

A
L E T T E R
TO THE
PROPRIETORS AND DIRECTORS
OF
EAST INDIA STOCK.
TOGETHER WITH AN
EPISTLE DEDICATORY
TO
ROBERT GREGORY, Esq.
C H A I R M A N
OF THE
COURT OF DIRECTORS
FOR THE
MANAGEMENT OF THE AFFAIRS
OF THE
EAST INDIA COMPANY.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED IN THE YEAR M,DCC,LXXXII.
REPRINTED M,DCC,LXXXIII.

TO
ROBERT GREGORY, Esq.
C H A I R M A N
OF THE
COURT OF DIRECTORS, &c.

S I R,

FROM the prostitution of party or needy writers, every sort of Dedication, let the motive of address be what it will, has become suspected of flattery; and if Lord Mansfield's opinion is just, that the greater the truth, the more criminal the libel, it may with equal justice be applied to this Epistle Dedicatory, and to the Letter itself; for the writer is not conscious of having uttered a word but what is truth.

The old proverb is not in this instance against me; for if truth may be spoken at any one time, the present is that time. The new Ministry declare themselves the advocates of complete liberty, as laid down in the laws of the land. As long as they are able to convince the

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good

good people of this country, that such is their principle of action, factious opposition may snarl and shew its teeth, but it will not be able to bite.

If one instance can be produced of good to the State, or to the Company, from the interposition of ministerial influence in Leadenhall-Street, I should be glad to be informed of it, it having escaped my observation ; but if a list of positive evils and glaring absurdities, growing out of their forced direction, are wanting, I will engage to furnish a complete list, which shall convince many of their adherents of the truth of my remark. If the present Proprietors should, in the course of this, or the next year, be obliged to receive a dividend of less than 8 per cent. on their stock, it will be natural for them to conclude, that it has been owing to their having been forced to give up four hundred thousand pounds of their property, on no very clear ideas of substantial justice.

I hope, Sir, to hear of your making a proper stand at both ends of the town, against further interference in the Company's affairs, at home or abroad. If you do not understand their real interests, you have grossly mispent your time for the last twenty-five years of your life, in the course of which I have known you very conversant in the trade of Asia, on your own account, as agent for other individuals, and as manager for the Company. I had once the honour to be considered by you as a very intimate acquaintance, nor have I to
complain

complain of your having forgotten that circumstance ; your treatment of me the only time I have seen you since I have been in England, was polite and kind. I shall not now insult you by stattery, or be afraid of of speaking the truth ; there is nothing else in the following Letter ; and to your judgment of it, I refer my honourable mistresses and masters, and depend on your steadiness and well tried integrity, to prevent more ministerial interposition, which may chance to ruin the real national mercantile interests, our last great stake in Asia.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient well wisher

And humble Servant,

The A U T H O R.

TO THE
PROPRIETORS and DIRECTORS
OF
EAST INDIA STOCK.

LADIES and GENTLEMEN,

THE character and conduct of Governor Hastings, hath, for the last seven years, been, in some shape or other, the subject of severe scrutiny and general conversation. From the year 1750, to the year 1774, that gentleman had been in your service, had rose gradually from the rank of a writer, to that of Governor of your most important provinces in Bengal. If, in the course of that time, he had been guilty of any crime, his enemies would not have been backward in pointing them out. Their silence on this subject, is his greatest panegyric; for to such lengths have his systematical

systematical adversaries proceeded, in accumulating false information against him, that there is no doubt but if any true had existed, their extreme malice would not have overlooked it.

So much has been already said on the methods used by the late administration of this country, to acquire an ascendancy over your minds, and by their influence, both in Parliament and in Leadenhall-Street, that it will be needless for me to enter much into it. The men they sent out empowered to interfere in your concerns, either as marine ambassadors or land commanders, have always affected to act by a power independent of, and indeed inconsistent with, your true interest as merchants. If your own records contained any thing else than one continued confirmation of this assertion, I should be induced to trouble you with particulars from Sir John Lindsey's interposition in your affairs on the coast of Coromandel, to the sending out the Majority in the Supreme Council at Bengal; the whole has been of a piece. I shall therefore confine my remarks mostly to general subjects, and seldom enter largely into particulars, except to elucidate or confirm some particular point. I shall go into observations on your general trade; the political situation of your present connections with the country powers; remark on the connections and dependencies your different Presidencies have, and ought to have, on one another; observe

observe on the conveniences and inconveniences of your present constitution, civil and military; urging nothing but what I will explain by some pertinent and applicable instance or instances, in support of what I say, drawn from my own particular observation and experience, collected in a residence of thirty years at your different presidencies and settlements in India, not one of which but I have frequently been at, and traded very largely to the whole.

