Cawn was thought to be a measure of Mr. Hastings only; and as a long time passed over without proofs of the Naib's delinquency being discovered, people began to murmur at the severity with which he had been treated; and many malicious insinuations were handed about; such, Sir, as those drawn up by yourself in the second report of the Select Committee, relative to the trial of Nundcomar. It was said that Mr. Hastings had removed the Naib Subah from his office in the government, to make way for his own creatures; and was forming a tale, with the assistance of the man's mortal enemy, (Nundcomar,) to send home to the Company, in order to raise himself a name, and to justify his giving great part of Mahommed Reza Cawn's power to the Rajah Nundcomar's Son-in-Law. This clamour against the Governor, had extended to all his enemies in Calcutta; and his own silence with respect to the private orders which he had received from home, made some of his friends uneasy, fearing he had taken upon himself measures, that the evidence obtained of the delinquency of the Naib Subah, would not justify him for doing. This idea had gained much ground in Calcutta, and it was taken for granted by all his enemies, that that the Governor had confided entirely in the abilities and well known enmity of Nundcomar, to furnish evidence sufficient to destroy his rival in the opinion of the public abroad, and the Company at home.

In

In this situation matters were, when Gen. Clavering, Col. Monson, and Mr. Francis, arrived. Their intention to drive the Governor General out of the Chair, was soon made known in the settlement. Even the best friends of Mr. Hastings did not know, or were not authorised by him to declare, on what authority he had acted in respect to Mahommed Reza Cawn. His having employed Nundcomar with seeming confidence, gave an air of greater mystery to the business; because it was well known to every body, that from the experience of many years, he knew the man to be a Machievallian in politicks, and a desperado in principle. What added still more to the wonder of the settlement, was his having appointed the Son-in-Law of Nundcomar, Rajah Goordass, to the Naib Subahship, contrary to the advice, and against the protest of some very able members of his own Council. In spite of my original intention, I must refer you, Sir, to Appendix, No. 3, page 67, in my First Letter, for the Governor's inducement to this appointment. His reasoning there to be found, did, I believe, satisfy the Members at the Council Board---But what was to satisfy impatient private suspicion, and spleetic popular clamour! You have lately been of council to the King, and well know, or ought to know, that a Minister of State who betrays secrets of government, in order to silence uninformed popular clamour against himself, is very unfit for the station he holds. Nay, Sir, I think that you said in your place in the House of Commons, that you should be very badly calculated for the station which you then held under the Crown, if you could not stand the pelting of the Morning Post and Morning Herald; and yet they related some damning truths; such as that of your taking early care to provide amply for yourself, your son, your brother, and your nephew. This was not the case with Mr. Hastings: he had no relations to serve: he had only to be steady, and laugh,

as you pretend to have laughed, at the lies of the day. To him the tales circulating in Calcutta, were no more : and yet, Sir, I will shew you presently, that this operated violently, and almost to his ruin, both at home and abroad ; and continues still to vibrate on the ears of those who ought to know better. Nay, I will go further, and prove to the whole kingdom, that the lies hatched eight years ago at Calcutta, by the enemies of Mr. Hastings, and which were so carefully brooded by the new Members of the Supreme Council, Gen. Clavering, Col. Monson, and Mr. Francis, are the very same idle tales which you and your Chairman have called back into life, to serve the same purposes here, for which they were invented abroad. I deal in facts, Sir ; obstinate, stubborn facts : they are on record. I give you chapter and verse. Nor shall all the flowery eloquence for which you are so famous, enable you to do them away.

The circumstance of the removal of Mahommed Reza Cawn, and the appointment of Rajah Goordas to the Naib-Subaship in Bengal, every body saw ; but nobody knew on what principles the Governor had acted. The private order from his masters at home, was his own secret, and he kept it with a steadiness, that has more than once nearly brought on his own ruin. It may even have that consequence yet : for the prejudice which has so powerfully operated against him, as to induce a Vote for his recall in the House of Commons, hath taken its rise from the same mutilated and ill founded representations, which, in various ways, and in variety of shapes, have been obtruded on the public.

I am obliged, in this place, to anticipate a quotation, which I have given to you in the following Letter, for a similar reason. Mr. Fowke, senior, the unhappy gentleman

D

who

who had, a few weeks before the arrival of the Majority, quarrelled with the Governor General, was become inimical to him to a degree of frenzy. Unluckily, he had known General Clavering in Europe, and finding that the Majority were prone to receive evil impressions of Mr. Hastings, engaged in the service of the General as his Persian Translator. Great evils arose from the stubborn inveteracy of this furious man. To all the settlement, except Rajah Nundcomar himself, the apparent confidence placed in him by the Governor General, appeared real; and conclusions were drawn, on account of the seeming intimacy between them, very unfavourable to the Governor's honour. The Rajah was invited to come over to the Majority on the supposition that Mr. Hastings had really given his confidence to the man. His character for deception, and political trimming to the times, was well known to Mr. Fowke, the Minister to the new Government of Three. And the Rajah himself, knowing that Mr. Hastings never had any confidence in him, was well enough pleased (agreeable to the practice of his whole life) to take advantage of their credulity, and join the reigning powers; and without the least hesitation, engaged to furnish any information they wanted. This added to the stories which Gen. Clavering, Col. Monson, and Mr. Francis, had heard, on their first arrival, that Nundcomar had very lately been the confidential friend and prime minister of Mr. Hastings, by whose assistance and information, he had removed from his office Mahommed Reza Cawn, were inducements sufficient for them to employ the Rajah, to draw up charges against the Governor; whose stubborn, and almost criminal virtue, would not stoop to undeceive even his friends: and on my conscience, I believe, that Gen. Clavering, when he set his name to the following paragraphs in their Letters to the Court of Directors, firmly believed what he set his name to. To suppose that

he

he did not believe them, is to suppose that he sacrificed his honour in this world, and his salvation in the next, to the demon of party. Mr. Francis is now the only survivor; let him choose the affirmative or negative side of the question---Either will reduce him to a situation, such as no man of honour would wish to be found in.

Extract of a Minute from General Clavering,
Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis.

Fort William, April 11th, 1775.

‘ **M**AHA Rajah Nundcomar, whom the Governor
 ‘ calls a *miscreant*, we found had been but a very
 ‘ little time before his bosom friend, consulted on all occa-
 ‘ sions, and supported by him against the united protest of
 ‘ Messieurs Graham, Lawrell, and Dacres, who were closely
 ‘ connected with Mahommed Reza Cawn, although the
 ‘ Governor knew him to have been (as he now says) guilty
 ‘ of a forgery. We have reason to suspect that the intention
 ‘ was to make him Banyan to General Clavering, to sur-
 ‘ round the General and us with the Governor’s creatures,
 ‘ and to keep us totally unacquainted with the real state of
 ‘ the government. By this, and other flimsy devices, so
 ‘ consonant to the principles of Asiatic policy, in which the
 ‘ Governor General has been so long experienced, he pro-
 ‘ bably flattered himself, that men, unpractised in such arts,
 ‘ might be perplexed and circumvented.

‘ Nundcomar finding himself deceived or disappointed by
 ‘ the Governor General, soon made use of the means which
 ‘ his intimacy with the Governor had put into his power,
 ‘ to gratify his resentment. Whatever might have been his
 ‘ motives, his discoveries have thrown a clear light upon

‘ the Honourable Governor General’s conduct, and the
‘ means he had taken of making the very large fortune he is
‘ said to possess of upwards of Forty Lacks of Rupees, which
‘ he must have amassed in about two years and a half.

‘ J. Clavering,

‘ Geo. Monson,

‘ P. Francis.”

Here is personality for you with a witness ! Could you, Sir, or any other honest man in the kingdom, have imagined that such men as Gen. Clavering and Col. Monson, would suffer their minds to have been so warped by party spleen, as coolly and deliberately to set their names to such paragraphs as the above ? That Philip Francis should draw them up, is no wonder---Trained up to deceive, the truth is not in him. But that I have confined myself to a few quotations, I could present you with a hundred from the same Letter, equally false, personal, malicious, and inveterate.

The Governor was ordered by his masters from home, on his being appointed to the Government of Bengal, first to remove from all power Mahommed Reza Cawn ; then to make a strict scrutiny into his conduct, as Naib-Subah ; to employ Rajah Nundcomar in this enquiry ; and to refer the whole information to them. He did so. But though he could not find any criminal matter against Mahommed Reza Cawn, on the subjects into which he was ordered to enquire, yet he had seen enough of the man’s influence and power in the provinces, to induce him to advise the Company, for political reasons, not to reinstate him in the office of Naib-Subah of Bengal. His principles of action, with respect to Mahommed Reza Cawn, had been established in
the

the manner we have seen, many months before the Majority arrived in the country ; it is now eight years ago ; and he remains fixed in the same opinion yet. He has no enmity to the man. Any advantages the Company wish him to draw from their favour, Governor Hastings does not, nor ever will, withhold from him. But he condemns the idea of restoring a man to power on the principles of party, who, with it, may do much harm in the present unsettled state of India. I am not of consequence enough to know the Governor General's intentions ; but having studied his principles of action for a number of years, I think that some late orders which have been sent on the subject of restoring Mahommed Reza Cawn, and a few others which I shall mention, may induce him to quit ; but he never will, by a complete compliance with them, disgrace his station.

I would ask you, Sir, whether a Member of the House of Commons, or any other man, can find half the real information on this subject in the Reports of the Committee, that he may find in the above simple detail of facts, supported by evidence which you knew where to find as well as I did. But your point was to condemn, and cause to be removed from his station, the Governor of Bengal ; therefore, you took the story up in the middle, and caused to be copied into the Appendixes of your Reports, such papers only as the *good man*, Mr. Philip Francis, gave in, or pointed out---With what honour, integrity, or impartiality, I shall leave others to determine.

Your reasoning in the Report concerning the Resident of Oude, is so exactly the same with that you have held in respect to the story of Mahommed Reza Cawn, that it will not be easy to speak of it, without tautology. The Governor General, in his visit to the court of the Vazier Sujah ul Dowlah,

Dowlah, in the year 1773, at which time he concluded with him the Treaty of Benares, had discovered that that ambitious Prince possessed not one virtuous quality of the mind. Born to tyrannick sway, his mental faculties had been totally neglected, and the bodily exercises only attended to. Though he had nerves and agility to sever the head of a Buffalo from its body with his scymetar at a blow, and dexterity sufficient to break with a single bullet, discharged from his match-lock fowling piece, a jar from the head of a poor woman, at the distance of three hundred English yards, he was ignorant below contempt, in the knowledge necessary for the Vizier of the Empire of Hindostan, and in his disposition, ambitious, selfish, brutal, suspicious, tyrannical, and cowardly. Withal this, he possessed Asiatic cunning enough to become a dangerous neighbour on the Company's confines, if not closely watched; and for this reason only, Mr. Hastings placed about him one of the Company's younger servants, in whose abilities and integrity he could confide, to be a watch on his political manœuvres, with orders to advise him regularly of all that passed at the Vizier's court. The correspondence which passed between the Governor General and this young gentleman, was in an easy, confidential, and familiar strain, where his positive or conjectural opinion on the state of affairs, and appearances of the intended future measures of the Vizier, sometimes supplied the place of the stiff and limited matter of fact stile of the merely official Resident. And Mr. Middleton was considered by all the country powers, to be as much the confidential friend of the Governor General, as the agent of the Company. And I shall be glad to know, in what degree of estimation an English Ambassador would be held at a court in Europe, if it was known that he had not the confidence of the Ministry?

On

On the arrival of the Majority, the first advice given to them by their Minister, was to recall this agent, and send up one of their own; by which act they would, at one stroke, convince all the powers on the continent of India, that power had changed hands, and that it now rested with a Majority of the Board, and not with the Governor General. No man, Sir, knows better than you do the political use of such a manœuvre, or you would not have voted the sending Admiral Pigot to relieve Lord Rodney. I believe that Gen. Clavering, Col. Monson, and Mr. Francis, had some such intention, in pursuing so violent a measure, as you seem to have had. But you stopped short; they, Sir, went on: for at the very first meeting of the Council General to do business, the Governor General was called upon to deliver up all the correspondence which had passed between him and Mr. Middleton, his agent at Oude. Mr. Hastings told them, that such parts of it as related to the political affairs of government, he would order to be laid before the Board; but as his correspondence with Mr. Middleton, in many instances, run in the friendly and familiar stile, no ways pertaining to the affairs of government, such parts, he concluded, they could have no desire to see, and he should, from a point of delicacy, withhold them.*

Here

• Extract of a Letter from Bengal, dated November the 21st, 1774.

‘ IN our first consultation in this department, we took into consideration a minute of the Governor-General’s respecting the political state of affairs in India, which he had delivered in at the preceding meeting in the other department, with respect to the war then carrying on against the Rohillas, in aid of the Vizier. We soon found that our opinions on its necessity and propriety, were likely to differ very widely. A majority of the Board, consisting of the Commander in Chief, Col. Monson, and Mr. Francis, thought it necessary, for better elucidating the grounds and conduct of the war, to see the
 ‘ whole

Here was started curious matter for disputation. The heads of the Majority were already loaded with suspicions and combustible ideas ; and this withholding of parts of the correspondence, set fire to the train laid by their Minister, and blazed out into a flame, that has not yet been extinguished. The Majority and their party, declared that the parts of the correspondence which was not given up, contained criminal matter. The Governor, piqued at the

‘ whole of the original correspondence between the Governor General,
‘ Mr. Middleton, Resident at the Vizier’s Court, and Col. Champion,
‘ commanding the troops acting in conjunction with him ; and it was
‘ resolved to request the Governor General to lay it before the Board
‘ accordingly.

‘ The Governor General and Mr. Barwell dissented from this resolution ; and the former, at a subsequent meeting, delivered in a minute, declaring, that he meant to lay before the Board, such parts of Mr. Middleton’s and Col. Champion’s correspondence, as related to the conduct of public affairs ; but as some of the letters might contain things, in the course of a free and personal communication, which might not be proper for a public record, he begged leave to decline laying the whole of them before us.

‘ On this refusal, a formal protest was entered against it, by Gen. Clavering, Col. Monson, and Mr. Francis. Mr. Monson thereupon moved for the recall of Mr. Middleton ; and it was determined by the same majority, that he should be recalled, and ordered to repair to the Presidency, bringing with him the whole of his correspondence during his residence at the court of the Vizier. At the same time it was resolved to appoint Colonel Champion, or the Commanding Officer of the Brigade, to treat with the Vizier in his room. Against both these resolutions, the Governor General protested, and Mr. Barwell also dissented from them.

‘ J. Clavering,
‘ Geo. Monson,
‘ P. Francis.’

ungenerous

ungenerous and violent proceedings of the Majority, and conscious of his own innocence, would not comply. The young gentleman was recalled; and the matter was referred home to the Company, who condemned the Governor, and ordered the whole of the original Letters to be delivered up on both sides, which was done, and found to contain nothing public or criminal. This affair gave rise to such another dispute as that about Mahommed Reza Cawn, and you have handled it at your Committee in the same uncandid manner. Not the least notice is taken of the conduct of the Majority, in removing Mr. Middleton, and sending Mr. Bristow to Oude, and thereby rendering the Governor General insignificant in the eyes of the country powers: No, that would have been candid, and given truth fair play; to avoid which, you take the story up much later in point of time, and endeavour to fix criminality on the Governor General for removing Mr. Bristow from the very spot to which he had been sent by the Majority, to lessen him in the eyes of the Country Powers. Such conduct might have been expected from the Chairman of your Committee, who was never heard of as an orator, except as a speaking member of a city club, or wrangling proprietor of India stock at a general court, where he studied his poverty of eloquence, until chance threw him into the Committee's Chair--But believe me, Sir, it is beneath the character of the all-accomplished Mr. Burke.

