

### LETTER

FROM

WARREN HASTINGS, Efq.

DATED 21st of FEBRUARY, 1784.

WITH

### REMARKS

AND

AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS

TO SUPPORT THE REMARKS.

LONDON:

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# UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA: AT LOS ANGELES

R B M A R L

## PREFACE.

If the report was true, that Mr. Hastings had applied to be re-appointed to the Government of Bengal, a direct negative to such an application, might have been fairly founded on his own declarations, contained in the Letter now printed, viz. that age and infirmity had not only impaired his constitution, but his faculties.

Another

Another report is still in circulation, and generally believed, that he, or his friends have applied for a pension for him to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and that the Directors have it in contemplation to give him five thoufand pounds a year. The plea made in his behalf is long and able fervices and great poverty. Before the Directors take their resolution, a Letter from himself, materially connected with fuch a plea, and the Remarks upon it, are publickly brought into their view, and recommended to their previous confideration.

The present publication is not meant to injure Mr. Hastings, unless it be deemed an injury to prevent his receiving a gratuity to which he has no just claim, nor even an equitable pretension.



#### TO THE HONOURABLE

### COURT OF DIRECTORS, &c.

On the River Ganges, Feb. 21, 1784.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

HAVING had occasion to disburse from my own cash many sums for services, which, though required to enable me to execute the duties of my station, I have hitherto omitted to enter in my public accounts, and my own fortune being unequal to so heavy a charge, I have resolved to reimburse myself in a mode the most suitable to your affairs, by charging the same in my Durbar accounts of the present year, and crediting them by a sum privately received, and appropriated to your service in the same manner as other

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fums received on account of the Honourable Company, and already carried to their account.

The particulars of these disbursements are contained in the enclosed accounts No. 1, 2, 3 and 4, of which No. 5 is the abstract. I shall subjoin a brief explanation of each.

The fum of the account No. 1 is the difference between the allowance of 300 rupees per month, which was the customary pay of the Governor's Military Secretary, and that which I allowed to Lieutenant Colonel Ironside, during the time he acted in that capacity, on account of his superior rank. It was referred to your Honourable Court in one of the letters of the year 1773 or 4; but I presume that it was overlooked in the pressure of other more important matters, which at that time occupied your attention.

No. 2 and 3 are explained in the accounts themselves. No. 4 consists of three several kinds

kinds of charges, which I confess to have been unauthorized, but which I humbly conceive neither to be of a private nature, nor unworthy subjects of the bounty of a great and rifing state. The first is inconfiderable, confifting chiefly in the fubfiftence of the Pundits, who were affembled in Calcutta, and employed during two years in compiling the code of Hindoo laws for your use, the sum allotted to them was one rupee per diem. A larger recompence was offered, but refused; nor would they receive this, but for their daily support. They had indeed the promise of some public endowments for their colleges, which yet remains unperformed. The fecond is the amount of fundry monthly falaries paid to fome of the most learned professors of the Mahomedan law for translating from the Arabic into the Persian tongue a compendium of their law called the Hedaya, which is held in high estimation and part of a more voluminous work, which I could not profecute. Your Honourable Court is in pof-

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fession of a part of the English version of the Hedaya made by Mr. James Anderson, and the subsequent part of the same book has been lately translated by Mr. Hamilton. These gentlemen are both engaged in the completion, and are both eminently qualified for it. It would exceed the bounds of this letter to expatiate on the utility of this work; yet I may be allowed to vindicate the expence of it by one fummary argument, which is that, while the Mahomedan law is allowed to be the standard of the criminal jurisprudence of your dominions under the control and inspection of your English fervants, it feems indifpenfably necessary that the Judges of the courts should have a more familiar guide for their proceedings than the books of the Arabic tongue, of which few have opportunities of attaining a competent knowledge, and as necessary that your fervants should possess the means of confulting the principles, on which those judgments are founded, which, in their ultimate resort and in extraordinary cases,

may fall within their immediate cognizance, and of the laws, of which they are the protectors. The third charge is that of an academy inflituted for the study of the different branches of sciences taught in the Mahomedan schools. After a trial of about two years, finding that it was likely to answer the end of its institution, I recommended to the Board and obtained their confent to pass the subsequent expence of the establishment to the account of the Company and to erect a building for the purpose at my own immediate cost, but for a Company's interested note granted me for the reimbursement of it. It is almost the only complete establishment of the kind now existing in India, although they were once in univerfal use, and the decayed remains of these schools are yet to be feen in every capital town and city of Hindostan and Decan. It has contributed to extend the credit of the Company's name. and to foften the prejudices excited by the rapid growth of the British dominion, and it is a feminary of the most useful members of society. I humbly submit the propriety of carrying these expences to your account by the consideration, that it was not possible for me to have been influenced in incurring them by any purpose of my own interest. Something perhaps may be attributed to the impulse of pride in the share, which I might hope to derive of a public benefaction; but certainly not to vanity or ostentation; since I believe it to be generally conceived that the whole expence, of which the greatest part is yet my own, has been already defrayed from the Treasury of the Company.

I will candidly confess that, when I first engaged both in this and the preceding expences, I had no intention of carrying it to the account of the Company. Improvident for myself, zealous for the honour of my country, and the credit and interests of my employers, I seldom permitted my Prospects of suturity to enter into the views

of my private concerns. In the undisturbed exercise of the faculties, which appertain to the active season of my life, I confined all my regards to my public character, and reckoned on a fund of years to come for its duration. The infirmities of life have fince fucceeded, and I have lately received more than one severe warning to retire from a scene, to which my bodily strength is no longer equal, and threatens me with a corresponding decay in whatever powers of mind I once poffeffed to discharge the laborious duties and hard viciflitudes of my station. With this change in my condition, I am compelled to depart from that liberal plan, which I originally adopted, and to claim from your juffice, for you have forbad me to appeal to your generofity, the discharge of a debt, which I can, with the most scrupulous integrity, aver to be justly my due, and which I cannot fustain. If it should be objected, that the allowance of these demands would furnish a precedent for others of the like kind. I have to remark

mark that, in their whole amount, they are but the aggregate of a contingent account of twelve years; and, if it were to become the practice of those, who have passed their prime of life in your service, and filled, so long as I have filled it, the first office of your dominion, to glean from their past accounts all the little articles of expence, which their inaccuracy or indifference hath overlooked, your interest would suffer infinitely less by the precedent, than by a single example of a life spent in the accumulation of crores for your benefit, and doomed in its close to suffer the extremities of private want and sink in obscurity!