So far am I from being abashed, or afraid to speak on affairs of such vast national importance, in the presence of your Chairman, Robert Gregory, Esq. that I am even impelled the more readily to address it directly to him, because he is now your Chairman, and can speak from his own knowledge, to the private character of the man who thus addresses you. He is very conversant in the true mercantile interests of the Company in Asia, and is not uninformed of every other subject on which I shall treat. If he disapproves of any thing I say, he will tell you so, and I desire you to believe him. I wish to obtain no credit, but what shall arise from the conviction of minds independent and honest, as is his, nor am I a supplicator to you for fee or reward.

THE great objection to my former writings on India affairs, is, that whenever I am about to give
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an instance in proof of any part of management which was injurious to the State or the Company, I have been hurried into the mention not only of the thing itself, but also of the man, or men, who were the perpetrators of it, and of joining such epithets to their names, as left a doubt whether I was not more influenced by spleen to the men, than displeased with their conduct. I will rectify that mistake, and touch only measures, not men, relate facts, and their inevitable consequences, saying nothing personally where I cannot commend.

IF there is any thing faulty in the original constitution of the Company, as a body of merchants, there have been opportunities enough to repair it; but for my part, never did I observe the state interpose in your affairs, in order, as said, to mend matters, that they did not make things worse. What good hath accrued to State or Company, from the Regulating Act of the 13th of the King? Will any body instance the conduct of the Majority in the civil government, or the superiority of the Supreme Court, to that of the Mayor's Court at Calcutta? It is not a thing likely to happen in our day, but Englishmen may, in the course of time, become as effeminate as the Greeks and Romans of the present age, and the Asiatics may subdue Great Britain under some future Timur Beg Aurenzebe, or Hyder Ally; but the conqueror from the east will never act so inconsistently, as to attempt

attempt to introduce the Hindoo customs, laws, and manners, on the banks of the Thames, as you have done yours on the banks of the Ganges. Had the Portugueze been content to have enjoyed the wealth and trade of Asia, and left the people to their own customs and mode of worship, the Dutch could never have dispossessed them of their settlements. Mynheer went to the other extreme, and denied his God, to obtain trade amongst the Japanese. Whatever persons shall be entrusted with the government of the civil power, have command of the military power, or be employed in the mercantile concerns of the nation to Asia, they must go abroad young, and be trained to their several occupations early. No gentlemen will serve the office of Director, without some emolument; and I could wish they were to be allowed 5000l. a year each, the Deputy Chairman 8000l. and the Chairman 10,000l. and all patronage taken away, or at least regulated; for at present, writers are sent out who cannot write, cadets who cannot speak English, and doctor's mates who cannot let blood, the consequence of which is, they are obliged to go to school in India, and the Company pay people to do their duty in the intermediate time.

To remedy this very great evil, let each Director nominate so many lads of twelve years old for writers, and so many for cadets, assistant surgeons, &c. and their parents enter into engagements to educate them

them at such academies, and in such a manner, as the Company may direct, until they are full sixteen years of age; then let them undergo an examination, and draw lots fairly for their chance of settlement, that is to which of the Presidencies abroad they shall be sent. The inconveniences, the jealousies, and the heart burnings, which this, or some such plan, would cause to be avoided, would require a volume fully to set forth.

I BELIEVE there are few remaining advocates for an open, general, and promiscuous national trade to Asia, otherways I would say something on that subject. I have handled it largely in some Letters formerly published, though now forgotten. I shall only observe here, that an open trade to Asia, would soon become no trade at all; and I fear this nation would, as now circumstanced, but ill bear the loss of two millions per annum from the neat revenue.