I will give you an instance in point. The Prime Minister of this Country, must have a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland who will attend to his mandates, or things in Ireland will go wrong. Lord North thought so, when he sent Lord Carlisle to Dublin Castle. You thought so, when you joined in opinion to send the Duke of Portland there. And Lord Shelburne thought so, when he recommended a

E

successor

successor to the Noble Duke. It is, Sir, one of those political truths, that every dabbler agrees in. And believe me, a Governor General of Bengal, must, and will, have a confidential friend of his own, for his Lieutenant at Oude, or the Princes of the Country will place no confidence in him. It is now five years since the various fluctuating powers of this country, at both ends of the town, have, from a mere spirit of party, destructive of all true policy, and the real interest of the Company and the Nation, been attempting to lower their Governor General in the eyes of all Asia, by forcing on him Mr. Bristow for his Resident at Oude, contrary to all his unanswerable objections. He has no enmity to the young man; that all Mr. Bristow's friends know; but if the Governor submits to his being placed there so independent of him, as the orders from home require, after so long and so injudicious a struggle to compel him to it from this side the water, he will cease to be worthy the confidence of the Nation and the Company, as their Governor General of Bengal.

It is very possible, Sir, that besides the Members of your Committee, and a very bare majority in the Court of Directors, there may be found people who may think, that the Naib Subah of the Provinces in Bengal, and the Resident at the Court of Oude, should be appointments in the disposal only of the Court of Directors. I shall not dispute their right to give away every appointment in the Company's service, at home and abroad; if it was not so, they would not be Directors; but the two instances at present agitated, do not turn on their power or their right; these are indisputable; and I wish the whole Court felt as sore, at the improper interposition of ministerial influence, as I do, their affairs abroad would then soon be restored to their former splendor. Had the Court of Directors read, with
minds

minds free from prejudice, the reasonings of Mr. Hastings, for not giving power to Mahommed Reza Cawn, sending Mr. Bristow to Oude, and Mr. Fowke, Jun. to Benares, it is not possible that certain orders, lately sent to Bengal, could have been dictated. It was no quarrel of theirs. The Majority had appointed the gentlemen above mentioned to their several stations, openly avowing, that it was done to shew the Country Powers, that Mr. Hastings, with the high sounding title of Governor General of Asia, had, in fact, no power; and it was so generally believed all over Hindostan, that Mr. Hastings, on the demise of Col. Monson, so far back as 1776, was obliged to replace the same Company's servants, in order to recover in the opinion of the Asiatic Princes, the credit due to his station. From that hour to this, hath the impolitic interposition of the Court of Directors, kept alive a paltry party dispute, originating at Bengal. whether Mr. Middleton or Mr. Bristow should be the Company's Resident at Oude; whether Mr. Fowke, Mr. Graham, or Mr. Markham, shall act as Agent at Benares; and whether Mahommed Reza Cawn shall have improper power annexed to his nominal station of Naib Subah of Bengal, or not. The parties in whose favour this party contest has been kept alive, that is Messrs. Middleton, Bristow, Fowke, Graham, Markham, and Mahommed Reza Cawn, are all men trained in the Company's service. To their abilities and integrity, no party have made the least objection. The whole matter turns on this; whilst the agents of Mr. Hastings's nomination, reside at the different Princes courts, they have confidence in him; when the young men are sent there, who were appointed by the Majority, the Governor General's credit sinks to nothing. I would ask any reasonable man, whether it can be for the interest of the Company, that the Directors continue annually to make a point of matters, in themselves

so insignificant to their service in general, and so degrading to their Governor General in particular. What is it to that commercial body, which of their younger servants act as their agents at Oude and Benares? Or who can possibly be so good a judge of the abilities and integrity of the undergraduates in their service, as the Governor who employs them? To him they look for an account of the general state of their affairs, financial and political; on the judicious management of which, not only depend their mercantile interests, but their existence as an Asiatic power. If they lose their territory, their commerce can no longer exist. The Council General are their political managers, the Board of Trade their mercantile. War and conquest have made the first necessary; and the closer the latter are tied down to first principles, the better. But the shuttle will now no longer move, if the sword be withdrawn. I would desire no stronger proof of the necessity of harmony in the conduct of their affairs abroad, than what has lately appeared. From 1774 to 1780, Mr. Francis and his friends, opposed every measure of the Governor General's in every department of government, and also kept alive a party in this country, at both ends of the town, and that by a series of the most false and uncharitable representations of facts, that ever were invented against Mr. Hastings's honour as a man, every one of which have been refuted, and exposed to the dishonour of the dead, and the disgrace of the living. But no sooner had Mr. Francis left India, than cordiality took place in the Council General, the good effects of which have lately been made known to the nation, and that at a moment of time, when the Directors were devising his recall, grounded on reasons which have no foundation in truth, to make way for a new set of men, totally unversed in the affairs of Asia.

I believe

I believe you will admit, that in candour, the Committee should have done as I have done, and gone back to the original cause of the removal of Mahommed Reza Cawn and Mr. Bristow, as they deemed such trifling affairs worth the notice of the Senate ; but once dipped into personal politicks, they knew not where to stop ; and a dismal account is introduced into the House, in your sixth Report, charging the Governor General with having violated the rules of the Company's service, in appointing one of his Aid-du-Camps, and particular Agent, Capt. John Scott, a nominal Major, greatly out of his turn, to the prejudice of I know not how many officers, his seniors in the service. This fact is not only denied, but also proved to have been erroneously stated, and wrongfully represented to the House of Commons. Your Chairman has been called upon publicly and privately, to support the assertions contained in the Report, which hitherto he has declined to do. Perhaps he thinks that his senatorial dignity places him out of the reach of private censure, for having patronized a representation of circumstances not true in fact, and that we shall see him on the meeting of the Parliament, once more stand up in his place, and declare himself invulnerable to the shafts of envy and calumny. Before he ventures to do it, I wish him calmly to peruse this Preface, and the accompanying Third Letter, to you ; it may be of use to his memory ; and he may depend on it, that I will take particular care, that every Member of both Houses shall be furnished with a copy, in order to enable them to judge what degree of credit is due to the General's declaration of his innocence and his patriotism.

I have been beyond measure astonished at the modesty of the noble General, in trifling with the time of the House, by bringing forward the frivolous accusation against Mr.
Hastings,

Hastings, of his having made his Aid-du-Camp, Captain John Scott, a Brevet Major, as it inevitably leads back the mind to a similar favour granted some years past, by the General's influence, to his own brother, Captain John Smith. In the name of goodness, what could induce your Chairman to disgust the feelings of every man, who knew the conduct and character of his near relation, by dragging back to our memories the idea of a man, long since fallen into fortunate oblivion. Major John Smith possessed every frailty and folly of his brother in the highest extreme. If there are virtues in the family, heaven and earth knows how few of them came to his share! But he has many years ceased to be a load to himself, disgusting to society, and an expence to the Company; and nothing but the fraternal feelings of so excellent a brother, could have given cause to have it remembered that such a being ever existed.

An elegant writer, under the signature of Detector, in the Morning Herald, having examined and explained the conduct of the Committee, in a very masterly manner, has put an end to my labours. What are we to think of the efficacy of national investigations so partially conducted? If any man will be at the trouble of reading your share in those curious compositions, and at the same time attend to the undeniable facts which Detector hath opposed to your eloquent surmises, and very ungenerous insinuations, it will enable him to form a judgement of the uncommon injuries which have been done to the public and private character of the Governor General of Bengal, in the several parts of the five last Reports. After all, there are few men to whom Mr. Hastings has been more obliged than to you and your Committee. The extraordinary Vote which some how or other was obtained in the House of Commons, for his recall, brought forward an investigation into the matter in Leadenhall-
Street.

Street. The Proprietors of India Stock are his legal and proper masters : they have tried him, Sir, fairly, and he has been honourably acquitted. After that, what can he have to fear from the tellers of Nursery tales. The honorable General was so pleased with his master's story of the *Little Red Riding Hood*, that he imitated it in his way, and gave us one of a Eunuch, and an Old Woman at the India House. Persons who despise the man, pitied the mimic orator. The silent contempt in which it was received, ought to seal up his mouth for ever ; and in compassion to him, Sir, you should say, " Cousin Smith, you never " can be an orator."

I must now leave you to my Third Letter, which I hope will have some influence on your mind, when you shall find by it, how egregiously you have been duped by the enemies of Mr. Hastings, in spending so much of your precious time, in compiling reports from a Committee, originally intended to furnish the national Senate with information on Asiatic affairs, and not inflammatory observations on the conduct of a party. When you, your Chairman, or the man of whose evidence you have shewn so much grace as to be ashamed to give to the public, shall think proper to dispute the facts in the following Letter, you may chance to hear again from your old correspondent and

Humble Servant,

The AUTHOR.



A

THIRD LETTER

TO

EDMUND BURKE, Esquire.

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR ;

ALTHOUGH I have already address'd Two Letters to you, on the subject of the Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, such have been the industry and indefatigable application of yourself, the honorable Chairman, and his brother Members, in obtaining what they think new evidence, in support of what all the world have been convinced was no evidence at all, that I am compelled to trouble you once more, to shew, that this last evidence of Mr. Goring, is absolutely worse than Capt. Cowe's no evidence : and what is singularly fortunate, every step which has been taken to prejudice the public against Governor General Hastings, hath operated quite differently to what his enemies intended.—His character, like sterling gold committed to the crucible, comes out purer than when first submitted to the fire.

F

When,

When, in 1773, the King's Minister's interposed, with the declared purpose of relieving the East India Company from their distresses, which had most evidently been brought on by the same Ministry having compelled them some years before, to pay government 400,000*l.* per annum, and which, in its consequences, drove them into a temporary bankruptcy, the very same means were then used, which have lately been used, to enrage the minds of the people against the characters of all the Company's servants abroad, and involve them indiscriminately in one general ruin. It is, perhaps, one of the most singular circumstances to be met with in the records of time, that a man so situated and so circumstanced as Governor General Hastings has been, and now is, should be able to support himself against such violent, personal, and general attacks, as have been, and are now making on his conduct and character.

I will honestly confess, that it is not from any particular regard or respect which I have for your character, that induces me to address my Letters to you : as one of my most gracious Sovereign's honourable Privy Council, I sincerely hope that you are an upright and honest man ; but I am too old to take mere professions of sanctity for pure religion, or flowery oratory for true patriotism : I look to general tenor of conduct to frame my conclusions on the characters of men : and if Sir George Saville himself, was to give up the cause of an honest man, in mere compliance to the passions of a party, highly as I now revere the character of that genuine Englishman, I would never after touch my hat to him. It is not sufficient that a man hath lived, he must also die a patriot. Had Cato trimmed to the times, as Bolingbroke has said he ought to have done, and followed the chariot wheels of Cæsar, his memory would have been held in as much detestation by posterity, as is that of the
 Author

Author of the Letters on Patriotism. He, Sir, like you, preached a doctrine which he never practised. When I read your works, I admire both : when I advert to your conduct, there are few characters, living or dead, for whom I feel less respect. Men who violently pursue, from the spirit of party, an innocent individual, are false patriots. Hastings and Coote have saved the nation in the east, and Rodney retrieved her honour in the west, and brawling patriots vent their spleen against them.

In 1772, Select and Secret Committees were appointed by the House of Commons, to enquire into the then state of the East India Company's affairs. In the same year Mr. Hastings was, by the Company, sent from Madras to Bengal, to take charge of the government. Every one of his measures from that period, to the latter end of 1774, were not only highly approved, but much commended by the Court of Directors, to whom alone he was then accountable. If, in the severe investigation of both Committees of the House of Commons, during the years 1772 and 1773, any criminal matter did appear against Governor Hastings, nothing of it is to be found on the face of the Reports ; and as a proof that nothing was found, the legislative powers of his country thought proper, in 1773, to confirm him in the government of Bengal for five years longer. If any thing can establish a man's character for honour and integrity, in the service of the East India Company, Mr. Hastings's character was so established, when the Regulating Act of the 13th of George the Third, received the royal assent, which was to be in force at Bengal, on the first day of August, 1774.

At the above period, Mr. Hastings had been in the Company's service twenty-four years, in the government of Bengal nearly three years, by the appointment, and with

the approbation, of the Court of Proprietors, and of the Directors; and by the Regulating Act, he was re-appointed and confirmed in the government of all India, for five years more. This new appointment was with the consent and approbation of the whole kingdom, for this plain reason, that whatever peculations or mismanagements had been brought home against other of the Company's servants, all parties and denominations of men agreed, that Mr. Hastings's character stood unimpeached, in Leadenhall-Street, and in the Reports of the Committees. His application to business, and his abilities for conducting it, were equally and universally acknowledged by all denominations of men.

Such was the established and universally allowed character of Mr. Hastings, when he was appointed Governor General of the national possessions in Asia in 1774. I will, Sir, with your permission, go into an investigation of the matter now laid to his charge, and state clearly and fairly, on what foundation it rests, give the characters of the men who first began the now furious attack against his moral and political honour, and shew to the world on what grounds the present outcry has been raised, in what manner it has been supported, and what are the views of the present Managers, in persevering with such unwearied assiduity, in the removal of Mr. Hastings from the government of Bengal.

You are, Sir, better acquainted with the private intentions of Ministers of State than I am; their openly avowed principles of action is all I have to go by; and I do assure you, Sir, that the Ministers of 1773 declared publicly, that they wished to support Governor General Hastings in his measures and plans for regulating the national concerns in Bengal; and in order to put it out of the power of that
fluctuating

fluctuating body of men, the Court of Directors for the East India Company's affairs, to remove him, on any change of politicks in Leadenhall-Street, they gave him the sanction of a national appointment for five years, not to be removed but by an address from the united body of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, framed at the request of a majority of the Proprietors, and a majority of the Court of Directors, to the King in Council, for that express purpose. Here, Sir, their declarations and public acts confirm one another, and force conviction on the mind, that they really meant what they said: and the same Ministry have further confirmed what they then enacted; for in the first Sessions of the fifteenth Parliament of Great Britain, that is last summer, when an Act was passed to continue to the East India Company their Asiatic possessions, for the further term of ten years, the name of Warren Hastings, Esq. is further inserted to fill the office of Governor General, with the approbation of the East India Company, and, as I remember, without one single objection to the clause so framed for his continuance in the government, being started in the House of Lords or House of Commons.

A simple plain man, such as I am, not conversant in the secrets of state, is apt to conclude, that such continual and repeated approbation of a man's own immediate masters, confirmed by the legislative and executive powers of the state, would be sufficient to establish his character for honour, ability, and integrity; and was I an independent Proprietor of Stock, or impartial Member of Parliament, I would not vote a man from so responsible a station, without being first convinced that he had acted in some shape or way, inconsistent with his duty, or derogatory to his honour. What a vast portion of private spleen must that man possess, whose revenge is not to be satisfied, but with the removal and disgrace

grace of such men as Hastings, Coote, and Rodney, at a time the national honour requires their continuance in office !