I have thought it proper to complete the present subject by the addition of a charge, which I intended to have submitted to the board, but which, if divided at this time from the others, might have admitted an unfair construction. It is in the account No. 6, and consists of charges incurred for boats and budgerows provided by me, for my

own use, on such public occasions, as required my departure from the Presidency on extraordinary services.

My predecessors have always had an establishment of this kind provided for them, and my successor will have a provision devolve to him superior in convenience and in elegance to any that I have yet seen, and surnished with a cost, which could not be credited by those, who have seen the subjects of it.

I have the honour, &c.

Your's, &c.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Heads of the Account enclosed in the preceding Letter.

I	. Salary to Col. Ironfide			
	while acting as the Go-			
	vernor's Military Secre-			
	tary from April 1772			
馬	to May 1773,	8,511	7	6
2	. Charges in the Gover-		TITLE	ano.
	nor General's office from	al mail o	For	lov.
199	Sept. 1772 to 1st Jan.	di yan si	53 WW.3	ests.
	1774,	1,49,870	11	9
3	de Comp from A Dog	e Sibility		2000
	de Camp from 1st Dec.	00.000	8	8
	1775 to Jan. 1784 To Pundits, their diet	33,323,	0	0
4	and charges while em-			
	ployed in compiling the			
	Code of Hindoo Laws;			
	to charges attending the			
	translating the Laws of			
	Mahomed, and for the			
	Expence of the Maho-	LETTER		
	medan Academy	85,357,	11	9
5.	To Budgeroes and Boats			
	for the Governor Ge-			
	neral's use since 1781 to			
	18th Jan. 1784,	59,165,	5	9
	Rupees	3,36,228,	13	5
	BULL STREET, S			-

Note. No. 2, this Article confifts chiefly of Charges for Pens, Ink, Paper, Tape, &c. with Clerks Salaries,

#### REMARKS.

A LETTER from a Governor General of Bengal, acknowledging the private receipt of money and the application of it to his own use, is an object of curiosity. The fact, if not fairly and clearly accounted for, must naturally excite suspicion. But, if the account he gives of it be palpably defective, obscure, and contradictory, curiosity and suspicion will give way to other sentiments, especially in the minds of men, who have hitherto thought savourably of Mr. Hastings. I mean to examine his letter strictly, but without passion or invective.

The first point to be considered is the time and circumstances, in which it was written. There may be some merit in a voluntary and seasonable confession of questionable acts. But, if it be partially made, or at a suspicious moment, or under the apprehension of a discovery, confession then not only forseits all pretensions to merit, but

but indicates a state of mind enfeebled and perplexed by the consciousness of guilt. This general observation may serve for a clew through many mysterious passages of Mr. Hastings's writings and conduct. His prefent letter, when written, had very much the air of a winding up not only of his government, but of his life. He fays he has lately received more than one severe warning to retire; and, if we may believe what he adds of the actual infirmities of his body and mind, his life was not likely to be a long one. It is evident at least that, while he was writing this letter, he did not expect to continue long in the government. In February, 1784, he had heard of the last arrangement of the administration in England, which placed the Duke of Portland and Mr. Fox at the head of affairs. He knew that the power, which had hitherto fupported him, had been obliged to give way, and that a fystem, from which he had no protection to expect, was likely to prevail at home. Such was the opinion current in England in the fummer of 1783, and

and the only one, that could have been impressed upon him at that period by all public and private advices. Without entering into the merits or demerits of the arrangements then in contemplation for the government of India, it is of importance to remark, that one certain effect of those arrangements, with respect to Mr. Hastings, would have been his immediate removal at least, if it went no further. The most favourable event he could hope for was fimply to be recalled. But, if an administration, by whom he thought he was condemned, should be disposed to avail themselves of the heavy votes of censure, which were drawn up by Mr. Dundas and Sir Adam Ferguson, and passed the House of Commons in 1782, who could fay to what extent their inquiries into the detail of his government might be carried, where they would stop, or to what termination they might lead? In thefe circumstances, there could be no impression. but that of fear, on the mind of Mr. Hastings; and under that impression he must. have afted, at the period in question. Many private

private letters mention that, when he fet out on his last expedition to Lucknow, his spirits were sunk into the lowest state of dejection.

Carrying this view of his fituation and reflexions into the examination of his letter, we may account for many things, which he has left unexplained.

1/t. He has received money privately, which, if once he were removed from the government, would probably be discovered. The present confession therefore is extorted from him. It is imperfect as it frands, and comes too late. Acts of this nature should be declared at the moment they are done. When they are acknowledged, they should be explained. If Mr. Haftings meant to clear his character, he should have told his employers, at what time he received the money, from whom, and on what account. A late and partial confession can have no object but to anticipate detection. A confesfion, which specifies no particulars, defeats the

the effect of a future discovery. Any transaction of this kind, at any period, will be covered by a previous general acknowledgement of the private receipt of money. For how can it be determined, that any particular fums, which he may hereafter happen to have received, were not included in his general confession?

2d. He has received money, which he is very unwilling to relinquish and afraid to conceal. To entitle him to keep it, he makes out a bill of expences against the Company, which, until this time, he had no intention of charging, and loads it with all the petty items that he can glean from his past accounts, and which, for twelve years together, he had totally overlooked. This he calls a debt justly due to him, and concludes that it will not be disputed by the Directors, since he has found out a private method of discharging it.

3d. Supposing him to expect a future enquiry into the transactions of his Government,

ment, nothing can be of greater moment to him than to create a general prejudice, if he can, in favour of his integrity; especially if the fame evidence, that proves his integrity, has a tendency to excite the compassion of men, and to conciliate their benevolence. Mr. Hastings therefore, in formâ pauperis, is to be represented to the world as a man, who, after all his fervices, retires at last from his great employments with a fortune hardly fufficient to furnish him with the comforts of life; much less to reward him for his labours. The pains taken by his agents, to spread and inculcate a general opinion of his poverty, are well known. But he himself has overacted his purpose. Not contented with professing to have acquired only a moderate fortune, which in a comparative fense might posfibly be allowed, he threatens the Company with the injury, which their interests should suffer, by the example of a life (such as his) doomed on its close to suffer the extremities of private want, and to fink into obscurity!