WHEN the Company's ships have run four voyages in their service, the owners should have permission to send them to India for sale, on condition of carrying out so many recruits, or so many tons of goods, freight free for them: the advantages which would arise from such indulgence, are too evident, and too important, to need explaining, though I may take the matter up again further on. By admitting innovation in their service, civil or
military

military men to supersede their old servants, is, exclusive of the pernicious consequences, so apt to subject the Directors to such solicitations from great and powerful men, that I wonder the Directors do not rid themselves of it by one firm and positive resolution, never, on any account, to admit strangers into the Company's employ; it has been the source of more real evil to the service in general, and teizing to the Directors in particular, than any other cause whatever.

WHILST we hold the rank in India that we do now, at least one hundred and twenty thousand men of all sorts, will be cloathed by the Company, in all sorts of woollen cloths of our national manufacture, and double the number are cloathed in the same way by the country Princes; every yard of which should be delivered in India, to any person who would receive it at the English prime cost; and this the State should oblige the Company to the performance of. The neglect of it, come a peace whenever it may, will induce the French to send into India, ships loaded with their light coarse cloths. Such an interposition as that would be worthy a British Ministry, instead of stooping to force upon the Company some worn out officers, to command and starve the men, or needy statesmen, to perplex and confound their affairs.

THAT we have a war at all with the Dutch, is to be lamented : but there is not a single instance of the mismanagement of the late Ministry so reprehensible, as their bad management, and ill choice of a commander, to conduct the grand scheme of taking possession of the Cape of Good Hope. I speak with certainty, that two months before the declaration and manifesto against that Republic came out, the very naked state and helpless situation of all the Dutch possessions in Asia, was given in full detail to the leading man amongst them, in particular those of the Cape of Good Hope and Batavia. A fourth part of the force Commodore Johnson had with him, would have been full sufficient to have taken possession of that important place, or highly useful half-way house to India. I pass by the unseaman-like manner in which the Commodore *clumped* his fleet at St. Jago, and fifty other delays and frivolousnesses on the way there, to note at once the absurdity of the man, in concluding that the French Commodore would not take advantage of his going back into port, to knot and splice a few ropes, which might have been as well done at sea. The object of both commanders, was to get to the Cape first; and had our fleet done so, as was clearly in their power, I know not what the French Admiral could have done for water or refreshments. To have been obliged to have gone on to the French Islands without either, would have destroyed two thirds of his people : this he well knew, and therefore

fore pushed on at all events to gain his object, whilst we idled away our time at Port Prayo.

COMMODORE Johnson had with him Captain Peafely, as good an officer as, perhaps, the navy can boast. I saw him at the Cape myself, in the Sybil frigate, the preceding April, noting every thing necessary to be known, of the defenceless state of the place. Besides, not one captain, or perhaps officer, of ten years standing in the India Company's ships, but who would have undertaken to have conducted his fleet into False Bay. Why the English fleet wanted water at all, is not clear to me. That the French, equally long at sea, did without it, is evident. But had the Commodore gone on the next day after the engagement, the Cape had now been ours, and the war in India, both with France and Holland, cut up by the roots, as much as if a barrier had been run from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Horn, and the keys in our own possession. The French could do nothing from their Islands, without constant supplies from the Cape, of biscuit and salted meat. The bread and wine taken from Monsieur, is as bad as cutting short John Bull of his beef and pudding.

THE entry of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic, hath, for the present, saved the Island of Ceylon, and other of the Dutch eastern settlements, not one of which would, at this hour, have remained to them.

But that is not the worst, for every lover of either England or Holland, must wish that each had their own again, and that a firm peace was concluded. The great obstacle to which now, is their having pledged themselves to the French nation, on condition they sent out a force to save the Cape and Batavia, that they would conclude no separate peace with England, and if they do, Monsieur will give back neither the Island of Java, or the Cape of Good Hope. So much we owe to mere men of words, who have battled no where but in the Senate House, or with a fellow subject.

THAT Hyder Ally will, in the end, be well chastized for his presumption, there is not a doubt; nor is this unknown to those, who have knowledge of the real force, and real interests, of the Princes on the continent of India. There are but two modes of conduct which can be pursued, in coming to a conclusion of the war with that Prince: The first, and I think best, will be to oblige him to grant you a strong barrier on the side of the Carnatic, and pay the Company part of the expences of the war; this may be done: but there is another, which as it will gratify revenge, furnish the means of retaliation by plunder, and promise a complete expulsion of him and his family from the kingdom of Myfore, and the reinstalment of the old family under the Company, I much fear will be adopted, before you can interpose.