In the midst of all our party squabbles, I thank God, there are numbers of very respectable characters in the nation, whose love of truth causes them to revolt at the very idea of acting as panders to the gratification of private passion ; they will not be influenced by uncertain evidence, or vote the disgrace of a man unheard in his defence, because the Chairman of a Committee, or one or two other of the Members, wish to return to India. To such Members of the British Senate, and such Proprietors of India Stock, I write ; nor have I a doubt but that I shall convince them, and all impartial men, that the present attack on the Governor General, was commenced in India from the spirit of party, and has been taken up here on the same principle, and leads only to the gratification of the private spleen of a few individuals, and the lucrative views of a few more.

There is nothing gives me more pleasure, than when I find that I agree in any political point, essential to the general good, with so popular a character as that of Mr. Edmund Burke : but such is the nature and complexion of modern patriotism, that tenets seem to change with books, and principles with times---I mean, Sir, your tenets and your principles : the Proprietor of East India Stock, at least, if not part of the Patriot, seems to have been lost in the Minister of State ; otherwise how shall we reconcile present proceedings with past doctrines ? No man will refuse a quotation from the works of Edmund Burke, and I am always happy to support my own opinion by so good authority. That the compelling the East India Company to pay the sum of 400,000*l.* per annum to government, was a thing I complained of much, at that time, though you
was

was not a Proprietor, you, Sir, did not approve of it, as may be seen from the following quotation from a very favourite work of yours, which I took notice of in my First Letter to you, and may very possibly mention again before I close my Third.

In your observations on a late state of the nation, printed by J. Doddsley, in Pall-mall, the fourth edition, page 88 to page 93, you reason thus :

‘ It is true the author, in his estimate of ways and
 ‘ means, takes credit for 400,000*l.* a year, *Indian revenue*;
 ‘ but he will not very positively insist, that we should put
 ‘ this revenue to the account of his plans or his power, and
 ‘ for a plain reason ; we are already near two years in pos-
 ‘ session of it : by what means we came to that possession,
 ‘ is a pretty long story : however, I shall give nothing more
 ‘ than a short abstract of the proceeding, in order to see
 ‘ whether the author will take to himself any part in that
 ‘ measure.

‘ The fact is this : the East India Company had for a
 ‘ good while solicited the Ministry for a negociation, by
 ‘ which they proposed to pay largely for some advantages in
 ‘ their trade, and for the renewal of their charter. This
 ‘ had been the former method of transacting with that bo-
 ‘ dy. Government having only leased the monopoly for
 ‘ short terms, the company has been obliged to resort to it
 ‘ frequently for renewals. These two parties have always
 ‘ negotiated (on the true principle of credit) not as govern-
 ‘ ment and subject, but as equal dealers, on the footing of
 ‘ mutual advantage. The public had derived great benefit
 ‘ from such dealing. But at that time new ideas prevailed :
 ‘ The ministry, instead of listening to the proposals of the
 ‘ company,

' company, chose to set up a claim of the crown to their
 ' possessions. The original plan seems to have been, to get
 ' the house of commons to compliment the crown with a
 ' sort of juridical declaration of a title to the company's ac-
 ' quisitions in India, which the crown, on its part, with
 ' the best air in the world, was to bestow upon the public.
 ' Then it would come to the turn of the house of commons
 ' again to be liberal and grateful to the crown. The civil
 ' list debts were to be paid off, with, perhaps, a pretty aug-
 ' mentation of income. All this was to be done on the
 ' most public spirited principles, and with a politeness and
 ' mutual interchange of good offices, that could not but
 ' have charmed. But what was best of all, these civilities
 ' were to be without a farthing of charge to either of the
 ' kind and obliging parties. The East India company was
 ' to be covered with infamy and disgrace, and at the same
 ' time was to pay the whole bill.

' In consequence of this scheme, the terrors of a parlia-
 ' mentary enquiry were hung over them. A judicature
 ' was asserted in parliament to try this question. But least
 ' this judicial character should chance to inspire certain
 ' stubborn ideas of law and right, it was argued, that the
 ' judicature was arbitrary, and ought not to determine by
 ' the rules of law, but by their opinion of policy and expe-
 ' dience. Nothing exceeded the violence of some of the
 ' managers, except their impotence. They were bewil-
 ' dered by their passions, and by their want of knowledge,
 ' or want of consideration of the subject. The more they
 ' advanced, the further they found themselves from their
 ' object. All things ran into confusion. The ministers
 ' quarrelled among themselves; they disclaimed one ano-
 ' ther; they suspended violence, and shrunk from the
 ' treaty. The enquiry was almost at its last gasp, when
 ' some

‘ some active persons of the company were given to under-
 ‘ stand, that this hostile proceeding was only set up *in terro-*
 ‘ *rem*; that government was far from an intention of seiz-
 ‘ ing upon the possessions of the company. Administration,
 ‘ they said, was sensible that the idea was in every light full
 ‘ of absurdity; and that such a seizure was not more out
 ‘ of their power, than remote from their wishes; and there-
 ‘ fore, if the company would come in a liberal manner to
 ‘ the house, they certainly could not fail of putting a spee-
 ‘ dy end to this disagreeable business, and of opening the
 ‘ way to an advantageous treaty.

‘ On this hint the company acted: they came at once
 ‘ to a resolution of getting rid of the difficulties which arose
 ‘ from the complication of their trade with their revenue;
 ‘ a step which despoiled them of their best defensive armour,
 ‘ and put them at once into the power of administration.
 ‘ They threw their whole stock of every kind, the revenue,
 ‘ the trade, and even their debt from government, into one
 ‘ fund, which they computed on the surest grounds, would
 ‘ amount to 800,000*l.* with a large probable surplus for the
 ‘ payment of debt. Then they agreed to divide this sum
 ‘ in equal portions, between themselves and the public,
 ‘ 400,000*l.* to each. This gave to the proprietors of that
 ‘ fund, an annual augmentation of no more than 80,000*l.*
 ‘ dividend. They ought to receive from government
 ‘ 120,000*l.* for the loan of their capital. So that in fact,
 ‘ the whole which on this plan they reserved to themselves,
 ‘ from their vast revenues, from their extensive trade, and
 ‘ in consideration of the great risks and mighty expences,
 ‘ which purchased these advantages, amounted to no more
 ‘ than 280,000*l.* whilst government was to receive, as I
 ‘ said, 400,000*l.*

' This proposal was thought by themselves liberal in-
 ' deed, and they expected the highest applause for it. How-
 ' ever, their reception was very different from their expecta-
 ' tions. When they brought up their plan to the house of
 ' commons, the offer, as it was natural, of 400,000l. was
 ' very well relished: but nothing could be more disgusting
 ' than the 80,000l. which the company had divided
 ' amongst themselves. A violent tempest of public indig-
 ' nation and fury rose against them. The heads of people
 ' turned. The company was held well able to pay
 ' 400,000l. a year to government; but bankrupts, if they
 ' attempted to divide the fifth part of it among themselves.
 ' An *ex post facto* law was brought in with great precipita-
 ' tion, for annulling this dividend. In the bill was inserted
 ' a clause, which suspended for about year, the right
 ' which, under the public faith, the company enjoyed of
 ' making their own dividends. Such was the disposition,
 ' and temper of the house, that although the plain face of
 ' facts, reason, arithmetic, all the authority, parts, and elo-
 ' quence in the kingdom, were against this bill, though all
 ' the chancellors of the exchequer, who held that office
 ' from the beginning of this reign, opposed it, yet a few
 ' placemen of the subordinate departments, sprung out of
 ' their ranks, took the lead, and, by an opinion of *some sort*
 ' of *secret support*, carried the bill with an high hand, leav-
 ' ing the then secretary of state, and the chancellor of the
 ' exchequer, in a very moderate minority. In this distract-
 ' ed situation, the managers of the bill, notwithstanding
 ' their triumph, did not venture to propose the payment of
 ' the civil list debt. The chancellor of the exchequer was
 ' not in good humour enough, after his late defeat by his
 ' own troops, to co-operate in such a design. So they
 ' made an act to lock up the money in the exchequer, until
 ' they should have time to look about them, and settle a-
 ' mong themselves what they were to do with it.

' Thus

‘ Thus ended this unparalleled transaction. The au-
 ‘ thor, I believe, will not claim any part of the glory in it:
 ‘ he will leave it whole and entire to the authors of the
 ‘ measure. The money was the voluntary free gift of the
 ‘ company; the rescinding bill was the act of the legisla-
 ‘ ture, to which they and we owe submission: the author
 ‘ has nothing to do with the one or with the other. How-
 ‘ ever, he cannot avoid rubbing himself against this subject,
 ‘ merely for the pleasure of stirring controversies, and grati-
 ‘ fying a certain pruriency of taxation that seems to infect
 ‘ his blood. It is merely to indulge himself in speculations
 ‘ of taxing, that he chooses to harangue on this subject.
 ‘ For he takes credit for no greater sum than the public is
 ‘ already in possession of. He does not hint that the com-
 ‘ pany means, or has ever shewn any disposition, if manag-
 ‘ ed with common prudence, to pay less in future; and he
 ‘ cannot doubt that the present ministry are as well inclined
 ‘ to drive them, by their mock enquiries, and real rescin-
 ‘ ding bills, as he can possibly be with his taxes. Besides
 ‘ it is obvious, that as great a sum might have been drawn
 ‘ from that company, without affecting property, or shaking
 ‘ the constitution, or endangering the principles of public
 ‘ credit, or running into his golden dreams of cockets on
 ‘ the Ganges, or visions of stamp duties on *Purvanna’s*,
 ‘ *Dusticks*, *Kistbundeas*, and *Husbulhookums*. For once, I
 ‘ will disappoint him in this part of the dispute, and only,
 ‘ in a very few words, recommend to his consideration,
 ‘ how he is to get off the dangerous ideas of taxing a public
 ‘ fund, if he levies those duties in England; and if he is to
 ‘ levy them in India, what provision has he made for a re-
 ‘ venue establishment there, supposing that he undertakes
 ‘ this new scheme of finance independently of the compa-
 ‘ ny, and against its inclinations?’

It is impossible for me, Sir, to read your observations on *mock enquiries*, without adverting to some enquiries now on foot. Mr. Goring, in the month of May, is brought to affirm what you declared to be so self evident in the month of February, viz. the political execution of the Rajah Nundcomar; for proof of which, you, in the most solemn and serious manner, refer the house and the nation back to the evidence of Captain Cowe in the first Report. To Captain Cowe's evidence we go, Sir, by your express desire, and find that it is no evidence at all. To tell us now, that Mr. Goring, or any other man, can prove what was *not* true in February last, though the fact alluded to was of seven years standing, is at best but bringing an Irish *Bull* to cover your English *Cowe*. Believe me, the more you labour that unlucky point, the more you will find yourself bewildered. In Bengal, Mr. C. W. B. Rous, Mr. Philip Francis, Mr. Farrer, the lawyer, Captain Cowe, and a few others, said that it was a political measure. The then majority of the civil government, went great lengths to endeavour to prove it on the spot, with no better success than you seem to have had here. A great traveller, one Mackintosh, has had instructions to affirm the same fact, with which your honorable Committee have so long amused themselves, and has been told in direct terms, by one Joseph Price, that he has been guilty of uttering nine different falsehoods on that subject only; and I have been credibly informed, that the same Price declares, that Mr. Mackintosh has been employed by one of the same men who employed Mr. Goring, so much to his honour, at Bengal.

However that may be, the *mock enquiries* (as you call them) did take place in 1772, and furnished the pretext for the regulating act on India affairs in 1774. The minister publicly declared, that his intention was to support Governor

governor Hastings in his government. When the private instructions given to General *Clavering*, Colonel *Monson*, and Mr. *Philip Francis*, were, I do not know; but most certainly their conduct was very different, not only to the declarations of the ministry, but also to their own. I have proved this fact in my First Letter; nor shall I detain you longer here than just to observe, that notwithstanding all their professions and all their promises, they shewed at the very first meeting of council, a fixed determination to govern the country, not only without the participation or advice of Mr. Hastings, but also gave countenance to every vile informer in the country, to bring in complaint against him: no matter what it was, or how obtained, the more infamous the better. Every day produced something new; and the Company's records were stuffed with charges in abundance; but not a single proof has been produced, from that hour to this, of any of them. The cause has lately been transferred from that country to this; and it is with no less indignation than contempt, that I observe that some of the very same men have been employed to play over again, their parts in the second exhibition of that most infamous farce.

Your friend Mr. Francis, Sir, is something more in my opinion, that what he stiled himself, *the fifth part of a King*; he is, at least, the third part of a *Prophet*; for in the space of a month, *a very little month*, after his arrival at Bengal, the Majority tell the Company, in one letter, dated November 21st, 1774, just twenty-five days after their first meeting in council, that ‘ the short time which has elapsed since our
 ‘ arrival here, has been so *totally engrossed* by the first forms
 ‘ and multiplicity of instant business, that it has not been
 ‘ possible for us possess ourselves of any other particular
 ‘ knowledge of the internal state of those provinces, than
 ‘ that

‘ that which your Governor General has been pleased to
‘ communicate to us.’

However, in nine days after the above declaration, they acquire knowledge enough to condemn in the lump, the whole conduct of the preceding administration, and foretell, that a severe parliamentary inquisition would one day take place. It has happened as they foretold, and *inquisition* is no bad term, at tribunals so named, evidence of any kind is brought forward. Even the whimsies of a *Cowe*, the assertions of a *Francis*, or the depositions of a *Goring*, are admitted against a man to whom they hold declared enmity. Are such proceedings calculated to convince or to impose on the understandings of the public? The treatment of Sir Thomas Rumbold is perfect moderation to this—Yet such conduct is to pave the way for my little Cutcherry Hero to obtain a seat in the Supreme Council at Bengal, the Chairman of the Committee to command the army, and you, Sir, or some other great man, (for Philip Francis, I find is thrown out,) to become Governor General of Bengal.—But to their letter: be pleased to observe, that it is dated a month after the Majority possessed themselves of the government of Bengal. On the 21st of November, 1774, they knew nothing but what the Governor General told them; on the 30th of the same month, in the same year, they knew every thing; as appears from the following letter to the Court of Directors.

Letter from General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis.

‘ Fort William, November 30th, 1774.
‘ General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis,
‘ lay before the Council the following Address to the
‘ Court

‘ Court of Directors, which they had drawn up in the shape
‘ of a letter, and which they desire may be upon record as
‘ a minute from them.

‘ It touches them with the highest concern, to see that
‘ things are reduced to so unfortunate a situation, that a jus-
‘ tification of their conduct must of necessity carry with it,
‘ and can only be supported by a strong and deliberate cen-
‘ sure of the preceding administration. They would not
‘ have sacrificed, as they have done, their own happiness
‘ and peace of mind, to so painful and laborious a discus-
‘ sion, if they had not been *thoroughly convinced*, that the
‘ questions agitated in the following address to the Court of
‘ Directors, affect the very vitals of this state, and that,
‘ sooner or later, they must be the subject of a severe par-
‘ liamentary *inquisition*.

‘ The whole of these papers, as they apprehend, must,
‘ in obedience to the Act of Parliament, be transmitted by
‘ the Court of Directors to one of his Majesty’s principal
‘ Secretaries of State.

‘ J. Claving,
‘ Geo. Monson,
‘ P. Francis.’