A Man,

A Man, who pleads extreme poverty when his fortune might fairly have been affluent, and when the legislature intended and provided that it should be so, ought first to shew that he really is as poor as he pretends to be; and fecondly, by what means fo great an income as he has enjoyed can have been honestly as well as compleatly expended. An appeal to the passions before the understanding is satisfied, is suspicious and premature. A plea of diffress, that exceeds all bounds of probability, not only deserves no credit, but argues a confusion in the judgment of the person who makes it. It is true that any artifice, however grofs, may deceive the multitude; but men of penetration will call Mr. Hastings to a fricter account.

4th. The fubstance of this letter is not the only evidence of the disorder and perplexity, in which it appears to have been written. It is said of Mr. Hastings that he writes English with the utmost elegance and perspicuity. If he be not by this time,

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a perfect master of composition, undoubtedly it is not for want of practise. Yet the expressions he makes use of, on a subject that demanded nothing but plain language, are for the most part affected and intricate, and in some places unintelligible. To a common eye, this circumstance proves nothing, men of deeper judgment will combine it with other evidence, and with them it will have its weight. The reader is requested to carry these general ideas along with him through the following discussion.

In the first paragraph Mr. Hastings declares, that he has received various sums privately, a part of which he has heretofore carried to the Company's account, but that he has resolved to apply the remainder to his own use, to reimburse himself for sundry expences, which he had been obliged to incur in their service, but which he had hitherto omitted to charge in his public accounts; and he says he does it now, because his own fortune is unequal to so heavy a charge.

a charge. In the early part of a lucrative government, these voluntary expences were not too heavy for him; but, when he has held it long enough to accumulate a fortune, he can support them no longer, and now he must be reimbursed by the public. His poverty compels him to glean from his past accounts all the little articles of expences which his inaccuracy or indifference halb overlooked. The probable amount of his fortune shall be considered in its place.

It is true, that an extraordinary occasion will sometimes justify a public officer in incurring an extraordinary expence. But, in every instance, the fact and the reasons for it should be immediately reported to his employers, that they may judge for themselves whether such charges are proper, whether they ought to be allowed, and particularly, whether they ought to be continued. On this principle, neglecting to make his charge in proper time precludes him from making it at any time. A Governor, who for several years omits to en-

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ter in his public accounts any incidental expences not provided for by his establishment, or authorized by his superiors, may with reason be suspected to have purposely kept them out of sight during the time when his accounts might have been examined, and when such expences might at least have been prohibited in suture.

Mr. Hastings foreseeing that his claim might be subject to difficulties, if he really left it to the Court of Directors, very prudently resolved to reimburse himself. He receives money privately, without discovering from whom, or on what account, and he pays himself out of it, and this he calls a mode most suitable to the Company's affairs.

In the first place, his receiving money privately, on any account, is positively against law, and against the very law, which created his office, and made him what he was. In a man so trusted, disobedience is breach of trust, and the importance of the trust is the measure of the crime.

Secondly,

Secondly, There is not a native of Bengal either willing or able to give Mr. Haftings money, without an adequate fervice in return of fome fort or other, which can only be rendered at the Company's expence. A Zemindar will readily give one lack of rupees to a Collector to be excufed two in his rent. It refts with Mr. Haftings or his friends to shew, what possible motive, but a corrupt one, could engage any native to give him money privately.

Thirdly, Since Mr. Hastings, by his own confession, is in the habit of receiving money privately, how are the Directors to know whether he has confessed all that he had received? It is plain that he can conceal the amount of his receipts if he pleases. In his letter of the 16th. December 1782, he tells the Directors, that "he "could have concealed these transactions" (viz. some others of the same sort) "if he had "a wrong motive, from theirs and the "public eye for ever." Receiving money against law is not an indifferent action in a Governor.

Governor. If he had no wrong motive, what motive had he? And what was the view or expectation of the person, who gave it? Would any man of common understanding fuffer his steward to receive money privately among his tenants under the pretence of paying himself in a mode most suitable to his master's affairs? or would he be fatisfied with fuch an account as Mr. Haftings has given the Directors? In a trust of the lowest order, such conduct would be deemed a fufficient evidence of fraud. Much less is it to be endured in a man, in whose integrity the legislature have placed a diffinguished confidence, and who, standing high himfelf, is looked up to as an ex-The eminence of his station makes it effentially bis duty to fet a good example to those, who are under his authority and subject to his influence. Can he check in others the abuses he commits? Can he punish offences, of which he himfelf is guilty?

Fourthly, If this mode of discharging the Company's debts be the most suitable to their affairs, what are we to conclude, but that their affairs are in extreme diffress? A government, whose annual revenue is stated at four millions, cannot defray an extra expence required to enable the Governor to execute the duties of his station, unless he receives money privately. Retrenchments, economy, and good management, are the courses, which every state ought to purfue for the recovery of its affairs. Receiving bribes to support extravagance cannot last long and must be the ruin of the government. Every man in office under Mr. Hastings might act as he has done, make use of the same pretences, and plead his example for it. Finally, supposing the distress of the Company's affairs to be a justification of fuch practifes, it ought not to be one in Bengal, fince Mr. Haftings himfelf,\* very lately affured the Directors that, " it had been the distinguished lot of the " lands immediately subject to the govern-

<sup>\* 16</sup>th December, 1783.

"ment, over which he presided, to have enjoyed the clear and uninterrupted fun"fhine of wealth, peace, and abundance, and to have dealt out a portion of these blessings to remote states and members of the British dominions."—He might have called it moonshine with greater propriety.

Of the five accounts of difbursements now produced by Mr. Hastings, it may be observed in general, that there is not one, of which the Board at Calcutta was not as competent to judge as himself; and the chief of them, viz. for a Mahomedan academy, ought to have been previously recommended to the Court of Directors, and their sanction obtained before the scheme was undertaken.