No

No sooner will the Mahratta powers hear of his being on the point to be driven out of the Carnatic, than they will close with you on any terms, short of becoming tributary, or suffering you to hold posts any where but on the sea coasts, (and this I hope most sincerely will be accepted,) for reasons hereafter to be mentioned, and they will encourage you to go on with the war against Hyder, and propose to join you to attack him at Mangulore, from Bombay, and so penetrate into his country on the Malabar, whilst Sir Eyre Coote does the same on the Coromandel, and their own army from the Cannara country.

THE Bombay gentlemen will close with this plan, on the idea of keeping the rich and fertile provinces of Mangulore and Onore, to secure the whole trade of sandal wood and pepper for the Company's China trade, and pay the full expences of the military establishment on that side of India, to keep the French entirely off from that continent, and to liberate the Naier Princes, and other powers, now subject to Hyder, and make them dependent on the Company.

ALL these are glorious ideas, and may be justified on as sound principles, as the means used to acquire any other of our Asiatic provinces, and perhaps the mercantile part may be necessary, and not unattainable from Hyder himself; but more will,

will, I think, break down the balance of power; which really, and imperceptibly, hath formed itself on the continent of India, and of which I come now to speak with confidence, for I speak with certainty. My words are simple, because my ideas are clear. I have studied the nature of power in Asia, and the genius of the people who possess it, and fear no refutation of arguments, composed of experience and of truth. I have no hopes of benefitting individually by what I say, and am too much lost to the world, and to the few friends I have, to be in the way of enjoying praise, or suffering from the effects of envy, on the occasion. If I start one thought that may be of use to my country, I shall not have lived in vain; and that idea throws in one ray of light on the waste and dreary scenes before me, and serves to fill up moments, which must otherwise be spent in unavailing reflection, and useless retrospection.

If a meridian line be drawn in the latitude of 26 degrees north, from the mountains of Assam, or Bootan, east, until it cut the river Indus on the west, it will include the whole of that part of the continent, or peninsula, of India Proper, in which the English nation has been for some time past, and is now so extremely interested; though this immense region (the richest for extent in the world, mercantilely speaking, which is speaking like an Englishman) is inhabited by an innumerable number

ber of Kings and Princes, formerly tributary to the family of Timur Beg, or the Great Mogul, but now independent. Yet there are not more than four powers, who properly can be said to have shared amongst them this vast empire, and those are first the English, next the Mahrattas, then Hyder Ally, and lastly the Nizam, or Subah of the Deccan; all the others, more or less, look up for support, to one or other of the above mentioned great powers.

I SHALL not concern myself about what part of this tract of country, the English may have had, or have now, but attend to what parts (since they are so deeply engaged) they ought to have, and must have, to maintain the necessary influence, to support their mercantile advantages, and to keep peace. The district of Broach, Gundavia, and the other provinces about Surat, with the Island of Salsct, which they held before the last rupture with the Mahrattas, is all that is necessary, and what must be held to support Bombay. These the Mahrattas will yield with pleasure, and with confidence. The port of Basseen, and all other conquests on that part of the Malabar, must be given up, or you will never have a firm peace with the Paishwah, or governing power at Poonah. If matters can be so settled with Hyder Ally, as to induce him to grant you an exclusive right to trade for the sandal wood, cardamums, and pepper, produced

in his dominions, it will be very lucky ; and you should on your side, guarantee his dominions on those favourable terms. I call them favourable, because when I come to speak on your China trade, I shall prove them to be so. This, and a strong barrier on the side of the Carnatic, is all you, in justice, and in policy, (except you can force him to pay the expences of the war,) ought to ask of him.