The above letter was sent home to the Court of Direc-
tors and to the Ministry, as a kind of declaration of war
against the Governor General, and the whole of the former
administration. In it they declare, that there was no way
to vindicate themselves (though in the government but a
month) but by a pointed condemnation of their predecessors
and colleagues in the government. Volumes of charges
were collected and sent home in every ship, but not one
single proof could be found. Seven years afterwards, their
bold

Bold assertions are once more obtruded on the world in anonymous pamphlets, lying travels, and in references to reports for evidence, which, on examination, contain no evidence, but such as convinces every honest man of its absurdity. The prejudices raised against the Indians, by the Reports of the Secret and Select Committees in 1773, encouraged General *Clavering*, Colonel *Monson*, and Mr. *Philip Francis*, to commence the attack against the Governor General at Bengal, in 1774: and now the supposed crimes of Sir Thomas Rumbold and his brethren at Madras, furnish a plea for rallying the scattered forces of the party to begin the game anew, and they set out with the following paragraphs in the second Report of the Select Committee, said, Sir, to have been drawn up by yourself, as penman for the Committee, who kindly undertook to prepare the information necessary for the house to act on.

‘ The circumstance which brings this omission home to
 ‘ the point at present under the observation of your com-
 ‘ mittee, is this, that the Rajah, thus denied a respite, was,
 ‘ at the very time of his apprehension, under the protection
 ‘ of the council, in the midst of his evidence against Mr.
 ‘ Hastings, the Governor General, on a charge of pecula-
 ‘ tion and abuse of his office, in taking money from the
 ‘ natives.’

‘ Your committee has received it in evidence, that this
 ‘ trial and execution was looked upon by many of the na-
 ‘ tives as political; nor does the committee conceive it
 ‘ possible, that, combining all the circumstances together,
 ‘ they should look upon it in the light of a common judi-
 ‘ cial proceeding, but must regard it as a politic measure,
 ‘ the tendency of which is, to make the natives feel the
 ‘ extreme hazard of accusing, or even giving evidence of
 ‘ corrupt

‘ corrupt practices against any British subject in station,
 ‘ even though supported by other British subjects of equal
 ‘ rank and authority. It will be rather a mockery than a
 ‘ relief to the natives, to see channels of justice opened to
 ‘ them, at their great charge, both in the institution and
 ‘ in the use, and these appeals, still more expensive, care-
 ‘ fully provided for them, when, at the same time, practi-
 ‘ ces are countenanced, which render the resort to those
 ‘ remedies far more dangerous, than a patient endurance of
 ‘ oppression under which they may labour.’

How extremely unlucky you have been in your references back to your first Report, for evidence to support your conclusions in your second, I have shewn so plainly in my Second Letter to you on that subject, that it has induced you once more to change your ground. Unwilling to give up your favourite idea, that the greatest villain the world ever saw was put to death unjustly, you have called up Mr. G. a man whose whole tenor of conduct hath branded his name with such a degree of infamy, that no length of time can palliate or wash it out.

Mr. *Charles Goring* went out a writer in the East India Company's service to Bengal in 1763. He was, soon after his arrival, employed at a factory near Cossimbuzar, to provide raw silk for the Company. During the time of his residence in that station, heavy complaints were made of the sufferings and hardships under which the Company's silk-winders groaned in some part of the kingdom : most dismal stories were propagated, not only in Calcutta, but also in this country, tending to prove, that numbers of the silk-winders had left Bengal, rather than work longer at Rungpoor Beauliauh and Malda, two of the Company's silk factories. Some of the poor wretches were said to have

H

cut

cut off their thumbs, and thereby disabled themselves from being any longer enrolled on the list of Company's silk-winders. This raised so general a detestation against the authors of such inhuman cruelty, that nobody would have intercourse with the perpetrators. I don't say who they were; but I know that when Mr. Goring came down to Calcutta in the year 1767, no man of credit or character in Calcutta, would keep company with him. He left the settlement, and returned to Europe, with a very capital fortune, even before his apprenticeship as a writer was out. I make no doubt but that he can account for the means he used to obtain so large a fortune in so short a time. I have nothing to do with that; I am only about to inform you how he came to turn patriot---Qualified you, Sir, no doubt will admit him to be, even from the above sketch of his character only:---But hear further.

Mr. Goring returned to India in the latter end of 1773, or beginning of 1774, and strolled about Calcutta like a foreigner amongst his own countrymen, for nobody would know him---You will guess the cause without my help--- And you know, Sir, that revolutions in government change the face of affairs so completely that, (to use a homely proverb) *every dog has his day*. The plan of operations adopted by General *Clavering*, Colonel *Monson*, and Mr. *Francis*, suited exactly with the talents and principles of Mr. Goring, and he was soon employed in an important station of trust and confidence, to which his genius was in a peculiar manner excellently adapted. Some few difficulties arose in the *etiquette*. Few men would hold converse with this worthy man, and yet fewer be seen or known to act with him. If he was bid to a convivial meal, at the house of one of his *honourable employers*, the party was small indeed; for even men who, on similar principles, wished well to the cause, would

would go without a dinner, rather than foul a plate in company with him. And this general disgust to the man, produced some curious situations at the great mens houses, infomuch, that when they wished to benefit from his intelligence, or enjoy his company, it was in the *Tete-a-tete* way; for the least creditable of their other friends, thought themselves disgraced by being in his company.

When his dispatches were ready, to the *Nabob's* palace, at the city, he went, armed with powers such as no honest principle of action could justify the giving. But the Majority had committed themselves too deeply to retreat. A man more proper for the execution of such diabolical orders, was not to be found in the Company's service. Even *James Grant*, one of the commissioners employed to examine such papers as Mr. Goring might seize by violence, had yet so much sense of feeling left, as to refuse to be joined in the commission with him: and that universal reluctance which all men shewed to act in any manner or shape with such a man, induced the necessity of a double commission, one to seize the papers, and another to examine them.

Just at the time when the commission was given to *Goring*, a discovery was made in Calcutta, that under the direction of the *Son-in-Law to Rajah Nundcomar*, a conspiracy was formed against two or three of the members of the former administration, which was afterwards proved against him and associates in open court.---Yet at this trial, the whole majority of the civil government appeared to claim the privilege of an ambassador for one of the culprits. An ambassador from the Nabob *Mah Barick ul Dowlah*, at *Cosim'buzar*, to the representatives of the East India Company in Calcutta---yet at the very same instant of time, those very representatives (the Majority) had given to Mr. *Goring*

a commission to enter the secret apartments of that very *Nabob*, not with a general warrant, but with a military force, and seize on all the state papers of this Sovereign, whom the Majority were endeavouring to prove, in the King's court of judicature at Calcutta, to be an Independent Prince--- With what strength of argument, honest principle of action, or consistency of conduct, I shall leave you, Sir, to determine.

Mr. *Goring* proceeded to execute his orders with a violence and inhumanity, which confirmed every man in Bengal, in their opinion of his true stamp of character. All the *Nabob's* papers were seized : his Mother, the Regent of the Kingdom, during the minority of this great and independent *Prince*, was treated with a degree of severity, which only such a man as the Commissioner could be capable of executing. There are certain lines of rectitude which are never crossed by man or woman, whilst even the appearance of honour or virtue is left them ; that line once passed, no wild beast of the forest can equal man or woman in their barbarous treatment of one another. Religion, laws, and customs, no longer bind the violator, whether Jew, Christian, Turk, or Infidel, by profession : the savage man appears in all his devilish and corrupt deformity. No intreaties, no prayers, no regard to rank, to age, to sex, had any influence on the mind of our well chosen agent. The *Nabob's* Mother, though Regent of the Kingdom by the East India Company's own appointment, was driven out of her own palace, no place so sacred but what was ransacked, and every indulgence refused her, except she would perjure herself, in giving false charges against the Governor General of Bengal.

Mr. *Goring's* orders extended not to the bringing the papers he might seize away, but to submit them to the inspection

tion of Messrs. *Anderson, Maxwell, and Grant*, who had orders to examine them for matters of crimination against the Governor General, or any of the members of the former administration. The result of their enquiries you shall see presently.—I shall first dispatch this new evidence of the Committee.

Before Mr. Goring returned to Calcutta, Col. Monson (who had become very much ashamed of some violences which the spirit of party had hurried them into) had been let into the real character of their Cossimbuzar Commissioner, and in consequence received him very coolly. In short, he discouraged him so very much, that he never dared to produce the papers which he had, contrary to orders, brought away with him from the Begum's house ; and this, Sir, you may depend on it, was the real reason of his having secreted them. The Select Committee having outrun themselves a little, (by whose fault you best know,) and more evidence being wanting to keep up the cry against the Governor General, until certain political arrangements should take place, induced your friend, the Bengal Cutcherry Hero, to send for Mr. *Goring*, and he produced the *honestly procured papers*. The means he used to come at them, and the purpose to which he intended to apply them, made his friends the Majority, so much ashamed of him, that he was avoided at Bengal like a pest. Whenever he came into any house at Calcutta, every stranger, man and woman, instantly got up and left the company ; and this became so general a custom, that he found it necessary to feign sickness, and go to Madras, from whence he, and two more of the gang, proceeded to Europe. Such, Sir, is a concise account of the history and character of the man, to whom you have applied to support the limping evidence of Captain *Cowe*.

I am,

I am, Sir, so very fond of good painting, and true patriotism, that I propose to publish my three letters to you by subscription, to raise a sum to give to Sir Joshua Reynolds, to draw me an oval table, and fill it with the portraits of some great admirers of Governor General Hastings. Now, Sir, as you are beyond all comparison the first in dignity, and in patriotic character, I would ask the favour of you to set at one end of the table; nor will Gen. Richard Smith take it ill, that I should place him at the other. I should leave you to determine amongst yourselves, which should be called the head, or chairman's end. On your right hand I would place Mr. *Goring*, as the first and best evidence; and as Mr. *Mackintosh*, the Author of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, is your next best hand, and suits the other in looks and complexion, I would place him opposite to Mr. *Goring*: Mr. *C. W. B. Rous* next to *Goring* on the right, and he should be confronted with Mr. *Farrer*, the lawyer, on the left; two better center figures could not easily be found for such a group; Sir Joshua would help a little the complexion of the last: then comes Master *Philip Francis*; the complexional tint of this last gentleman's visage, will agree very well with the honourable and worthy General's. There are various orders of knights and esquires, such as those of Malta, the round table, knights of the post, &c. so likewise we hear of the seven wonders of the world, seven wise men of Greece, seven plagues of Egypt, &c. but to me it has been left to furnish out an oval table, at which to accommodate *seven illustrious Patriots*, who can, with the most frivolous, ridiculous, and fallacious stories, entertain a whole nation for a year and a half together.

I much doubt whether there is to be met with, an original manuscript Bengal Durbar account, written in the true
Schancrit

Sanskrit character, in any one of our famous libraries, or other depositories of learning. This of Goring's, if accepted as genuine by a Committee of the House of Commons, must, on that account alone, have become very valuable, and ought, in honour to the man, (who, assisted by a military force, stole it out of the palace of the Nabob of Bengal, from amongst the archives of the illustrious family of Jaffier Ally Cawn, which Prince can be proved to have descended from Adam,) to be deposited in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. I have already left by my will, the original picture of the seven patriots to the same university. During my existence, it shall be hung up in the cheefemonger's committee chamber at Westminster.

As to common Asiatic accounts, there are some very good originals which have been presented to the public. I shall, however, trouble you, Sir, with one more. It was sent to me by a gentleman who resided at the city, (that is, Cossimbuzar, or Moorshadabad, the seat of the Nabob, at the time the three commissioners, *Maxwell*, *Anderfon*, and *Grant*, went up to examine such papers as Commissioner *Goring* might lay violent hands on when he dispossessed the Regent Mother of her house and property, by an order from the Majority. It came to me just in the form I now give it to you. But I cannot say that I value myself much on being possessed of the original, because in the records of former Committees of the House of Commons, are to be met with some still more original, and better authenticated. The following, Sir, I have extracted from the eighth Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, sitting at Westminster in 1773, pages 139, 140, and 141.

Fort William, November 14th, 1769.

At a Consultation; *PRESENT*,

John Carter, Esq. <i>President</i> ,	Thomas Rumbold,
Brigadier General Smith,	Charles Floyer,
Claud Ruffel,	Francis Hare, Esquires.

(The Governor indisposed.)

General Smith delivers in an account of his expences since he has had the command of the army.

ORDERED, that they be entered after the consultation, and that the military Paymaster General pay the balance.

STATEMENT of *CASH* received and due, from the honourable Company.

To disbursements, as per bills of, delivered to the Board. Sont		1767.	
Rupces - -	3,11,806	0	0
Batta, at 11 per cent. - -	34228	10	6
		Dec. By cash received from the Paymaster of the 2d brigade - -	55,500 0 0
		1768.	
		Jan. Ditto ditto	55,500 0 0
		Sept. Ditto ditto	77,700 0 0
		1769.	
		July. Ditto ditto	70,000 0 0
		Oct. Ditto ditto	51,300 0 0
			<hr/>
			3,10,000 0 0
		Balance	36,104 10 6
			<hr/>
Current Rs	3,46,104	10	6
		Current Rs	3,46,104 10 6

E. E.

Fort William, November the 9th, 1769.

(Signed) *RICHARD SMITH.*

The

		Dr.	
	The Honourable Company		
1766.			
October.	Nazir to the King - - -		816
1767.			
April.	To Alha Rajah Bulwand Sing.		
	An elephant - - -	3,000	
	Serpeach and drefs - - -	1,000	
		4,000	
May.	Nazirs to the King for myself and suite - - - -		1,280
	The Nabob Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah, at Allahabad.		
	Five horfes - - -	3,000	
	An elephant - - -	3,000	
	Nine trays of kincobs, gold cloth, shauls, &c. - - -	2,400	
	A culzy and ferpeach - - -	2,500	
		10,900	
June.	The Shah Zadah, or King's Son, on his paying me a visit.		
	Nazirs - - - -	336	
	Five horfes - - -	2,800	
	Nine trays of kincobs, gold cloth, &c. - - -	2,400	
	A culzy and ferpeach - - -	1,800	
		7,336	
	Presents to his Majesty Shah Allum, on his honouring me with a visit.		
	Nazirs - - - -	1,616	
	A rich musical clock - - -	1,944	
	Seven horfes - - -	3,900	
	An elephant - - -	3,000	
	Eleven trays of kincobs gold and silver cloths, shauls, &c.	2,945	
	A culzy and ferpeach - - -	2,700	
		16,105	
	I		July

July.	Nazir to the King at the coronation feast - - - -	816
	Ditto on the birth of a Prince - -	336
1768.		
January.	Presents to the Nabob Vizier, on my visiting him at Fyzabad.	
	An elephant - - -	3,000
	Five horses - - -	3,500
	Embroidered sumpter cloths, gilt bridles, saddles, and furniture - - -	2,000
	A rich musical clock - -	1,944
	Nine trays of kincobs, gold and silver cloths, shauls, and fine muslins - -	2,600
	A culzy and serpeach - -	2,400
		<u>15,244</u>
	Presents to the Vizier's Son; Nabob Mizza Amanny.	
	Five trays of kincobs, gold cloths, shauls, &c. - -	1,370
	Fuzees, pistols, globes, velvets, pictures, &c. - -	2,000
		<u>3,370</u>
	Presents to the Nabob Munirvul Dowlah.	
	Five trays of kincobs, &c.	1,145
	A culzy and serpeach - -	1,000
		<u>2,145</u>
	Presents to Rajah Sital Roy.	
	Five trays kincobs, shauls, &c.	1,256
	A culzy and serpeach - -	1,000
		<u>2,256</u>
	Ditto to Alha Rajah Bulwand Sing.	
	A drefs and serpeach - -	970
		January.