Lieutenant Colonel Ironside, as Military Secretary, had no claim to extraordinary pay from the Company on account of his superior rank, nor does it appear that he made any. Establishments are useless, if such precedents are admitted. On the British staff, the pay of Secretary to the Commander in chief is ten shillings a day, and,

and, whether the duty be done by an Enfign or Field-Officer, never varies.

The fecond account containing a charge of nearly 15,000l. for disbursements in his office of Governor-General, viz. hire of clerks, stationary, &c. &c. The only offices, in which the Governor-General acts diftinctly from the Council, are those of the Persian correspondence and military command in Fort William. For the first, there is a compleat establishment under the Perfian Translator, and a Military Secretary for the business of the second, who, with all their petty disbursements, are liberally provided for by the Company. As to stationary, the Company fend out immense quantities of it every year for the use of all the public offices at Calcutta. It is not unlikely that Mr. Hastings' accounts and correspondence may be voluminous; but he has no right to load the Company with the expence of an office for the management of his private affairs.

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The third charge for house-rent to his Aids de Camp will appear unbecoming as well as irregular in Mr. Hastings, if it be considered that the Company, as a mark of personal respect to him, allowed him to enjoy a house both in town and country rent-free, and that he accommodated himself with another house in Calcutta at their expence and without their permission.

No. 4. In this account, the first article feems too pitiful to be charged by a man, who receives twenty-five thousand pounds a year from the Company. The fecond, if proper, ought to have been provided for by the board at Calcutta. Mr. Hastings first indulges his vanity in having it understood that all these services are accomplished at his own expence, that he is the promoter of learning and patron of men of letters, and that he fcorns to carry fuch charges to the Company's account. When this fort of oftentation has answered its purpose, he Tuddenly turns short upon the Company and infifts upon their defraying the charges he has

has been put to in acquiring a reputation of generofity. It is the perfection of prudence, to be reputed bountiful and to make others pay for it.

With respect to his Mahomedan academy, there was nothing fo very preffing in the want of it, especially in time of war and in the midst of public distress, but that it might have waited for the approbation of the Court of Directors, on whom at that very time he was drawing bills to the amount of feveral millions sterling. That he may have erected a building for an academy is not unlikely, because a building fuppoles a contract, and a contract makes the fortune of a contractor. But that he has done it at his own immediate cost is evidently untrue. He fays himself that a Company's interested note bas been granted him for the reimbursement of it. Now it cannot be faid that a man, who lends his money on a bond bearing eight per cent. interest, is either immediately or ultimately at the expence of any work, to which the money fo

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fo lent may be applied. He has placed himself on a footing with the other creditors of the Company, who have lent their money on the fame fecurity and received the same interest for it that he does. But what are the sciences taught in the Mahomedan schools? Can he name any one Mussulman or European who has studied in this academy? Where did they study in the two years before the building was erected? What proof has he that this academy was likely to answer the end of it's institution, and why has he produced none? In short, who is there that ever heard of his academy before?-The decayed remains of these schools are yet to be seen in the principal cities of Indostan! This indeed is true. Whereever the British dominion has extended, the ruins of ancient establishments are the only traces that are left of them. The greater part of Mr. Haftings's political life has been employed in promoting wars, in the Company's name, by which India, though not conquered, has been utterly laid waste. But it feems that this academy has already contributed

tributed to extend the credit of the Company's name and to soften the prejudices excited by the rapid growth of the British dominions! The Company's name is fufficiently known in the There was no occasion to do any thing to extend it. But, if the universal devastation and ruin of their country have excited prejudices against us in the minds of the natives of India, of whom ninety-nine in an hundred are Hindoos, it may be doubted, whether they will be much foftened by the institution of a Mahomedan academy at Calcutta. Is it already a confolation to all the nations from Cape Comorin to Surat, whose country has been the feat of war, or to the wretched inhabitants of the Carnatic who may have furvived the defolation of their country, that Mr. Hastings has erected an academy at Calcutta? After carrying fire and fword into every quarter of India, where it was possible for our armies to penetrate, does he think that the institution of a school compensates for all the havock he has made, or repairs. all the mischief he has done?-Absurdity is not incompatible with cunning. A manwho

who is fure of his audience, may hold what language he thinks fit.

Mr. Hastings says it was not possible for bim to bave been influenced, in incurring these expences, by any purpose of his own interest. The truth of this proposition is not felfevident; and, if it were, it would be no reason for carrying them to the Company's account. Who can determine that there is no profit on expenditures made without authority, for which he reimburfes himfelf, and for which no vouchers are produced? As to his motive for doing what he had no fort of right to do, whether it was pride, or vanity, or oftentation, is immaterial. He, who thinks fuch a question worth discusfing, must be passionately fond of talking of himself.

On the three articles, of which the account of No. 4 is composed, one general remark occurs. He begins his letter with afferting, that the sums, which he had accasion to disburse were for services required to enable bim to execute the duties of his station.

But how the entertainment of learned Muffulmen, or the inflitution of an academy have been necessary for that purpose, is a mystery, which he has prudently abandoned to the conjectures of the Court of Directors.

He candidly confesses that, when he first engaged both in this and the preceding expences, be had no intention of carrying it to the account of the Company. At that time be was improvident for bimself. At that time, the exercise of his faculties was undisturbed. He confined all his regards to his public character, and reckoned on a fund of years for its duration. If, by this last mysterious expression, it be meant that he depended on continuing many years in office, his expectation has not been disappointed. He has no right to fay or infinuate, that he has not been allowed fufficient time to provide for the establishment of his fortune notwithstanding the carelessness and improvidence, with which he at first neglected his prospects of futurity. Supposing this

to be his meaning, the affertion is intelligible, though not true. The words, in which he involves it, express nothing but nonfense.