THE Carnatic, and all its dependencies, including Tanjore, you must hold yourselves. More than foolish has been the policy of attempting to support the Nabob of Arcot, in a state independent of yourselves ; but it took its rise in the same policy which made the peace of Paris, and wanted to whip, rather than soothe, our brothers and sisters in America, into our measures. Strange that our wars from the same cause, and no other, with Cossim Ally, and Sujah ul Dowlah, at Bengal, should not have opened our eyes, but that Sir John Lindsey was sent out to inspire Mahommed Ally Cawn, with hostile notions against the Company, who created him, under the idea of the King's having guaranteed, at the peace of Paris, what the Company conquered for him : but that is now over : allow him and his family, enough for pomp and state, as his brethren at Bengal ; but allow him not the power to involve you again in wars ; if you do, he is a human being, and what is more, an Asiatic, and will attempt it.

THE Nizam should either have his stipend of five lacks of rupees, paid him for the Northern Sircar Provinces, regularly every year, or have the reversion of the Guntoor Sircar granted to him and his family in perpetuity ; and this is all he would ask ; except, perhaps, he might desire a defensive alliance with you against Hyder Ally ; of whose power he is really afraid, but not of yours ; for let what will have been said by ignorant and interested men, there was nothing he dreaded so much, as the success of that turbulent and ambitious Prince, well knowing that had he settled himself in the Carnatic, his own dominions would have next been over-run.

THE Boundary of the Caramnassa river, as proposed to be fixed by Lord Clive, was a good mercantile line ; but we had engaged too deeply in the politics of Asia, to suffer so restless, powerful, and ambitious a Prince, as Sujah ul Dowlah, on our borders, who had wantonly engaged us in two successive wars, and invaded our dominions unjustly. Lord Clive rectified the blunder, in disarming the Nabob of Bengal, by taking the revenues into our own hands, but he continued it in the Vizier's dominions. He put a bridle into his mouth it is true, but there was no curb to it ; nor was he easily to be managed : this Mr. Hastings saw. He saw too, that his son and successor, was the most despicable of all the human race ; and that not only

the Vizier's dominions, but all our own, would be involved in wars and troubles, the instant Sujah ul Dowlah should die. He therefore prepared for the event, and thereby saved both countries from the ravages of war. The boundary now held on that side of India, is absolutely necessary to your safety and your peace. You ought no more to part with any of the dominions you now stand possessed of, and what I have pointed out to be necessary on the other side of India, than you should attempt at conquering more : in such a position, you will stand in the golden mean. It is to this point that Mr. Hastings is labouring to bring your affairs, and it will be highly impolitic to disturb him whilst he is about it. If he must suffer, punish him after he has done the business in hand, and which will secure the peace of India for ages to come : but to take him away, and send new ignorant men now to supply his place, will be folly in the extreme. The man who thinks him an advocate for war, further than to obtain some such permanent peace, as that I have pointed out, knows nothing of him.

THE reform of your army will naturally take place after a peace ; and you have on your records, the clear and decided opinions on that subject, of some as good officers as the nation ever could boast. If a line was to be drawn of the dominions which you or the state shall determine to keep in Asia, why not call a meeting of the numerous general
officers

officers now in England, who have served you honourably and gallantly, and who know every foot of the ground given up in the above sketch. It might be thought presumptuous in me to draw a list, but I dare say a dozen of them would meet, and form a plan for a peace establishment army, and being themselves quite out of the question, as to personal interested views, would produce one such as no man, or body of men, could except against. You want no assistance from national officers; your own service hath bred as good ones, as ever the King of Prussia did; and the superseding of them as has been done, carries with it consequences of the most pernicious nature. I could instance facts, such as should convince the most stubborn sceptic, but I have confined myself to general principles, to avoid offence.

THOSE who say the country powers have no confidence in your warlike abilities, and national faith, know nothing of the country powers; they are mere men of words, of which the nation is too full. Lord Chesterfield tells us, that he was instructed to speak in defence of the change of stile, and to draw some of his arguments from the science of astronomy, of which science he knew nothing. So have we men, who, by reading the manuscript accounts at the India House, which have most of them been formed in the spirit of party, and dictated by spleen, come full fraught to propose