January.	Presents to Nabob Nudiff Cawn, and Asfa Rajah Agit Sing, the sons of Mu- nire ul Dowlah and Sitta- broy, and to the son of Na- bob Afez Rhemut, one of the Rohilla Chiefs	- - -	3,975
December.	Nazirs to the King for self and suite	- - -	816
	Presents to the Shah Zadah, on his paying me a visit.		
	Nazirs	- - -	255
	Five trays kincobs, shauls, &c.	- - -	1,660
	Three horses	- - -	1,500
	Fire-arms, pictures, &c.	- - -	744
			<hr/> 4,159
	Presents to Nabob Mogul Al- lee, brother to Nizam Al- lee, Soubah of the Decan.		
	Five trays kincobs, shauls, &c.	- - -	1,350
	Fuzee and pistols	- - -	300
			<hr/> 1,650
	Nazirs to the King on the feast of Ede	- - -	816
	Presents to the Nabob Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah.		
	Nine trays of kincobs, shauls, and gold cloths	- - -	2,600
	A culzy and serpeach	- - -	2,000
	An elephant	- - -	3,000
			<hr/> 7,600
	Presents to the Nabob Mu- nirvul Dowlah.		
	Two large lustres	- - -	800
	Four pieces of embroidered silk	- - -	1,320

	One piece Europe silver tiffue	475	
	Pictures and prints	400	
		<hr/>	2,995
April.	Nazirs to the King on the feast of Narose	-	816
	Presents to Alha Rajah Agit Sing.		
	A horse	700	
	Fuzee and pistols	450	
	Serpeach	500	
		<hr/>	1,650
June.	Presents to the Nabob Ahmet Cawn, Biswach Chief of the Patna tribe.		
	Europe broad cloth	975	
	Fuzees, pistols, and telescopes	610	
		<hr/>	1,585
	Presents to the sons of Munir- vul Dowlah and Sittabroy &c.		
	Of cloth, shauls, &c.	850	
	Presents to Alah Rajah Bul- wand Sing. A dress and serpeach	-	990
	A state palanquin	-	4,000
	A state howdah for my elephant	-	3,950
	Durbar charges, including presents to va- keels, to the King's household servants, to the servants of the Vizier, and other Omrahs, and the expences of my decan, at 600 Rs. per month, 36 months, from the 1st of September, 1766, to the 1st of September, 1769.	-	21,600
			<hr/>
		Sont Rupees	1,24,606
			<hr/>
Calcutta,			
Sept. 11th, 1769.	E. E.		
	(Signed)	RICHARD SMITH.	
		The	

The Honourable Company

Dr.

To my table expences during my command of the
 army, and as commander in chief, from the 1st
 of August, 1766, to the 1st of August, 1769, at
 a medium, amounting to 5,200 rupees per
 month, for 36 months - - Sont Rupees 1,87,200
 Calcutta, E. E.
 Sept. 11th, 1769. (Signed) *RICHARD SMITH.*

I hope that General Richard Smith will excuse my introducing the above paper just at this particular juncture. Nay, I expect that he will thank me for it. To a man who has taken such uncommon pains to serve the publick, much is due: and to shew my high regard to the virtues and abilities of so famous a patriot, I have in hand a history of the General's life, which I propose to compare with that of Mr. Hastings; the balance of merit, and disinterested services, will no doubt be great in favour of the former, and convince the East India Company how necessary it is for them to recall the latter, to make room for the General. Indeed, I know but one man in the kingdom, who deserves the government of Bengal better than the General, and that is the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, Esq.—But he is better employed. As for Mr. *Philip Francis*, I would advise him to accept of the station of second in the Council General. He must by this time be convinced, that it was a very foolish and petulant act, if not a kind of desertion of the cause, his giving up the chace in the manner he did. Mr. *C. W. B. Rous* will make an excellent third member of the Council: *Charley Goring*, Esq. an unexceptionable fourth; and my *parboiled friend*, *Sawney Monsieur Cousin Mackintosh*, the fifth. Thus have I disposed of my whole group of worthies, and that in such a manner, as must satisfy all parties, except one da——d old grumbling fellow,

that

that *there Captain Price*; nothing will satisfy that avaricious wretch; though he has been thirty years plundering the poor Indians, and is now, it is well known, very near as rich as that Asiatic *Cræsus*, Governor *Hastings*, he yet wants to go back again, to have the other pluck at them: however, we have him fast; and my patriots will not soon forget his Remarks and Observations on their honourable brother member *Cousin Mackintosh's Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*.

I never think of that same fellow *Price*, but I loose my temper: to him, Sir, you owe the above digression, so much out of place; but believe me, Sir, that I have heard him say, that the man who drew up the second Report of a certain Committee, and afterwards sent for that honest witness *Mr. Goring*, in order to support the insinuations contained in it, was a ———. Upon my soul, Sir, I am afraid to mention what he said, on the conduct of the modern *Demosthenes*, in that whole affair. When you come to set at *Sir Joshua's*, for the capital figure in my group of patriots, I will whisper you in the ear what he said. In the interim let us proceed.

General Clavering, *Colonel Monson*, and *Mr. Francis*, were so elated with the hopes of what *Goring* would find in the *Nabob's* palace, to fix criminality on, and destroy the character of *Mr. Hastings*, that they continued to write the most infamous stories home to the Company, and to the Ministry, desiring them to have patience, and they would furnish them with the most damning proofs of his avarice and speculation. In the interim, to keep up their spirits, the following assertions were transmitted, to prepare their minds to receive any the most diabolical accounts, which such a man as *Mr. Goring* could collect. In three different months preceding the last dispatch in April 1775, the following extracts were sent home.

First

First Extract.

‘ The shortness of the period which has elapsed since we
‘ took upon us the government of your affairs, has not left
‘ room for many external occurrences : you will, however,
‘ find that our consultations have not been unfrequent, and
‘ that the resolutions in them, we are sorry to say it, have
‘ not been formed in that harmony, which was equally the
‘ object of your instructions and our wishes, could it have
‘ been maintained consistent with the duty we owe to you,
‘ and our own characters, in asserting the opinions which
‘ our judgement dictated.’

Second Extract.

‘ The Court of Directors are already sufficiently in-
‘ formed, at what time, and from what causes, we found
‘ ourselves obliged to relinquish our earliest opinions in Mr.
‘ Hastings’s favour, and to adopt others diametrically op-
‘ posite to them. We now beg leave to go a little farther
‘ than we have yet done, in the explanation of our senti-
‘ ments on this subject.

Third Extract.

‘ Truth, however, will, we doubt not, ere long, find its
‘ way to the public view ; and if we have any apprehen-
‘ sion for the consequence of our enquiries, it is not of be-
‘ ing unable to prove even more than we have advanced or
‘ suggested, but least the general state of this country, should
‘ appear to be such, as may alarm the Company and the
‘ Nation, for the approaching and instant ruin of Bengal, &c.

Fourth Extract.

‘ Nundcomar finding himself deceived, or disappointed,
‘ by the Governor General, soon made use of the means
‘ which his intimacy with the Governor had put into his
‘ power

‘ power to gratify his resentment. Whatever might have
‘ been his motives, his discoveries have thrown a clear
‘ light upon the honourable Governor General’s conduct,
‘ and the means he had taken of making the very large for-
‘ tune he is said to possess, of upwards of forty lacks of ru-
‘ pees, which he must have amassed in about two years and
‘ a half.

‘ J. Clavering,
‘ Geo. Monson,
‘ P. Francis.’

The Governor General, with his usual temper, support-
ed, as it was, by consciousness of innocence, observed on
them in the following manner.

First.

‘ Foiled in all their repeated attacks upon me, my adver-
‘ saries have recourse to the charge of rapacity, a charge of
‘ all others the most foreign from my nature. I do not as-
‘ sert this on the empty credit of self presumption : neither
‘ my general character, circumstances, nor conduct in life,
‘ before my appointment to this government, are unknown
‘ to many of your honourable Court ; and a slight review
‘ of my measures since that period, will manifest how little
‘ they have been guided by an attention to my private
‘ interest.’

Second.

‘ When the Ranny of Burdwan renewed her intrigues,
‘ on my accession to the government in 1772, she solicited
‘ my interest with proffers of many lacks. Prompted
‘ equally by ambition, hatred to Bridjoo Kishore Roy, and
‘ the rage of former disappointment, she was prepared to
‘ have

‘ have agreed to any conditions that would ensure her a victory over her enemy ; but it will appear, from the early date of the consultations on this subject, that her solicitation served only to incite me to an instant conclusion of the dispute, by a full and effectual confirmation of the decree which had been passed upon it in the preceding administration.’

Third.

‘ It will not escape your observation, that notwithstanding the violence with which I have been persecuted, I am not even charged with a single instance of oppression, except in the grant of the Purgannah of Baharbund, which I have already explained : there cannot, I think, be a stronger proof that my conduct in this respect, has been wholly unexceptionable.’

Fourth.

‘ To what lengths the violence of my adversaries, which has been progressively improving to this time, will be carried, when the last dispatches of this season will have left no means of further appeals, I can only conjecture.

‘ Warren Hastings.’

Such, Sir, was the Governor General’s opinion of what the Majority had done, and were about to do, even before Mr. Goring set out for the city with full powers to seize on papers by violence, or force evidence, by brutal and oppressive usage to the Nabob and his Mother, the Queen Dowager and Regent of the Kingdom. Pray, my dear and Right Honourable Sir, look in Mr. Goring’s face, and tell me, would you entrust a man with such a suspicious and lowering brow, with such powers, to enter the palace of an innocent Prince and helpless Princesses ? If you would not, why

have you accepted the evidence of such a man, or any papers he can produce, supposing that he tells truth, when he owns that he stole them out of the Nabob's palace, but secreted them from the Majority of government (who expressly employed him for the purpose of seizing of them) because it would have exposed him to the odium of the whole settlement? Believe me, Sir, he judged right; the whole of the inhabitants of Bengal, held the character of the man in such utter abhorrence, and his conduct in such detestation, that he had nothing left for it, but to secrete whatever he had purloined in the palace of the Nabob, and house of his Mother, the Princess Regent, and steal with it out of the country in the best manner he could. Nor must you, Sir, take it ill, whilst you continue to countenance such characters, to find your name linked with theirs.

Some papers he did refer to the Commissioners, and they made their report in due form. Perhaps, Sir, you are now raised so high, as to contemn the paltry politicks of an East India Proprietor, and will not, though I was to ask it of you, go and examine their records at the India House, for the result. But notwithstanding that you may have caught the *large spotted fish* you wanted, General Smith hath not yet been so lucky. Send him to examine the contents. But for fear that neither of you should go, I will (to oblige some very worthy and disinterested men, who have drawn some information from my former letters to you, and will read this with confidence) give you the account which was transmitted from Moorshadabad to me, of the proceedings of that Committee, the youngest member of which is intended for the first vacancy which shall happen at my board of patriots. It was sent me from the city, and is as follows.

Among

' Among the numerous attempts of the Majority to rob
 ' the Governor General of his good name, the following is
 ' a remarkable one. A charge was brought by one Nonut
 ' Roy, and Mr. James Grant, against the Begum Regent, of
 ' an embezzlement of a sum, amounting to Rs. 9,67,693 .
 ' 15..6 $\frac{3}{4}$, and of a further sum unaccounted for, of
 ' Rs.2,69,563..15, which the Majority were in hopes might
 ' be made to fall obliquely on the Governor General. In
 ' their hopes they eagerly caught at this information of
 ' Nonut Roy and Mr. Grant. The former was a worthless
 ' writer of the Nabob's household, and the latter an assistant
 ' to the Moorshadabad Council. Without attending either
 ' to the infamy of Nonut Roy's character, or the unlikeli-
 ' hood of Mr. Grant's obtaining such information as could
 ' be relied on, and without enquiring into the probability of
 ' any one circumstance that could justify them in deeming
 ' the charge worthy of their belief, they admitted it with
 ' pleasure on their records, and immediately came to the
 ' resolution, ' of appointing Mr. Charles Goring to seize on
 ' all the Nabob's household papers and accounts from the
 ' year of 1764; of dismissing the Begum Regent; of raising
 ' Rajah Goordass, the son of Nundcomar, to the dignity of
 ' Guardian to the Nabob; and of appointing a commission
 ' of Messrs. Maxwell, Anderson, and Grant, to receive and
 ' examine the papers which should be delivered to them by
 ' Mr. Goring; and to assist them therein, they had an esta-
 ' blishment of writers formed, the principal of which was
 ' Nonut Roy, one of the informants.'

' When men set themselves up for reformers, or boast of
 ' integrity and honour, they should take particular care that
 ' their actions correspond to their professions, or the world
 ' will give but little credit to their declarations. When op-
 ' pression and injustice are loudly exclaimed against by men

‘ who profess themselves patterns of moderation and honesty, we must either see these virtues practised by them, or disbelieve their assertions.

‘ The gentlemen of the Majority, Gen. Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Francis, have produced many elaborate performances on these topics : it is, therefore, but fair to compare their conduct with their avowed principles of action, that the world may judge of their pretensions to candour and honesty. If it shall be found, that, neither biassed by prejudice, nor influenced by party, they have sought only the public good ; that, guided by justice, they have avoided all partiality ; that, when compelled to act in the sacred character of judges, they have been directed by equity, nor dared to incline the balance they have been appointed to hold,---we may then join in the praises they have bestowed on themselves ; and their employers, and the nation, will applaud their uprightnefs. But if, on the other hand, it shall be found, that personal pique, or private resentment, hath had a place in their councils ; that swayed by interest or envy, they have courted informers, and encouraged calumny ; that, regardless of justice, they have committed oppression ; that power hath been exerted where equity only should have ruled ; that to accuse was to please, and to inform was to obtain reward from them,--the world will then judge of the regard that should be paid to their representations, and of the conformity of their words to their actions.——But to return to the fact that led me into this digression.——

‘ On the bare information of Mr. Grant, supported only by this worthless writer, Nonut Roy, did the gentlemen of the Majority instantly dismiss the Begum Regent of the high office she held under the sanction of the Court of Directors

' Directors approbation---And by this act they converted a
 ' charge into a crime. They had not even the plea of pre-
 ' sumption, for the facility with which they admitted the
 ' accusation; for it was not at all likely, that either a writer
 ' of the Nabob's household, or an assistant to the Moorshah-
 ' dabad Council, should come at any probable proofs of the
 ' Begum's misconduct. And so precipitate a resolution, can
 ' only be accounted for by a report which prevailed, that
 ' their arch informer, Nundcomar, had told them, the Go-
 ' vernor General had received seven lacks of rupees, when he
 ' appointed the Begum Regent. It is certain they had long
 ' been labouring to find out some plea for an enquiry into
 ' the Durbar affairs. It is also an undoubted fact, that
 ' Nundcomar had encouraged the Nabob to write to the
 ' Governor and Council, to remove his Mother the Begum,
 ' and even dictated the terms of the letter to him. It is also
 ' an undoubted fact, that Mr. Charles Goring, the worthy
 ' instrument made use of by the Majority, to seize on the
 ' Nabob's household papers, did endeavour, when he found
 ' there was nothing to impeach the Governor General's ho-
 ' nour and integrity, to prevail on the Begum, both by pro-
 ' mises and threats, to affix her seal to a paper, which he him-
 ' self had prepared, specifying that two lacks of rupees had
 ' been given to the Governor General. This said Mr. Gor-
 ' ing, who was chosen to execute the commands of the Majo-
 ' rity, had but an equivocal character at best, except in these
 ' points, that he was entirely devoted to their inclinations,
 ' and would stoop to the meanest offices for the sake of mo-
 ' ney. Yet to this confidential gentleman an extraordinary
 ' latitude of power was granted, from a reliance, no doubt,
 ' that he would only *use it properly*. He was directed to
 ' dismiss the Begum; and for fear of the resistance of a help-
 ' less woman, orders were given that he should be assisted
 ' with such a military force as he might require. He was
 ' also

* also permitted to remove the Begum, if necessary, from her
 * house and family, to another place in the city, at a distance
 * from her own palace. He was also permitted to seize and
 * confine any person of the household who might *require such*
 * *treatment*. Accordingly, one of Mr. Goring's first acts
 * was to surround the palace with guards, and to seize and
 * confine the Begum's head Eunuch, her principal servant
 * and chief adviser. Thus in a few days was the Begum
 * Regent of Bengal, precipitated from the highest of power to
 * the abyss of wretchedness; disgrace and dismissal were
 * in an instant cast upon her. Her own fears were increased
 * by those of the women that attended her, who felt the ut-
 * most horror from such a violation of the oriental manners
 * and customs, and from seeing the palace of their Princess,
 * which used to be an asylum of peace and security, con-
 * verted into a prison surrounded with guards. But when
 * the Begum was informed of the further power of Mr. Go-
 * ring to remove her from her apartments, despair overcame
 * her fear, and she resolutely declared, that if such a disho-
 * nour was really intended, she would not survive the shame
 * of it; and that both herself and her women had courage
 * enough to prefer death to ignominy; and that she would
 * sacrifice herself and them on the tomb of her deceased hus-
 * band Jaffier Ally Cawn. Under these terrors and appre-
 * hensions, involved in sorrow and disgrace, without a friend
 * or an adviser to apply to, was the unhappy Begum daily
 * solicited by Mr. Goring for informations; and in one of
 * those visits it was, that Mr. Goring presented the paper
 * for her to affix her seal, specifying that she had given two
 * lacks of rupees to the Governor General.* How clear
 must

* When Mr. Goring found that his threats were vain, he *intreated*
 the Begum to sign the paper. He begged her, for God's sake, to sign
 it.