But now, it feems, all the preceding circumstances are reversed. The infirmities of life bave fince succeeded. His bodily strength is impaired, and the powers of mind he once possessed decay along with it. If it be of any use to him to prove, that he has lost his understanding, the present letter may answer his purpose. He has even lost his style, and cannot write plain English. Who ever heard of a man's discharging the hard vicistitudes of his station, or calling the latter part of his own life his prospects of futurity? or of an interested note for a bond bearing interest? Taking every thing for granted that he has faid of himself, let us see what conclusion he has drawn from the premises. Why, this change in his condition compels him to depart from that liberal plan, which be originally adopted. Did he expect to be immortal, or to continue in the government

to the end of his life, or that age would not affect his health, or impair his faculties? Disappointed in his expectations, whatever they were, he now finds himself compelled to claim from the justice of the Directors the discharge of a debt. It is not an equitable appeal to their generofity but the positive demand of a debt strictly due to him. To gratify his own pride (for pride he admits) and without any intention of charging the Company with fuch expences, he gives falaries to learned men, translates a book, and founds an academy. In process of time, he finds his health and faculties fo much impaired, that he is compelled to infift on being reimburfed, and he demands it as his right. Such is the foundation of his claim and immediate motive for making it. A debt, fo claimed, ought to be proved. Mr. Hastings contents himself with saying, I can, with the most scrupulous integrity, aver it to be justly my due. But in truth whether his appeal be to their justice or their generosity, is of no sort of moment, where he has previously resolved to reimburse himself whether F

whether the Directors approve of it or not.

He supposes it may be objected that the allowance of these demands would furnish a precedent for others, of the like kind. If the debt be justly due to him, the payment of it can furnish no precedent injurious to the Company. Debts, justly due, must at all times be paid, whether with or without a precedent. But, supposing these claims of his to be fuch, as the Directors are at liberty to deny if they think proper, the objection then is a strong one, and he has not answered it. It is a dangerous precedent indeed, to suffer any man in a public trust to run up a private bill without the confent or knowledge of his employers, and at the end of twelve years to infift upon their paying it. But this it feems is not dangerous; or, if it be, their interest would suffer less by the precedent than by a single example of a life spent in the accumulation of crores for their benefit, and doomed in its close to suffer the extremities of private want and fink in obfourity!

fcurity! This indeed is a melancholy conclusion, and possibly might make an impression on the benevolent hearts of the Directors, if he had not before affured them (in his letter of the 20th of January 1782) that his office had at least enabled him to lay up a provision with which he could be contented in a more bumble flation; and if he had not, in another letter dated 11th November 1773, declared, that a very few years possession of the government would undoubtedly enable him to retire with a fortune amply fitted to the meafure of his defires.\* If it should now appear that Mr. Hastings's services and circumstances are fuch as he describes them, his necessities may deserve to be considered. That question is material, and shall be examined by itself.

He concludes his account with a charge of about fix thousand pounds sterling for boats provided by him for his own use. If bis predecessors have always had an establish-

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<sup>\*</sup> Vide Appendix to 5th Report of Sec. Com. No. 5.

ment of this kind provided for them, he ought to have been contented with it. The indulgence of personal vanity is endless, when others are to pay for it. But it feems thefe boats are superior in convenience and elegance to any that Mr. Hastings has yet seen. The Proprietors of India stock will be happy to hear it. Their fervant affures them that his boats have been furnished with a cost, which would not be credited by those, who have feen the subjects of it. Mr. Hastings's friends have often boasted the simplicity of his manners, and he himself professes to carry it even to bumility. In one of his narratives, he fays, " the Raja of Benares left his capital with a large retinue; but, " hearing that I came unattended, he dif-" missed his followers and met me with a " state as bumble as mine."

But, alas! the infirmities of life have fucceeded, and his faculties are impaired by them!

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These demands, put together, form an object by no means inconsiderable. Under five heads only, the amount of what he calls little articles of expence gleaned from his past accounts is current rupees 3.36.220; or very nearly thirty four thousand pounds sterling.

The probable fituation of his fortune remains to be confidered. They, who have hitherto infifted most on the moderate amount of it, have at all times allowed him to possess about seventy or eighty thousand pounds, which they truly afferted was a fmall fortune for a man fo long in the government of Bengal, and fo much longer in lucrative employments. All the principal offices in the Company's fervice are lucrative. In the present letter, Mr. Hastings reduces himself to positive and absolute beg. gary, though his life has been fpent in the accumulation of crores for the Company. The fecond part of this proposition is just as true as the first. If so many millions have been accumulated, where are they? Since CHECKE

Since the year 1777 he has drawn upon the Directors for many millions sterling and incurred a heavy bonded debt in Bengal. In the same period, bills have been drawn and debts incurred to the amount of several millions more at Fort St. George and Bombay, and properly the whole ought to be placed to the account of Mr. Hastings the contriver and author of the Maratta war. A calculation of these accumulations is stated in the Appendix.

He now wishes it to be understood that, while he was accumulating so many millions for the Company, he has totally neglected his private fortune. Whether he did or not, the fact is, that his fortune was amply provided for by his appointments. Let it be supposed for a moment, that he had no share in the bounty of Cossim Ally Cawn, who is pretty well known to have distributed twenty lacks of rupees among some persons of Mr. Hastings's acquaintance; that he got nothing by the deposition of Meer Jassier in 1760, or that he lost it again

again in a commercial speculation; that he faved nothing while he was second in council at Madrass, and in short that he was not worth a shilling when he was appointed to the government of Bengal. Since that time, twelve years and a half have elapsed, in which his avowed receipts and visible expences, being estimated and compared, will shew what he is or ought to be worth at present. With respect to the annexed statements of the credit due to them, it is to be observed

1st. That he is not charged with any receipts beyond his falary, except a lack and a half of rupees received from Munny Begum, which never was disputed.

2d. That his falary, as limited by Act of Parliament in 1773, to £.25,000 was always reckoned to be less that the profits of his place as they stood before.

3d. That house rent, the principal article of expence in Bengal, was defrayed for

for him. He had three houses (two in Calcutta and one in the country) rented, furnished, and kept in repair by the Company, who are also at the charge of the general entertainments, to which the Governor invites the settlement three or four times a year. So that, out of his great salary, he had literally nothing to provide for but his table, equipage, private servants, and personal expences. In these, by all accounts, there was no appearance of extravagance. Eight thousand current rupees a month is a liberal allowance for them. It would be difficult to shew how they could possibly amount to that sum.