pose plans of government for a country, of which they know little more than they do of what is going forward in the moon. Your being, Sir, at the head of the direction of the East India Company's affairs, has induced me to draw up this hasty sketch, or general outline, of the real state of the national, political, and mercantile interests in Asia. You served a double apprenticeship in Bengal, and learnt the mechanical parts on the spot, and have been long conversant in the scientific parts in Leadenhall-Street. I know that you follow me in my reasoning, with a knowledge capable of benefitting from some parts of this little irregular and hasty production, and can correct me in others where I may be mistaken. I have neither time nor opportunity, to refer to any authority. The whole of the political state of the Company's affairs in Asia, and their general European and Asiatic mercantile plans of commerce, are in my head: it has been thirty years collecting, and I throw it out now, without form or order, for your use, something like a memorandum book, and, Sir, you may use it as safely as if it was your own. I have no intention to deceive, or to mislead; all is honest, open, and fair, and addressed to you, because you act on the same scale of policy.

MONOPOLY is a word that does not sound well in an Englishman's ears; though no word in all Johnson is more scantily defined. We hear of monopolizers
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of empire and of potatoes, of beauty and of birch-brooms. The best application of it, is the Dutch monopoly of spices. I shall say no more on it here, than just to assure you, that when I succeeded you in your Bengal house, and some of your transactions with the Dutch at Chinsura, as also when I visited Batavia in 1764, I had the very best authority to say, that the Dutch collect the cloves, mace, and nutmegs, (which you know are what we mean by spice, and is alone the produce of the Molucco Islands,) into their warehouses near Batavia, at no greater expence to their company, than *three stivers* (*pence*) per pound, and with which they serve the whole world at what price they please, and this has been suffered by all Europe, for more than one hundred years. Far be it from me to wish to disturb them in the possession of it. I am one of those, who, knowing something of the true interest of both nations, wish the Dutch had their own again, and that John and Nick had shaken hands, and made the foolish affair up, and so they would, if Baboon and Esquire South would permit them.

Our national trade to Asia is not a monopoly; it could not exist without an intermediate agent between the state and individuals; and you, Sir, know, that I could prove this beyond all cavil; but I want you to adopt a small plan of monopoly in Asia.

YOUR

YOUR China trade is become necessary to a luxurious nation. I have heard that our home consumption of teas, fairly and truly imported, amounts to eight millions of pounds weight per annum, and that the ships imported within these eight months, have landed teas, that will, from their produce, pay into the national treasury, a million and a half sterling. You know these facts better than I do; but I know that your trade from England to China, is very trifling, that the Chinese receive a vast balance in bullion, that the mother country cannot spare one third of it, and that Bengal is almost drained, and cannot go on to supply much more silver to be sent abroad, and of gold she has less to spare.

I THINK then, Sir, that you must secure the cotton of Broach, Jumboossee, and Surat, the sandal wood and pepper of the Malabar, and the salt petre and opium of Bengal, and load your own ships with some of those articles, and what gold dust and tin, the others will produce on the eastern side the Bay of Bengal: these articles the Chinese can no more do without, than you can without their teas, and they will exchange it with you for them, on very advantageous terms on your side.

THIS is no chimerical idea, nor shall I insult your experience and understanding, by pointing out the means to effect it, honourably as merchants,
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and honestly political, as sovereigns of the country where the articles are produced.

THE Dutch, who, in peaceable times, have four, five, and sometimes six ships, arrive in Holland from China, half the cargoes of which ships are smuggled into England, from Flushing in Zealand, and other places, manage their China trade as follows: As fast as they can collect recruits for their army and navy in Asia, they send a ship away with three hundred of them, and as many marine and military stores as she can carry: the ship stops at the Cape of Good Hope, and lands all her sick; she is there cleansed, and her people refreshed: such of them who remain in, or have recovered their health, return on board: when this is done, the ship proceeds on to Batavia, where the recruits are landed, and the ship loaded with block tin, pepper, chests of cloves, mace, and nutmegs, and some hundred picols of fine Japan copper. From China these ships come direct for Europe, without stopping in their way home at Batavia: And, Sir, I could prove as clearly, as that one and one makes two, that on the nice management of these curious branches of their Asiatic trade, depends the whole profits of the Dutch East India Company.