‘ must his conduct have been, when, under such circum-
‘ stances, nothing could be *found* to accuse him of ! and how
‘ innocent of any thing like a crime, when in this situation,
‘ the Begum could reply, (which she actually did,) ‘ *If I*
‘ *MUST accuse the Governor falsely, tell me how to make the*
‘ *lie appear at all like truth, and let me not be detected in the*
‘ *very manner of telling it.*’

‘ It is impossible absolutely to prove that Nundcomar did
‘ inform the gentlemen of the Majority, the Governor Ge-
‘ neral had received seven lacks of rupees from the Begum,
‘ and that this was the motive of their conduct on the pre-
‘ sent occasion. But let the facts which have been related,
‘ of their extraordinary resolutions, of the uncommon pow-
‘ ers granted to Mr. Goring, of the use he made of them,
‘ and of the severity exercised on the Begum, be combined,
‘ and compared with the nature of the report, and I think
‘ the world in general will not hesitate to declare, that they
‘ form an internal conviction of its truth, as strong as a le-
‘ gal evidence in a court of justice.

‘ The next remarkable circumstance in the conduct of
‘ the Majority, is their appointing Nonut Roy, one of the

it. He told her the gentlemen of the Majority would do any thing for her : they would restore her to her former honours and dignity, and heap continual favours upon her. When all this would not avail, he *emphatically* told her, that his *reputation* was at stake ; that he should be brought to *shame* and *disgrace*, and could not return, if she would not accuse the Governor General. Mr. Goring’s idea of *reputation*, and the Majority’s *judgement* in the *choice* of an agent, are here pretty plainly shewn. The *purpose* of his appointment is also pretty plainly hinted at in the last argument he uses : for it is evident he was sensible of no shame, but that of *disappointing their hopes*, and probably their *instructions*.

‘ informers,

' informers, the head writer for inspecting the Persian ac-
 ' counts which Mr. Goring was to seize, and Mr. Grant,
 ' the other informer, to be a member of the commission
 ' that was to digest their accounts, and render them into
 ' English. Let the world judge of the equity and justice of
 ' suffering two men to have any concern in the examination
 ' of a charge which they themselves had brought forth.

' The last, and not least remarkable, part of the resolution
 ' of the Majority on this occasion, was the honor they con-
 ' ferred on Rajah Goordas, the son of Rajah Nundcomar,
 ' in appointing him to the office of Guardian to the Nabob,
 ' in the room of his Mother the Begum. He was a man
 ' of very mean abilities, and therefore not very capable of
 ' instructing his Excellency, had he been inclined to listen
 ' to him. But what was an insuperable bar to the Rajah's
 ' exercising the duties of his office, or the Nabob's profiting
 ' by them, was his religion. He is a Bramin. Now no-
 ' thing in nature can be more opposite in manners, princi-
 ' ples, and tenets, than a Mussulman and a Gentoo. And
 ' a Mahometan would as soon think of sending his son into
 ' a hogstye, as putting him under the tuition of a Bramin.
 ' The propriety of this appointment can therefore only be
 ' pointed out by *another illustration*. Rajah Nundcomar, the
 ' the father of Goordas, was the principal friend, favourite,
 ' confidant, and informer of the Majority. He was unlucki-
 ' ly accused of a conspiracy against the Governor General,
 ' Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Vansittart, and had been appre-
 ' hended for a forgery. In these unfortunate circumstances,
 ' it was highly necessary to support him as much as possible.
 ' His misfortunes and his office rendered him an object of
 ' their tenderest regard. They visited the good man in his
 ' affliction, when he was bound over to stand a prosecution
 ' for the conspiracy, and frequently enquired after him in
 ' his

‘ his prison. They cherished the son for the father’s sake ;
 ‘ and they hoped that the honours and dignity which they
 ‘ conferred on the former, would reflect a ray of comfort
 ‘ on their dejected favourite. By thus espousing the family
 ‘ interest, and supporting its drooping fortune, the Majority
 ‘ answered two purposes ; they ratified the duties of friend-
 ‘ ship, and promoted their own intentions. When every
 ‘ body saw with what warmth and zeal they served their
 ‘ friend, few had the courage to accuse, and none, they
 ‘ thought, would dare to prosecute him. It was apparent,
 ‘ from their conduct, that his cause was their cause, his in-
 ‘ terest their interest, and hence they hoped, that no one
 ‘ would presume to continue their prosecutions against their
 ‘ favourite, with that vigour which was necessary to convict
 ‘ him. They also hoped, that by thus intimidating the
 ‘ witnesses which might otherwise appear against him, they
 ‘ should defeat the laws of their country, and set their friend
 ‘ once more at liberty, to continue the infamous practices
 ‘ of his former life, which had been a series of intrigue,
 ‘ treachery, and information. This accounts for the extra-
 ‘ ordinary part, as well as the extraordinary honour con-
 ‘ ferred on Rajah Goordas.

‘ Having examined the motives of the conduct of the
 ‘ Majority, and their impartial mode of enquiry, it remains
 ‘ now only to shew the little grounds there were for such an
 ‘ investigation, and how fruitless have been their attempts to
 ‘ fix an odium where they wished to place it.

‘ After a tedious examination of the papers and accounts
 ‘ delivered to the commissioners by Mr. Goring, during
 ‘ which they discovered an attempt of Nonut Roy’s deputy
 ‘ to falsify them, they proceeded to an examination of the
 ‘ charge brought against the Begum Regent, and after en-

L

‘ quiring

' quiring into every article of the two sums which she was
 ' accused of having embezzled, or not accounted for, there
 ' did not appear the slightest foundation to build the accusa-
 ' tion upon: her character and conduct were both found
 ' irreproachable; and it is fully shewn, that she is as inno-
 ' cent of the charge brought against her, as the Governor
 ' General is free of any imputation that can impeach his in-
 ' tegrity.

' I will forbear to make any comments on the conduct of
 ' the gentlemen of the Majority upon this occasion; you
 ' know that it is exactly of a piece with the rest of their pro-
 ' ceedings; and it is notorious to every one, that whenever
 ' they heard of the Governor General's name, the informa-
 ' tion was received with eagerness, and the informant treated
 ' with every distinction they could bestow; that to slander
 ' him hath been their end and aim, ever since they wrested
 ' the government out of his hands; and this narrative will
 ' sufficiently prove how diligently they exert themselves in
 ' this unworthy and unwarrantable pursuit. If it were not
 ' an unpardonable offence against the dignity of Mr. Haf-
 ' tings's character, to mention it with theirs, I would call
 ' upon their scribe, Mr. Philip Francis, to produce a single
 ' instance of the Governor General's conduct, that can re-
 ' proach him like this of theirs. ' Come fourth thou virtu-
 ' ous *partiele of a King*,* and tell the world your triumvirate
 ' can do this without a blush. Tell them also, that for your
 ' own part, you have amassed a larger fortune in three years,

* Mr. Francis was so elated with his extraordinary promotion from
 a Clerk in the War-Office, to a Supreme Councillor, that he could no
 longer think himself a subject, and used to call himself *the fifth part*
of a King.

' than

‘ than the rapacious Governor General hath made in three
 ‘ and twenty: and then tell them, that you laugh equally
 ‘ at their credulity and your own baseness’

If Mr. Goring denies one single jota of the above account, refer him to Captain Joseph Price, the man from whom I had it. Your friend Mr. Francis, and others of your worthy friends, will inform you that the great crime of that sturdy old fellow, is the speaking plain truth.

As an Englishman, I am fond of Parliaments, and have long been in the habit of revering the institution; but lately I have discovered a mighty defect in some parts of the conduct of their committees. I wish their proceedings to be more simplified. It is well known, that a Committee of the House of Commons may summon whom they please to give them information on any subject whatever that the House thinks proper to have investigated, and every good man obeys their summons with a deference and respect that is due to a detached body of men from the national Senate. But it sometimes happens, and it has happened to me, that a man may leave them without one particle of respect remaining. When the first object of the House is forgotten, and a person who may have been summoned down to Westminster to give his opinion on a judicial subject, is asked what regimen is prescribed at Bengal for persons infected with the Influenza, he at first may be abashed, but will most certainly in the end answer, water gruel made of rice. Query, ‘ But do not you think that the doctor had some particular reasons for prescribing in that manner? Did not many people declare that it was policy in the doctor so to prescribe? Answer. ‘ Some people did say so; but others thought that it was done *secundem artem.*’ I say, Sir, ‘ when a man, who has been so questioned, comes afterwards

to observe, that the gentlemen who questioned him, in the most solemn manner assure the House, that it is their firm belief, that the political gruel ordered by the doctor, was intended by him to poison the patient, and that in consequence of it, no man at Bengal hath since, or perhaps ever will again, complain of that disorder, but rather die than apply to so diabolical a physician for a remedy, how can we help wondering at such an assertion? and yet a certain Statesman hath been capable of as great an absurdity. I have, Sir, been examined by you, and I declare, that I think you the most improper man in the world to state questions to any man. Let the examination be on whatever subject it may, your imagination is so lively, and your ideas so rapid, that in the same instant, all the several modes of putting the question, and every combination of words which can be framed for answering it, crowd into your mind, nor can you separate them so as to ask a single uncompounded question. Your abilities, Sir, are too refined for any station in this mundane system. Plato's Republic, some Eutopia, or Governor General of the Moon, might suit your elevated metaphysical genius; all below is too material and groveling for your universal activity of intellect.—I say nothing of the Seminaries in Moorfields, or St. Luke's.

Again, as an Englishman, I am apt to attend to the reasoning of the Committee, drawn from the evidence, as is commonly supposed to be before them, Not one person in a thousand, ever read the questions and answers as they are stated, or once look into the volumes of papers produced as vouchers in the appendix. What the Committee think on the subject, they think. Committees are composed of members deputed from the honourable House of Commons, to enquire into some particular affair, and ought not to suffer their passions or private views to interpose. They are
the

the jury, and their verdict passes current without doors. But thank God, they but Report; and if in their Reports, any thing is inserted which is not justified by the evidence, no conclusion which they may draw to the prejudice of an individual, will have any weight with the public, or with the House. The reasonings drawn from their Reports must be just, and the conclusions fair; if not, the most simple man in the kingdom hath an undoubted right to appeal from the Report to the House, and from the House to the kingdom at large, whilst the matter is in agitation, and until the united powers of the whole legislature have determined on the merits of the Report, by framing an Act of Parliament, which, the instant it has received the royal assent, and has been promulgated, becomes a law of the land. When that happens, I must, as it will then be my duty to do, submit; but until that shall come to pass, I will never cease to say, that the evidence you have deduced to prove that the Governor General of Bengal is a peculator, or was directly or indirectly concerned in the prosecution, or condemnation, of Maha Rajah Nundcomar Bahader, never had the least foundation in truth.

Let us, Sir, for one moment, turn our eyes back to the place from whence we set out, and examine candidly and fairly, what were the inducements of the House of Commons for appointing your Committee.

The institution of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, in Bengal, was declared by his Majesty's then Ministers, to be intended to give relief to the natives, oppressed by a power on which the Mayor's Court was entirely dependant, and therefore could not administer relief. Has it answered the purpose of its creation? By no means. Not only all orders of the natives, but also of every denomination

of

of Europeans abroad, from the Council General to the common inhabitants of Calcutta, have petitioned for its recall, as a most oppressive and destructive institution. The East India Company themselves, who at first petitioned for reform in the judicial department, hoped some good from its erection, now join in the general application to Parliament for its removal, declaring that its continuance will absolutely ruin their affairs.

The evidence collected by the Select Committee, in their first Report, was so conclusive, that not only all orders of people without doors, but also those within, saw the necessity of curtailing the power of the Judges: and an act passed last Sessions of Parliament, to limit their jurisdiction. More was attempted in the House of Commons, and promised in the House of Lords, and the Select Committee was continued to sit at the beginning of the present Sessions. As it was supposed that much good had been done to the affairs of the East India Company by the new regulating Act, for abridging the power of the Judges at Bengal, the managers were not without hopes, that the popularity which it had raised them to in the opinion of the public, might, with proper management, be made to operate to their own advantage in Leadenhall-Street. To bring this round so as to answer their purposes effectually, the removal of the Governor General of Bengal was thought to be a necessary step; and in your second Report we find, that an attempt is made to link his name with those of the Judges, in a supposed charge of conspiracy in taking off the delinquent Rajah Nundcomar. This matter seems to have been canvassed over so much in private, as to have induced the Committee to believe that they should be able to prove the fact to the public, or at least, by boldy insinuating that it was so, to obtain so much credit to their assertions, as would justify their proceeding,

proceeding, in endeavouring the recall of the Governor General: and had I not in my first letter to you, Sir, disputed your fact, and in my second, proved that they did no where exist, it is not easy to say to what lengths you would have proceed in your third Report from the Select Committee.

Your endeavouring to support the insinuations in your second Report, by giving to us Mr. Goring's evidence in your third, presents to the world another wretched instance of the prevalence of party spirit over the most enlightened minds. You had completed every enquiry that was necessary, and convinced every reasonable man, that the institution of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta in Bengal, was a pernicious institution, and you had effectually curtailed its power, and prevented its further interfering in matters of revenue. So far the expectation of the public had been answered; but personal spleen, and private emolument, remained to be gratified; nor was this to be effected, but by the removal of the Governor General. Neither your eloquence, nor your Chairman's industry, could induce one single man in the House of Commons (who was not concerned in your schemes) to believe a word of your insinuations, on the avarice or immorality of Mr. Hastings. Not only you and your Committee often changed ground, but the Chairman of another Committee found every post which he at first occupied in his attack on the character of Mr. Hastings, to be perfectly untenable. In short, the House of Commons at length discovered that not only the credit of the Committees, but that of the House itself, was in some degree concerned: something, they saw, must be done to save appearances; and a vote passed to remove Governor General Hastings, of whose innocence of the crimes laid to his charge, four fifths of the House were convinced.