4th. The salaries of the Governor and Council are paid to them in Bengal, at one shilling and nine pence half-penny the current rupee; but, by an established indulgence of the Company to their servants, when they remit their fortunes back again by bills on the Directors, the treasury at Fort William receives the current rupee at two shillings and a penny and sometimes higher, which gives them a profit of three pence

pence halfpenny on every rupee fo reamitted.

5th. The first statement supposes him not to have improved his growing capital, by putting any part of it out at lawful interest.—The second supposes him to have improved his savings at simple interest only. The third supposes him to have improved them, as he might fairly and honestly have done, at compound interest. In the first case his present fortune ought to be

£261,265.

In the 2d.——£303,418, 3.

In the 3d.——£425,226, 4.

Mr. Hastings, if he has availed himself of all these advantages except the present from Munny Begum, has done nothing that he was not fairly intitled to do. There may be objections to these estimates, but none that will materially reduce the total. Much less can any deductions be reasonably made

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from the amount, that will leave him in danger of fuffering the extremities of private want. For any thing that appears to the contrary to the public eye, a medium of the three totals, viz. £329,969. 155. 8d. ought to be taken for a fair and moderate estimate of his actual fortune. If not, what has he done with it? It is true that he talks of his inaccuracy, and would willingly be thought a man careless about money matters. But we have the evidence of the contrary before us. He has kept an exact account of the minutest articles of expence, and even of his charities.

There is another way of estimating his fortune, which would encrease it considerably; that is, if he were to be debited with the sums which he has been accused of receiving, or even with those which he has acknowledged.

In March 1775 he was charged by the unfortunate Raja Nandcomar with the receipt

receipt of various fums paid to him by the Raja to the amount of funaut rupees 2,54,105, or about £, 36,000. The accuser not only specified all manner of particulars, but came forward, at every possible perfonal hazard, to make good his charge. If it was false, it was at once the most daring and abfurd falsehood that ever was attempted. Dolus in generalibus versatur-Falsehood never descends to particulars. The Raja however was instantly hanged, and his charge, whether true or false, must be dismissed out of this account. At prefent, it is not meant to infift on any thing, but what Mr. Haftings himself has acknowledged. In his letter to the Directors dated 22d of May 1782, but not dispatched from Calcutta until the 16th of December following, he gives them an account of various fums occasionally. converted to the Company's property through his means, amounting at that time to nineteen lack and a half of current rupees, or £195,000, all which, he fays, he has carried to the Company's credit. But, of

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this fum, he admits that he had taken their bonds at eight per cent. for four lacks and fix thousand rupees, and that he had credit in the account of deposits in the Company's treasury for 2,38,715 rupees more, which he might have called for when he would, and received on demand. If the money was their own, he had no right to take a fecurity for it. He could have no right to lend them their own money at interest. Or,-fupposing it possible to invent a pretence, for this course of proceeding, or admitting, as he fays, that he possibly acted without any studied design which his memory could at that distance of time verify, the bonds ought to have been cancelled long ago. which it is not known that he has done. In his poffession, they are a legal fecurity to him and his heirs, and as long as they exist make part of his fortune. The remaining thirteen lacks are faid to be expended in Durbar charges, which confift chiefly of bounties and prefents made by Government and of fecret fervices only known

known to the Governor. Of these no judgment can be formed unless the particulars were produced.

It is to be prefumed that, when Mr. Haftings' Letter and the preceding Remarks upon it are coolly and impartially confidered, no rational being can believe, that he is really in that state of penury and diffress, which he describes. There is no degree of human credulity, that will reach to fuch a belief. And yet it may possibly be true that his fortune is not fo confiderable as apparently it ought to be. He may have appropriated large fums to fervices, not proper to be explained, that is, to the support of his interest in England. On that presumption, his poverty becomes criminal in whatever degree the supposition makes it credible. If he has wasted his fortune to obtain protection, the inference is plain,-that his actions required interest and favour to protect them, and that his

his poverty arises from his success in corrupting the integrity of persons whose trust and station gave them power to support him.

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### APPENDIT

## APPENDIX, No. I.

e and a time differe of time verify;

Extract of a letter from Warren Hastings, Esq. to the Court of Directors, dated 22d of May, 1782, but not dispatched until the 16th of December following.

e objecte the tame means with the refl

"WHY these sums were taken by me; why they were, except the second, quietly transferred to the Company's use; why bonds were taken for the first, and not for the rest, might, were this matter to be exposed to the view of the Public, furnish a variety of conjectures to which it would be of little use to reply. Were your Honourable Court to question me on these points, I would answer, that the sums were taken for the Company's benefit, at times in which the Company very much needed them; that I either

" chose to conceal the first receipts from " the public curiofity, by receiving bonds " for the amount; or possibly acted with-" out any studied design which my memory " could at this distance of time verify; and " that I did not think it worth my care to " observe the same means with the rest. "I trust, Honourable Sirs, to your breasts. " for a candid interpretation of my actions. " and assume the freedom to add, that I

" fuch an occasion, entitled to it."

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Court of Directors, dated 16th December, 1782.

" think myself, on such a subject, and on

" Honourable Sirs,

"THE dispatch of the Lively having been " protracted, by various causes, from time " to time, the accompanying address, which " was originally defigned and prepared for " that dispatch, (no other conveyance since " occuring) has of course been thus long " detained.

detained. The delay is of no public con-" fequence; but it has produced a fitua-" tion, which, with respect to myself, I " regard as unfortunate, because it exposes " me to the meanest imputation, from the " occasion, which the late Parliamentary " enquires have fince furnished, but which " were unknown when my letter was " written, and written in the necessary con-" fequence of a promise, made to that effect " in a former letter to your Honourable " Committee, dated 20th January last. " However, to preclude the possibility of " fuch reflections from affecting me, I " have defired Mr. Larkins, who was " privy to the whole transaction, to affix " to the letter his affidavit of the date in " which it was written. I own I feel most " fenfibly the mortification of being re-" duced to the necessity of using such pre-" cautions to guard my reputation from " dishonour. If I had, at any time, pos-" fessed that degree of confidence from my " immediate employers, which they never withheld from the meanest of my pre-H 2 decessors,

" decessors, I should have disdained to use " these attentions. How I have drawn on " me a different treatment I know not: it " is fufficient that I have not merited it; " and in the course of a service of thirty-" two years, and ten of these employed in " maintaining the powers, and discharging " the duties of the first office of the British "Government in India, that Honourable " Court ought to know whether I poffess " the integrity and honour, which are the " first requisites of such a station. If I " wanted these, they have afforded me but " too powerful incentives to suppress the " information, which I now convey to " them through you; and to appropriate " to my own use the sums, which I have " already passed to their credit, by the un-" worthy, and pardon me if I add dangerous reflections which they have passed " upon me, for the first communication of " this kind; and your own experience will " fuggest to you, that there are persons, " who would profit by fuch a warning.