GIVE a map of Asia to one of our speculative statesmen, point out to him how near Japan lies to China, on the north-west side, from whence the

fine copper comes ; shew him how small a distance west, the Molucco Islands lay, from whence the spices come ; then carry his eye to the southward, until it meet the Islands of Java and Banka, where the tin is dug from the bowels of the earth, and the pepper cultivated ; and then inform him, that notwithstanding none of those noble islands lie more than half a month's distance from China, and that she has junks, or oriental ships, of her own, sailing to those places, yet cannot avail herself of an open fair trade with any of them, but is obliged to receive all, or the greatest part, of those valuable articles of merchandize, from a small European state, whose seat of government is in the center of Europe, surrounded by other more powerful states, able to swallow her up in a single campaign, was it not that she has, and does, support herself, by such secrets in trade. I know men who think themselves great managers, not an hundred miles from Leadenhall-Street, who, because they have had no opportunity of knowing what I say, will think it an improbable tale. Such managers are fit masters for Mr. Philip Francis, who never heard of the Ranna of Ghoud, until he met his name in a letter of Governor General Hastings', after he had arrived in England, though he had spent six years at Bengal, at an expence of ten thousand pounds per annum to the Company, to learn the language, and abuse the Company's servants at Calcutta. But I write to you, Sir, and those who do understand
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the trade you profess, not to the tools of ministers, who are in general equally fit for all professions.

THE advancing that the Princes of Hindoostan, have no confidence in your faith, is one of those assertions compounded of ignorance and falsehood, that one would not have expected to have heard from any one who could pretend to more information than a man in Wales, whom I myself met with, and (finding him a true John Bull's son, gaping for any thing marvellous,) persuaded to believe that Lord Clive had little black children cut up, and made into curry for him, in the same manner that Frenchmen fricasee frogs: no, Sir, our errors arise from the direct opposite extreme.

THE Asiatics are naturally a poor pusillanimous set of people, but being human creatures, are subject to that vile passion, mean revenge, and always ready to endeavour at engaging Europeans in their political and family quarrels. They will give up not only part of their own provinces, but engage to join you to conquer for yourselves, the territory of their neighbours, in order to glut their revenge. The Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French, have brought their affairs to decay, from having been tempted to engage in such quarrels, instead of acting as umpires in settling them, and thereby changing their characters of merchants, into that of conquerors. You have tasted sufficiently of that bitter cup.

cup. At present, it will be prudent to get out of your Asiatic wars with spirit, to leave on their minds a proper impression of your real power; but no sooner shall the peace of that continent be restored, than chain down your servants to peace and merchandize, and all will soon be well again. Believe me the Governor General has nothing more at heart. His character is well known to the Asiatic Princes, and there is not a man in the world, with whom they will more readily treat. If he must be recalled, have a little patience until you can better spare his extensive experience and well tried abilities.

Your own records will inform you, how averse Mr. Hastings was to the war with Cossim Ally Cawn in 1763. The necessity of your affairs at home and abroad, which compelled him to extend your boundary through the Rohillo country, to the hills, and to the upper Ganges, in order to prevent the irruption of the Mahrattas from that quarter, as well as to obtain money from the Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah, for your present wants, and to put a curb to the bridle, Lord Clive had put into that vicious Prince's mouth. You are not ignorant of his extreme aversion to the Mahratta wars, until he was dragged into it from necessity, or rather orders from home; nor does his amazing exertions portend more than the obtaining a safe and honourable peace, and that he will bring about, or no other

other man in the world can on equal terms ; for a change now would encourage the India powers to go on with the war ; nothing else can do it ; for they well know his steadiness, financial abilities, and fixed resolution to give up not one foot of what the Company stood possessed of before the war.

I INTENDED to have gone more into the state of your revenues, and a plan for establishing an extensive trade from province to province in Asia, in order thereby, to feed your lucrative and beneficial China trade, which you must support, not only on account of the great revenue deriving therefrom, to the government of this country, but also to prevent the Dutch, as soon as peace shall be made, from smuggling their teas in upon you as usual, to the great draining of our national coin : but your present Chairman only wants hints such as I have given ; and I hope the New Ministry will not sacrifice the true interest of the nation, for the gratification of a few individuals : at present they are unincumbered with greedy sycophants, nor want to govern on the principles of deception, having, I hope, the national support, in all that is just and truly constitutional in their measures.

I am, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Your most obedient well wisher

London

And humble Servant,

April 20th, 1782.

The AUTHOR.