Such,

Such, Sir, has been the consequence of admitting the spirit of party to have a place in national enquiries, It is impossible for the most powerful bodies of men to conduct such jobs, but to their own discredit. Your attempt to destroy the moral character of Mr. Hastings, has been so poorly supported, that men who would have admitted your facts without investigation, as to his political delinquency, now doubt the whole, and give you credit for nothing. For my part, Sir, since I have examined so narrowly as I have done, your conduct in the Select Committee, I hold you to be the most dangerous man in the kingdom.

At the very moment of time that you gave up your charge against Governor General Hastings, in a manner little to your credit, you broach another on the honour of Admiral Rodney. Surely, Sir, that great officer will not pass over your treatment of him. You advise his being created a peer of the realm, and give for the reason, that his late acquired laurels have covered his shameful peculation at St. Eustatia. I should have thought that there might have been some truth in your insinuation in that business, if I had not proof positive, that your real disposition is so malignant, that you will accept the most vague and frivolous evidence, against the moral honesty of a man whose political character you dislike. So help me God, as I declare in the most solemn manner, that I would not take your word or your oath, for five pounds, if it led to the injury of a man, whose notions in political economy differed from your own. The man who, when out of power, will correspond with, and encourage the declared enemies of his country, and when he is in power, use every unmanly and unjust means, to lower in the opinion of the public, the two men, whose great abilities, professional skill, and true courage, have saved the national possessions in the East and West Indies, is, in my
poor

poor opinion, more than a pest in society ;---he is the enemy of his country.

Governor Johnstone warned the House of the situation into which they were about to involve themselves. A resolution of the House of Commons, every Englishman would wish might be supported ; but if they forget themselves so far, as to form resolutions which the people without doors deem to be unjust, whatever compliances may be shewn by some few individuals, in order to save their credit, at the expence, and to the injury of an individual, their dignity as a branch of the legislature becomes tarnished ; and they run the risque of being forced to endeavour to compel by a law of the land, what was unjust when attempted to be enforced by a resolution of the House of Commons. To such dishonourable situations do the influence of interested and popular speakers, reduce the most respectable bodies of men.

What one point, Sir, have you gained, that an honest man would not be ashamed of ? In order to gratify your political spleen, you have attacked the moral character of a man whom you do not know, and thereby expose your inveterate malice to real contempt. Has your friend the General visited the club at Brookes's too often ? and is his ill run at play to be repaired at the expence of the East India Company ? What ideas are we to form of your virtue, who have taken so much pains to pull down an Hastings, and to exalt a Smith ? Is it possible that you can hope our belief in your sincerity, in proposing reformation and economy in the state, when you offer to our choice a speculator, a corrupter of the morals of the people, and a gambling bankrupt, as the proper person to retrieve the Company's affairs whilst we yet remember, that his avarice, his insolence, and selfishness, brought on our ruin ?

M

The

The motives which influence men in the most material actions of their lives, must be sought for in their general stamp of character. Declarations of honour, disinterestedness, and true patriotism, seldom carry weight with the world, except the general tenor of conduct of the declaimer quadrates with his professions. Was the Chairman of the Select Committee to harangue in the flowery eloquence of a Burke, or the more solid oratory of a Fox, asserting that he has nothing in view but the good of the public, or the interests of the East India Company, I would not, I could not believe him. Such a declaration may seem to take its rise in passion or in prejudice. I deny the fact; and will go on to prove, that every man who shall study the General's true character, and advert to the facts which I am about to lay before him, will be convinced that the East India Company at least, must suffer themselves to be gulled indeed, if they pay any the least attention to any thing he says, or to any thing he does, until he has renounced all pretensions to further employment in their service, either as a soldier, or servant in their civil departments.

The General did (as Mr. Woodfall relates) stand up in his place in the House of Commons, on Monday the 12th of June, and declare, that he was warned by his friends, of the danger of the post he was about to occupy as Chairman of the Select Committee, but that he felt himself bold, and that he could stand the storm, and despised every attack which could be made upon him, in consequence of the calumny of some, envy of others, maliciousness of more, and the interested designs of a great number of persons. I will admit that the General, or any other well seasoned patriot, is equal to all that; and provided that his opponents mingle no truth in their invective, malice or prejudice alone cannot hurt, and ought not to reach the feelings of a genuine
patriotic

patriotic Statesman. I have attacked the General, for I know him well, and am about to attack him again. His brazen coat of mail is gilded over so slightly, that though falsehoods may rebound from its well tried surface, truth will penetrate. Our dispute is not to be decided by his associates in St. Stephen's Chapel. Votes of the House partially obtained, are mere cobwebs, nor can restrain the liberty of a fly. His friends at Westminster cannot send him again to India; and his intentions are too well known in Leadenhall-Street, to be much more minded there. I am not one of the General's opponents who have attacked him with calumny. His having joined with and supported men, whose malice induced them to charge the Governor General of Bengal, positively with peculation, and by a *side wind*, with being concerned in a conspiracy to rid the world of the man that was to prove his peculation, brought me into the field. I know the General did not himself believe that Mr. Hastings was capable of the first, or of a stamp of character, which would justify for a moment the belief of the last. His accidentally having shewn to the world, that the Chairman was totally deceived in the character he had formed of the Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah, was not sufficient of itself, to induce him to join the cry for the removal of the Governor General; some other motives operated, which I sought, and soon found. The truth of the matter is, the General's frequent visits to Brookes's, with other high modes of expence and dissipation, had made a return to India necessary to his finances; and parliamentary eloquence had taught him, that the more furious his declamations were against the peculation and mal-administration of the men abroad, intermixed with encomiums on his own independence and disinterestedness, was the ready way to succeed in his views.

At the same time the General could see nothing faulty in the conduct of Mr. Perring, who had joined Sir Thomas Rumbold in all his measures on the coast of Coromandel.--- How should he? Perring stood not in his way; and he wished not to offend any but such whom he wanted to remove; and for that reason Mr. Hastings, against whom not one evil deed could be proved, seemed to the General's sight as black as ink.--- Why?--- Because except he could be recalled from the government of India, he (the General) could not obtain the station he wanted in the East India Company's service at Bengal.

Will you, Sir, excuse me one moment, whilst I tell my readers, what charges are not true charges, and which are facts, as they relate to the Governor and the General?

It is not true, that Governor Hastings has, in any part of his life or government, accumulated one single rupee by means dishonest or dishonourable.

It is not true, that he concerned himself, directly or indirectly, in the prosecution or execution of Rajah Nundcomar.

It is not true, that he involved the Company in useless wars.

It is not true, that he broke, or advised the breaking, any one treaty into which the Company had entered with any of the country powers.

It is not true, that he is disliked by any of the country powers, except such who find their plans of ambition counteracted by his abilities.

It

It is not true, that any one of the above charges have been proved against him.

It is not true, that a majority of the Proprietors, or of the Court of Directors, wished his removal, until the latter had been closetted at Whitehall.

Now, Sir, I shall tell you, on either your friend the Chairman, what is true, and on the merits of my facts, rest the cause of the propriety or impropriety, of removing the Governor General, to make way for General Richard Smith.

It is true, that General Smith left England with Lord Clive, and arrived at Bengal in 1765.

It is true, that he (the General) left Bengal in the year 1769, with a fortune four times greater than what Governor Hastings now possesses, after having been Governor of Bengal more than ten years.

It is true, beyond a controversy, that the General obtained nearly one half of his fortune, in the undermentioned methods.

The General's share of the commission on neat revenue, during his stay in Bengal, amounted to	-	-	Cur. Rs.	1,23,146
His share of the famous Muthoote collection				17,000
His pay and batta as Commander in Chief for three years	-	-	-	93,075
His table allowance, as per bill as above	-			1,87,200
			Carried over, Cur. Rs.	<u>4,20,421</u>

Brought over	—————	Cur. Rs.	4,20,421
--------------	-------	----------	----------

The Asiatics have a saying, that men in power send a Feather to catch a Swan ; and as the General never gave the Company any credit for the presents which he received in return for those he gave away, I will suppose that his feather produced a feather in return, if not a Swan ; nor will he be displeas'd at my supposing that his receipts equalled his disbursements in the commerce of present-making with the Emperor of Hindoostan, Vizier of the Empire, Princes of the blood, or Chutta Nabobs, &c. which appear to have amounted to, as per bill of his own drawing up

—————	1,24,606
-------	----------

Travelling charges, allowances for tents, Budgeroes, houses, cavalcade, and other little et ceteras, will be moderately rated at 3000Rs. per month, which, for three years, amounts to

	1,08,000
--	----------

Though the General was concerned in inland adventures, and foreign articles of trade, such as lead, iron, cloth, cotton, salt, tea, silks, and china ware, yet nothing makes him so angry, as to hint at such his former condescension ; in compliment, therefore, to his *finer feelings*, I shall suppose, that he sold his salt as others did, and that his share letter A, 1765, produced him a neat profit of

—————	50,000
-------	--------

And his share letter B, 1766, was worth

—	40,000
---	--------

—————The General will admit that these valuations are very moderate.

Carried over, Cur. Rs.	—————	7,43,027
------------------------	-------	----------

Brought over	—	Cur. Rs.	7,43,027
--------------	---	----------	----------

I come now to the commission on the King's chout, tribute, allowance, hush money, salary, present, or by what other name he may choose to call it. The sum stipulated to be paid, and which was paid by the General to the Mogul for three years together, amounted to two millions six hundred thousand rupees annually. I will not in this place tease the General about recoining or changing the Company's *good* rupees into *Vizzary*, or *bad* rupees; he may hear of it in another place; all I ask him to admit here, is the advantage arising from his commission, for paying the money to the Prince. If, for that part of his services to the Emperor and the Company, he only reserved to himself one of the twenty-six lacks annually, it was an instance (in him) of great moderation: this I shall state at three lacks in the whole

	—	3,00,000
		10,43,027

The General is no bad accountant; and it having appeared to him at the time he left Bengal, that one current rupee was worth two shillings and threepence sterling, he will allow me to reduce the sum by the same rule; and he will give me some credit for not puzzling the account by the addition or subtraction of *batta*, but taking at once the most common, and with us, the lowest denomination of current rupees. Ten lacks, forty-three thousand, and twenty-seven rupees, of that denomination, at the General's

neral's own rate of exchange, comes to, in sterling money, One Hundred and Seventeen Thousand, Three Hundred and Forty Pounds, Ten Shillings, and Ninepence.

Pounds sterling, $\underline{\underline{\pounds.117,340\ 10\ 9}}$

Here are no bad pickings to be gleaned up *fairly* in the space of three years. Emoluments arising from the advantages of situation, is always estimated differently, and agreeable to the character of the man. What were his gettings that way, I shall leave to the General himself to ascertain. When Goring, a writer in the service, returned from India before his apprenticeship was out, with a declared fortune of thirty thousand pounds, and a commander in chief of the army, with four times the sum, in nearly the same time, the proportions are clearly enough ascertained from which to reason. Let us take round numbers, and it is simply a school-boy question; viz.

If Master Charles Goring, a writer in the East India Company's service, did, in the space of five years, acquire a fortune *honestly*, amounting to thirty thousand pounds, what ought Mr. Warren Hastings (who also went out a writer) to have acquired in the service of the same Company in thirty years?

Answer, $\pounds 180,000.$

Question the second.

If the Commander in Chief of the army in Bengal, did, during the most profound peace all over Asia, acquire, in the *most honourable manner*, in little more than three years, the sum of one hundred and seventeen thousand pounds, (I love round numbers) what ought the Governor General of Bengal

Bengal to have gained honestly, in ten years as Governor? To answer this question concisely, I have no objection to suppose that the merits and deservings of the men were quite equal, and in that case the answer produces £390,000.

As the Secret and Select Committees, with the assistance of all the Company's records, and some as curious witnesses as ever were held up to national contempt, have fallen short to prove that Governor General Hastings is a knave, it may be of use to their cause to have him proved to have been a fool, in not having done what his enemies did, make hay in sun shine weather. Now I am ready and willing to swear before Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, that at this moment, Governor General Hastings doth not possess, real and personal estate included, one hundred thousand pounds. If this would not do the Committee's business, so far as the fixing the appellation of fool, where they aimed at fixing that of knave, I know nothing of their intentions.

There is no mode of ridicule or contempt, in which such confederacies ought not to be exposed. One of the managers attempts to criminate a Hastings, whom he does not know; and a Rodney, whom he does know: and tries to reduce to board wages, the Prince he serves; but fails in all three; yet goes on to hope, that by his oratory he shall convince us, that his intentions are pure, immaculate, and disinterested. The General, who, in the course of four or five years, collected together, publicly and privately, more than two hundred thousand pounds, and then, contrary to the positive orders of the masters whom he served, proposed to draw on them for near a million sterling, which, in its consequences, drove them into a state of bankruptcy, and subjected them to the mandates of a corrupt ministry, now

joins another set of men, in order to force himself back into their service, because his fortune has been reduced,—*every body knows how*. Yet this man, equally trammelled in the virtues of patriotism, has the assurance to talk of being calumniated by envious and interested men; and in the same breath affirms, his intentions are just and honourable, and that the interest of the East India Company and the State, are the only motives to his actions. Believe him those who can—I could with more ease believe, that popularity, and not bribery, obtained a seat in the house for a namesake of his.

The third great man, and inveterate enemy to Mr. Hastings, is also a senator, and fond of summary modes in judicial proceedings. ‘*Carry,*’ says he, ‘the eight thousand rupees to my woman, and she will determine, that the Plaintiff shall have five thousand rupees, and the defendant nothing. The other three thousand have been sunk in *Durbar charges.*’ This mode of accounting for money, he learnt from his friend Rajah Nar Scomar. I would ask C. W. B. Rous, Esq. whether he ever heard of this story at Bengal? and whether it occurred to him, when he declared to the Select Committee of the House of Commons, ‘that on his conscience, he never heard of mal-practices in the distribution of justice, in the country courts at Bengal, whilst Europeans presided in them?’ The question is a close one, for he presided himself in a court of *cutchery*; and the story of an officer, presiding at one of the country courts, taking three eighths of a sum decreed, to his own share, was so much a matter of conversation in Calcutta, that his memory is a very convenient one, if he has really forgot it: yet this man’s memory is so tenacious in other matters, that he can recall to mind what never happened—Such is my third worthy—So blended, so unjust, and so

so diabolical are the actions of men, when self-interest comes between them and their unbiassed judgment.

As to Philip Francis, he has been cast adrift just in the same manner as he served Mackintosh, the Author of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa. That worthy traveller had engaged at Bengal, to weave into his two volumes of his travels, all the infamous stories which Mr. Francis had collected from all the informers in India, for the space of six years preceding; and so intent was he on his subject, that in seventy-two letters which he has obtruded on the world, not one of them is free from some scandalous lying story on the character of some individual. Governor General Hastings is, no doubt, the capital figure in the travels; though General Sir Eyre Coote's portrait is highly finished. This universal man has again changed his masters; and his gratitude to Messrs. Whitehill and Lewin, hath induced him to make some trips to the continent in their service. Tired with the politics of the West, he has devoted his service to the Nabobs in the East---In this he is more consistent than in any other action of his life. Whilst a Francis, a Lewin, and a Whitehill, and such worthies, want assistance and defence, the indefatigable industry of a Mackintosh will never want employment.—It is quite natural for the man who has devoted so much of his time to traduce the character of a Hastings, to join heartily in the cause of men whose principles are so congenial with his own.