"Upon the whole of these transactions, which to you, who are accustomed to view business in an official and regular light, may appear unprecedented, if not improper, I have but a few short remarks to suggest to your consideration. If I appear in any unfavourable light by these transactions, I resign the common and legal security of those who commit crimes, or errors. I am ready to answer every particular question, that may be put against myself, upon honour, or up-

"The fources, from which these reliefs to the public service have come, would never have yielded them to the Company publickly; and the exigencies of your fervice (exigencies created by the exposition of your affairs and faction in your Councils) required those supplies.

"I could have concealed them, had I a
"wrong motive, from yours and the public
eye for ever; and I know that the dif"ficulties,

"ficulties, to which a spirit of injustice may
"fubject me, for my candour and avowal,
"are greater than any possible incon"venience that could have attended the
"concealment, except the distaits faction of
"my own mind. These difficulties are
but a few of those, which I have suffered
in your service. The applause of my
own breast is my surest reward, and was
the support of my mind in meeting
them; your applause and that of my
country, are my next wish in life.

I have the Honour to be, &c.

## WARREN HASTINGS."

N.B. It is very material to observe that Mr. Hastings, who, as he himself affirms, "has " at no time possessed that degree of consideration of the himself affirms immediate employers, "which they never withheld from the "meanest of his predecessors," has nevertheless received the unanimous thanks of those immediate employers, viz. the Court of Directors, for his long, able, and faithful fervices,

fervices. It feems also very necessary that Mr. Hashings should state to the Company, whom it is that he means to describe by the words " the meanest of bis predecessors," was it Governor Cartier, or Mr. Verelst, or Mr. Van Sittart, or does he mean the late Lord Clive?

## APPENDIX No. II.

Extracts from the eleventh Report of the Select Committee, on the Subject of the preceding Letters.

- "WHATEVER the cause of these new
- " discoveries (made by Mr. Hastings) might
- " have been, at the time of fending them,
- " the fact of the Parliamentary enquiry
- " was publickly known, for, in his letter;
- " of the 15th of December, 1782, he ex-
- " pressly mentions his fears, that those

- " Parliamentary enquiries might be thought
  - " to have extorted from him the con-
- " fessions which he had made.
- " He fays that in all the long period of
- is his fervice, he has almost unremittedly
- " wanted the support, which all his pre-
- " decessors had enjoyed from their con-
- " stituents. From mine (fays be) I have
- " received nothing but reproach, hard epi-
- " thets and indignities, instead of rewards
- " and encouragement."

What Mr. Hastings says further on this subject, is no less worthy of attention; vizthat be could have concealed these transactions, if he had a wrong motive, from theirs and the public eye for ever. It is undoubtedly true that, whether the observation be applicable to the particular case or not, practises of this corrupt nature are extremely difficult of detection any where, but especially in India. But all restraints upon that grand fundamental abuse of presents is gone for ever, if the servants of the Company

can derive fafety from a defiance of the law, when they can no longer hope to fcreen themselves by an evasion of it. All hope of reformation is at an end, if, confiding in the force of a faction among Directors or Proprietors, to bear them out, and possibly to vote them the fruit of their crimes as a reward of their discovery, they find that their bold avowal of their offences is not only to produce indemnity, but to be rated for merit. If once a prefumption is admitted, that wherever fomething is divulged, nothing is hid, the discovering of one offence may become the certain means of concealing a multitude of others. The contrivance is easy and trivial, and lies open to the meanest proficient in this kind of art: it will not only become an effectual cover to fuch practices, but will tend infinitely to increase them. In that case, sums of money will be taken for the purpose of difcovery and making merit with the Company; and other fums will be taken for the private advantage of the receiver.

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## Extract from the Eleventh Report, page 13.

HE professes not to be certain of the motives, by which he was himself actuated in fo extraordinary a concealment, and in the use of such extraordinary means to effect it: And, as if the acts in question were those of an absolute stranger, and not his own, he gives various loofe conjectures concerning the motive to them. He even supposes, in taking prefents contrary to law, and in taking bonds for them as his own, contrary to what he admits to be truth and fact, that he might have afted without any distinct motive at all, or at least such as his memory could reach at that distance of time. That immense distance, in the faintness of which, his recollection is fo compleatly lost, as to fet him guesfing at his motives for his own conduct, was from the fifteenth of January, 1781, when the bonds at his own request were given, to the

the date of this letter which is the 22d May, 1782, that is to fay, about one year and four months. As to the other fums, for which no bond was taken, the ground for the difference in his explanation is still more extraordinary; he fays, "I did not think it worth my care to ob- ferve the same means with the rest."

The rest of these sums, which were not worth his care, are stated in his account to be greater than those he was so solicitous (for some reason which he cannot guess) to cover under bonds. These sums amount to near 53,000l. whereas the others did not much exceed 40,000l.

THE MANAGEMENT AND STREET

12

## APPENDIX, No. III.

#### STATEMENT, No. 1.

Without Interest.

Amount of Salary received in Bengal from April 1772 to December 1784, is twelve Years and nine Months at £25,000 per Annum, and one Shilling and nine-pence half-penny per current Rupee, is

C. Rs. 35,58,142

Received from Munny Begum - 1,74,000
37,32,142

#### DEDUCT

Amount of Expences at 8000 crs.

per Month for twelve Years

nine Months, is - - - - 12,24,000

Remains current Rupees - 25,08,142

Which at two Shillings and one penny per current Rupee is £261,265

## STATEMENT, No. 2.

With simple Interest.

Allowance of £25,000 per Annum received in Bengal at 15. 9d. 1 per current Rupee Crs. 279,070 Deduct 8000 Rupees per Month for Expences - -96,000 Remains annual Savings Crs. 183,070 Of this annual Refidue, allow one half to be remitted to Europe, which at 5 per Cent. simple Interest has increased, viz. Crs. 183,070-half is 91,535-remitted at 2s. Id. per. Crs. is £,9534, 18s. for ten Years - - - £95,349 Ten Years Interest at 5 per C. is 4767 5 £100,116 Add the two first Years Residue on which no Interest is calculated - - 19069 Ditto last 9 Months allowances, do. deducting 9 Months expences 19450 138,636 I The other half (Crs. 91535) remained in Bengal at 10 per Cent. Interest -eleven Years Principal is -- 1006,885

(Crs. 91535) eleven Years
Interest at 10 per Cent. - 100,688 8

Crs. 11,07,573 8

Add one Year's Refidue
without Interest - 91,535

11,99,108 8 which at 2s. 1d. per Crs. is 1,24,907 2

Munny Begums 174000 Crs. for 12 Years at 10 per Cent. per Ann. 208800 is 3,82,800 which at 2s. 6d. per current Rupee is 39,875

£3,03,418 3 0

## STATEMENT, No. 3.

With compound Interest.

Allowance of £25,000 per Annum received in Bengal at 18. 9d. 2 per current Rupee - Crs. 279,070 Deduct 8000 Rupees per Month for Expences 96,000 Remains annual Savings Crs. 183,070 Of this annual Refidue, allow one half to be remitted to Europe, which at 5 per Cent. compound Interest has increased, viz. Crs. 183,070-half is 91535 remitted at 2s. 1d. per Crs. is £9534, 18s. Ten Years is - - - - £.95,349 0 Ten Years compound Interest at 5 per Cent. is . 30576 5 1.125925 Add two Years and a half Refidue, without Interest - 19069 16 And last 9 Months allowance do 19450 6 164445 7 The other half (Crs. 91535) remained in Bengal at 10 per Cent. Interest-eleven Years Principal is Crs. 10,06,885 Eleven Years compound Interest at 10 per Cent. 8,58,989 14 9 18,65,874 14 9 Add one Year's Refidue without Interest Crs. 19,57,409 14 9 which, at 2s. 1d. percurrent Rupee is 203896 17 Munny Begums - Crs. 174,000 at 10 per Cent. per Ann. compound Interest for twelve Years is -- 372,086 Crs. 5,46,086 7 which at 2s. 1d. per current Rupee is 56884 0 £425226 4

## APPENDIX, No. IV.

Statement of the Crores of Rupees, or Millions Sterling, accumulated by Mr. Haftings, for the Benefit of the East-India Company. Currt. Rups. Balance in the Treasury of Bengal at the commencement of the Maratta war, as stated by Mr. Hastings himself in his minute of 10th August, 1778 - - - 2,35,66,000 Cheyte Sing-his extra-contribution - - - - - -10,16,000 Drafts on the Court of Directors from the different Presidencies since the commencement of the Marratta war, computed moderately at fix millions sterling - -600,00,000 Money borrowed upon bond at 8 and 9 per Cent. interest at the three Presidencies 515,99,910 Arrears due at the several Prefidencies - - - - - -381,60,270

Carried over, Curr'. Rup'. 1743,42,180

Brought over, Curr. Rup. 1743,42,180
\*Orders on the Treasury of
Fort William unpaid, by
the latest accounts - - - 116,58,891

Total—Current Rupees 1860,01,071

That is—Eighteen millions, fix hundred thousand pounds sterling.

"N. B. \* No similar accounts of Orders on the Treasuries of Fort St. George and Bombay have been received by the Court of Directors, and therefore cannot be inserted in this Statement, though the amount must be considerable."

It is material to observe that, besides the expenditure of these extraordinary supplies, all the current revenues of Bengal in the same period amounting, communibus annis, to sour million sterling a year, have been absorbed; and that whereas, in the year 1776, there was a clear surplus of revenue (exclusive of the produce of any monopoly of salt or opium, of current rupees 129,91,547 applicable to the provision of

an investment, or to any other purpose the Court of Directors might think fit,—The expences, by Mr. Hastings's means, have since that time been raised to such an amount that they greatly exceed the refources, as the following statement will shew.

By the Bengal estimates it appears that, in the three years ending the 1st May 1786, the disbursements exceed the resources as follows,

1st year ending May 1784 by cur. rupees 56,21,690 2d — May 1785 — 149,01,433 3d — May 1786 — 116,46,715

It follows therefore that, if the surplus of 1776 be added to the deficiency of 1786, there will appear and does exist a failure in the annual resources of Bengal compared with its expences, to the amount of current rupees 246,38,262. In other words, the Company's income in Bengal, compared with their expences, was better in the year 1776 than it is in the year 1786, by above two millions, four hundred and fixty three thousand pounds sterling per annum.

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## APPENDIX, No. V.

A P. P. N. D. I.K.

Extract of a Letter from Warren Hastings, Esq. to William Devaynes, Esq. dated the 11th of July, 1785.

" ALTHOUGH I am firmly perfuaded, " that these were my sentiments on the " occasion, yet I will not affirm that they " were. Though I feel their impression, " as the remains of a series of thoughts re-" tained on my memory, I am not certain " that they may not have been produced by " fubsequent reflection on the principal " fact, combining with it the probable mo-" tive of it. Of this I am certain, that it " was my defign to have concealed the " receipt of all the fums, except the fecond, " even from the knowledge of the Court " of Directors. They had answered my " purpose of public utility, and I had al-" most totally dismissed them from my cc re-

remembrance. But when fortune threw a fum in my way of a magnitude which could not be concealed, and the peculiar delicacy of my fituation, at the time in which I received it, made me more circumfpect of appearances, I chose to appear prise my employers of it."

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APPENDIK

e comb seek. But when from a liver a fum in my way of a usep hude which colicies are for contacting and the peculiar delicate of my hitzarion, at the time in the first of the made more one

#### ERRATA.

Page 1, read, In a mode the most suitable to the situation of your affairs.

Page 15, line 6, instead of happen, read appear.

Page 42, line the last; read Nuncomar.