I am in doubt whether Mr. Goring will return to India, as his conduct from 1763 to 1767, in the silk-winding way, and his behaviour in 1774 and 1775, on his second return to India, in character of political bumbailiff to the Majority, when he carried into execution their military orders, or executed their general warrant to dispossess the Queen Regent

gent of her office, and plunder her palace of her effects, is yet forgotten at Calcutta, and untill it is quite forgot, his appearance there will be attended with some disagreeable circumstances. The former Majority took as much pains to save his honour, as they did Nundcomar's life, but without effect, nor will his new friends, with all their eloquence and all their power, be able to induce the most indigent man in the Company's service, who knows his character, to sit down in his company.

The Governor General's fifth enemy, Mr. Farrer, the lawyer, arrived in Calcutta in October 1774, so very needy, as to find it necessary to accept eighty rupees for his particular care of a few hounds. To soften the matter, it was called a retaining fee, though giving by a man who never hath, or will employ a lawyer. In 1775, he was the leading council in the trial of Maha Rajah Nundcomar. The man had hopes giving him that he should not be hanged till the rope was about his neck, and then it was unluckily drawn so tight, that nobody could hear his complaints. Mr. Farrer came home in 1777, with a fortune of sixty thousand pounds, and was soon discovered to be such a patriot, as to be elected a Member of Parliament. Now as this gentleman must have laboured very hard in his vocation, to raise such a fortune in so short a time by the profession of the law, I will not admit him to be in the least competent to judge of the merits or demerits of the political abilities, and moral rectitude, of such a man as Governor General Hastings. His office of standing Council for the Company, and that of defender of Nundcomar, was conferred on him by Mr. Francis, and the Majority; and as it was their interest and their practice, to collect every villainous and infamous story against Mr. Hastings, whatever credit Mr. Farrer may obtain on the score of gratitude from that party, his opinion can have no weight with impartial people.

As

As to Captain Cowe, he was a military man, and in the habit of associating with the friends of the Majority. Appointments to separate commands lay with them, nor was Captain Cowe forgotten. He believed what he said, that many people deemed the execution of the Rajah Nundcomar a political manœuvre; but as he was not asked by the Committee, to which of the two parties in civil government he would have his observations applied, and as such mode of expression in political affairs, implies rather a majority than a minority in a state, we are obliged to advert to his party principles, to understand his meaning. This, Sir, was the very way in which you explained it, or you would not have sent us back to his evidence, to prove criminality against Governor Hastings. As to his saying that the people were terrified at seeing the Rajah hanged, and in consequence of their fears, run into the river, it deserves no credit at all. Captain Cowe had no knowledge of the customs or manners of the people, having himself been bred in the navy, and came to Bengal a very little while before the Majority, and was as ignorant of the language and manners of the people, as Mr. Philip Francis himself. In short, Sir, he knew as little of Bengal affairs as you do, and is governed in his ideas on similar principles,—a personal dislike to Mr. Hastings.

Perhaps it would be hard to produce from the annals of time, a similar case to this of Governor General Hastings's. Unsupported by family connections, and without any interest, but such as has been made amongst independent men, by his long services, disinterested conduct, and great abilities, in the management of the East India Company's affairs, he has withstood for eight years, the attacks of a party of men, at different times supported by the whole weight of an all powerful Minister, and at another, the hasty vote of
the

the House of Commons. This is true popularity, and worth living for. Some great men, who have thought certain parts of Mr. Hastings's political conduct inconsistent with the national interests, have attacked it fairly on that principle; but at the same time have declared that his honour, integrity, and moral rectitude, were unimpeachable. To such attacks every man in high and important stations, are most certainly and very justly exposed; and if their conduct will not stand the test of such candid and necessary enquiry, they must give way to their opponents. Such differences in political opinion, exist in all governments; and we have daily experience, that men of the purest morals, and most innocent intentions, differ in opinion in political matters. A man who should say, that Lord North was an injudicious statesman, and an unlucky minister, would find many of the same way of thinking; but if he should add, that he was also a conspirator against the life of an innocent man, and that he had accumulated half a million of money to his own use, the credit obtained or allowed to the first assertion, would be destroyed by the last; because no man will believe, that his Lordship is by his nature rapacious or blood thirsty. So it is with Governor General Hastings; and I am convinced, that his well established character for every moral virtue, hath, in the hour of trial, made him friends amongst those who differ from him in some political points: and the independant Proprietors of East India stock, as well as the Directors of the Company's affairs, if left to themselves, will feel the necessity of continuing in the conduct of their affairs abroad, a man whose rectitude of mind, and vast abilities, will, if any man can do it, restore their affairs.

There are amongst our patriots, men, whose steady adherence to the cause of America, has contributed much to the

the

the dismemberment of the British empire. They possess now the offices they wanted, and we shall see how they will go about to heal this great wound. You, Right Honourable Sir, know nothing personally of Governor Gen. Hastings. You have called his politics crooked politics; for which I know no reason, except that the Governor supported the interest of the Nabob of Arcot, against the pretensions of the King of Tanjore, in whose service a nephew of yours has made some trips to and from England. The Governor General hath great local, and more experimental knowledge of the affairs of the Carnatic; the Minister of State possesses neither. The Proprietors of East India Stock do therefore determine, that his continuation in their service, is of consequence to their affairs, and will not remove him to make way for your nephew. As to the insinuations contained in the second Report of the Select Committee, it has shaken the credit of the fabricators in the opinion of all impartial men. You have not lost more ground at the west end of the town by your treatment of Lord Rodney, than in the east by that most extraordinary attack on the moral character of Governor General Hastings. Your assertions are disbelieved, and your nephew cannot become a counsellor; no, nor even a paymaster in the East India Company's service. Recall him, good Sir, and provide for him at home, before your sun-shine day shall be overcast.

General Smith's motives are no less obvious than yours. He, no more than you, ever saw the Governor General of Bengal. The General having, in the little time he was at Bengal, by his desire to get home the immense fortune which he had so suddenly accumulated, advised to draw bills on the Company, contrary to their orders, and thereby obliged them to apply to ministry for assistance: add to this his quarrel with Bolts (who had rivalled the General in his trade to Sujah ul Dowlah's

Dowlah's country) had given cause for the Regulating Act of the 13th of the King, and which first subjected the Company to the controul of government. But his spleen to the Governor arose from the latter having shewn, to the conviction of all men, that every measure in which the honourable General had been concerned during his short stay in India, had a tendency to ruin the Company's affairs. The salt monopoly, the cotton monopoly, the China trade monopoly, in all which this great soldier was concerned, notwithstanding his affected military pride: the sending money to pay the brigade in Sujah ul Dowlah's country, the payment of the King's tribute with cash sent from Bengal, the deputation to the Vizier's court, in all which manœuvring the General was so much concerned, to the ruin of the Bengal provinces, and the establishment of his own private fortune, are circumstances which having been explained, may justify the General in his spleen to the Governor. But nothing can justify the attempt to do away the moral character of a man, by infamous, unsupported, and insidious implication. However, it has operated properly, by shewing plainly, on what a rotten foundation the Chairman has erected his claim to further employment in the service of the East India Company. C. W. B. Rous, Esq. is, perhaps, the only one man that has taken an active part against the Governor General of Bengal, who possesses a competent knowledge in Asiatic affairs. He was, whilst the General commanded the army, his linguist, and Persian translator. This close connection had no great influence on their minds, nor contributed a particle towards their present political friendship. No two men feel more differently, than do these two bitter enemies of the Governor, in money matters. The one has been in the habit of great ostentatious expence, and passed through the King's Bench into the Senate House, and through Brooke's into an acquaintance of some of Lord Chesterfield's

field's incurables ; and the other has a soul braced up by pinning avarice, into a love of money equal to that of a Jew Broker. One wanted to go abroad to obtain money to squander, and the other to collect more to hoard : the recall of Mr. Hastings was necessary to both : nor would they have agreed a moment longer in office together, than till their interest should have come in contact, then would the Court of Directors have been pestered with their complaints and real opinion of one another, which their present views and policy gloss over.

As to Mr. Rous, the Governor General knew his abilities, and would have used them in the conduct of his government, but his stamp of character was so strongly marked, that it was hazardous to join power to so notorious a love of money. Charles Fox may use the abilities of a money-lending Jew to effect a political purpose, but he will never trust them with the key to untold gold. Extremes in nature never can unite ; and Rous found the soul of a Francis more congenial with his own than that of an Hastings : this, and a fit of ambition, which he fancied was love for one of General Clavering's daughters, carried him quite away from Hastings to the Majority. He only did not betray because he never was trusted ; and he would now insinuate, that Nundcomar was wrongfully hanged, because the same Judge had decreed, that to take three thousand rupees for determining a cause, where the whole claim amounted to eight, was unsubstantial justice. This gentleman's patriotism standing on such slippery ground, we may conclude his motives for labouring to bring about the recall of Governor General Hastings (even supposing that he was not a candidate for becoming a Bengal Counsellor) take not their rise in the love of virtue.

I have said so much of Mr. Philip Francis, and his conduct to the Governor General of Bengal, from the first hour of his arrival at Calcutta, to the present moment of his wishing to return there, that I believe more will be needless. However, I cannot omit to recommend to all those who have a doubt about the motives of that gentleman's proceedings, to read the Remarks and Observations on Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa; at the end of which very interesting and curious pamphlet, he will find twenty questions put by one Captain Price to that gentleman, which, whether answered or not, will explain his real intentions too plainly to be mistaken. But the public now know the political virtues of the man; nor shall they be left in complete ignorance as to his private conduct as a member of society, during his six years stay at Bengal.

Mr. Goring's character has been given above, as well as that of Mr. Farrer, the lawyer. That of Mackintosh may be found in the Remarks on Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Thus, Sir, have I laid before you, and by your means before the public, the true and undisguised characters of the men, with whom you have so cordially joined to bring about the recall of Mr. Hastings from his government of Bengal. For my part, I most sincerely thank you for the attempt, because it has brought forward much more able advocates in the cause of that great and innocent man, the Governor General, than I can pretend to be.

It is impossible, Sir, that you can forget how silent and passive Mr. Hastings's friends continued, whilst nothing was attempted but to prove that he had been mistaken in some political points. On those subjects of disquisition, his own sentiments, and his own reasoning, in every situation of the Company's affairs abroad, were on the face of the Company's records

records at the India House ; and happy his friends were, when a Secret Committee was appointed from the House of Commons to investigate them. Men, such as Mr. Hastings, must always wish for similar investigations of their conduct. His friends, therefore, were silent and passive, firmly persuaded that nothing more fortunate could happen, to make truly known the Governor General's character, than such enquiry. The paltry trash published by Mr. Philip Francis and his hirelings, in newspaper squibbs and pamphlets, passed unnoticed, until the Select Committee decidedly took up his cause, and in the most pointed manner, insinuated to the public, that what had been asserted by the Majority in their letters from Bengal, relative to the peculation of the Governor General, and his interposing, in order to shorten the life of his accuser, appeared to them to have its foundation in truth. This assertion of yours, Sir, (for General Smith hath told us that you drew it up) roused the friends of Mr. Hastings. It had on me a similar effect to that told us in history of the Roman boy. Though I despised your Chairman, the Cutcherryman, and the Lawyer, I had some fear of you. Truth, supported by your abilities, is invulnerable : but the instant that I found you had been so much warped by your passions, or misled by your associates, as to leave the line of truth, and wander like the traveller Mackintosh, into the regions of fiction, I lost all respect for you, and, with not the thousandth part of your capability, have met you on your own ground, and convinced every man I wish to convince, that you have been mistaken, and that the abilities of a Burke weigh no more than a single vote, when applied in support of arguments which originate in falsehood.

Once engaged, I have pursued the argument, and left not a lie standing, which was fabricated by the Majority against

the moral character of Mr. Hastings, from General Clavering's assertion of his having accumulated half a million in two years and a half, inclusive; down to Lacam's snivelling tale of oppression. The law hath set a mark on the fabricators of false evidence—why then should individuals spare them? If I had simply said, that you, Sir, Gen. Smith, Messrs. Rous, Francis, Farrer, Lacam, Goring, Mackintosh, and Cowe, had said things which were not true, and which in their consequences, were injurious to the moral character of Mr. Hastings, it would have had little effect--- I have gone further---I have proved that they were not true; and further still, by shewing, in a chain of reasoning, which not one amongst you dare controvert, that prejudice or interested motives, and not true patriotism, the love of truth, or the publick welfare, actuated any one of you, in your very illiberal attacks on the honour and honesty of the Governor General of Bengal.

I set out, in my first Letter, to you, Sir, with affirming, that your insinuation in the second Report of the Select Committee, had no foundation in truth: in my second Letter I have proved, that the evidence you referred to in its support, was more than defective; and in my third shewn, that every man who has taken a part in the illiberal attacks on the moral character of Mr. Hastings, first in Bengal, and latterly in England. are men of such interested views. or of such dubious characters, that their depositions would have been tossed over the bar in any legal court in the whole kingdom.

I know not how it has come to pass, that the Bengal gentlemen have suffered such loads of scurrility to be thrown on them indiscriminately, without reply. I have known personally and intimately, every Governor, and every Commander in Chief of the army, who have acted at Bengal

gal since the capture of Calcutta by the Moors in 1756, and will take some pains to dust the tares and chaff from the wheat. It is singular enough, that of all the opponents of Mr. Hastings, but one man among them was bred up in the Company's service at Bengal, and that was Mr. Rous. And I will do him the justice to say, that had he not wanted to have gone back again, I believe that he would have been silent. Mr. Goring made his fortune in his writership, General Smith his in about three years, Mr. Farrer his in about the same time. Mr. Philip Francis employed six years to complete a very noble one, far superior to what the Governor General has, or ever will have. Mr. Mackintosh indeed, was there but from the month of August to the month of March following; and as he in that time, found means to acquire more knowledge in the Company's political, civil, military, judicial, and mercantile affairs (if you will take his own word for it,--though not in their service) than the Governor General had done in thirty years residence, I will suppose that he came home as poor as he went out, and depends for his reward on his friend, Mr. Philip Francis. What now, Sir, do you suppose that the sum total of the knowledge of all these your associates doth amount to in Bengal affairs? Trust me, the former employed themselves in acquiring money, not knowledge; and what is to be found in the travels of the last, does not equal your own, and that is, God knows, as three blue beans in one blue bladder. So much for patriotism and patriots. Take my advice, Sir, and in future, confine yourself to home politics. You possess now a good snug warm birth. The patronage you enjoy, which enables you to carve for your family, together with your own income from government of four thousand pounds a year, besides odds and ends, is full as much as your services are worth. Your honourable friend, (as you affect to call him) the Chairman of the Select Committee,

mittee, must certainly have found out your weak side, when he induced you to reason so right-wrongfully, as to attempt to make us believe, that he was an honest man, and Governor Hastings the reverse. But you had two strings then to your bow. Had you not become Paymaster to the King's forces, we might have heard of you as a commissioner, accompanied by every member at my board of patriots, sailing with a flowing sheet, to settle the national affairs in Asia. At present, the nation has been saved from that political scourge: that it may long continue so, is the prayer of,

Right Honourable Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

The AUTHOR.

London, June, 1782.

THE END.





