

R E P O R T

FROM THE

S E L E C T C O M M I T T E E

A P P O I N T E D B Y

T H E H O U S E O F C O M M O N S,

ASSEMBLED AT WESTMINSTER IN THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE THIRTEENTH  
PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN,

T O E N Q U I R E I N T O

T H E N A T U R E, S T A T E, A N D C O N D I T I O N

O F T H E

E A S T I N D I A C O M P A N Y,

A N D O F T H E

B R I T I S H A F F A I R S I N T H E E A S T I N D I E S.

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A P P O I N T E D T O E N Q U I R E I N T O

T H E N A T U R E , S T A T E , A N D C O N D I T I O N

O F T H E

E A S T - I N D I A C O M P A N Y ,

A N D O F T H E

B r i t i s h A f f a i r s i n t h e E A S T - I N D I E S .

**T**H E Committee have found it impossible, with their utmost diligence, to go through the multiplicity of matter, which the order of the House comprehends; and they, besides, have thought themselves obliged to depart from the regular course of their enquiry, in order to make a distinct and separate report, upon the petition of Gregore Cojamaul, late of Bengal, in the East-Indies, on behalf of himself and others, which the House referred to them by a subsequent order.

Notwithstanding the business of your Committee has been by this circumstance, and by the insufficiency of the time, left incomplete; yet as the session, as they apprehend, is drawing to a conclusion, and as every part of their enquiry is full of important matter, they thought it right to report the progress they have hitherto been enabled to make.

Your Committee beg leave to premise, that, for the regularity of their enquiry, and in order to give the clearest state of it to the House, they thought it expedient to arrange their proceedings under the following heads:

1st. The several charters granted to the East-India Company, with the acts of parliament respecting the same; and also, the grants and treaties which have subsisted between the Company and the Powers in India, from their first establishment to the present time.

2dly. The Commissions, and other instruments, by which the Company authorized and empowered their servants to carry on their affairs in India.

3dly. To pursue, by historical deduction, the state of affairs in India, the manner in which the present possessions in that country were acquired, and the different transactions attending those acquisitions; beginning with the transactions of Bengal, and dividing them into three periods; viz. from the establishment of the present Company to the completion of the Revolution, in the year 1757; from thence to the assuming the Dewanny in the year 1765; and from thence to the present time; and in each period respectively to state the situation of the Company's affairs, and the material parts of the conduct of the Company's servants, with respect to the powers intrusted with them by the Company, in the civil and military departments; in the administration of justice; in the accepting of presents; in the management of trade; and in the revenues and coinage.

4thly. The various disputes with foreign Companies since the year 1765.

5thly. The conduct of the Directors at home, during all the periods comprehended in this enquiry, respectively, to the different powers exercised at any time by them; to the manner of keeping and checking public accounts at home and abroad; to the controul of their servants; and to the abuses to which the whole, or any part, of the East India affairs is liable, from defects in the constitution of the Company, when applied to their present situation at home and abroad.

Pursuant to the above plan, your Committee proceeded to read such charters and acts of parliament as are applicable to their enquiry; all of which are in the possession of the House, and a schedule of them is annexed, in the Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 1.

The copies of commission, and instruments from the Company to their servants, are included in the above number of the appendix.

Your Committee would not presume to state to the House the constitution of the East-India Company, without the most critical and minute examination of each charter and act of Parliament; and they could not, in the space of time allotted them, enter upon so great a work, which may be taken up hereafter and stated from the materials referred to in the appendix.

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Your Committee proceeded to enquire into the nature and extent of the privileges and powers claimed in Bengal by the Company, under Grants and Firmaunds from the Princes of the country; copies of which, for the information of the House, are annexed in the Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 2.

Your Committee not finding traces of any very material disturbances in the enjoyment of those privileges and powers in Bengal, from the first establishment of the Company, to the death of Alli Ver di Cawn, in the year 1756, applied themselves to discover the causes of the troubles which ensued soon after that event, and brought on the loss of Calcutta; and for this purpose, your Committee read the consultations and correspondence marked in the Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 3.

To the same purpose your Committee called Charles Manningham, Esquire.

Your Committee think proper, in this place, to state to the House, that they have not been able for want of time to extract from their minutes the state of facts so succinctly as they would otherwise have done; and therefore they are under the necessity of laying before the House, in this and every other part of their proceedings, the evidence almost in the manner they received it.

Charles Manningham, Esquire, informed your Committee, That in the year 1756, he was Third in Council, and Warehouse Keeper at Calcutta, and next to Mr. Drake upon the spot; that he thinks it is not in the power of any man to assign the reason for the origin of the troubles, and knows of no part of the conduct of the Company's servants at Calcutta, that could incense the government; that the troubles commenced in June 1756.—Alli Ver di Cawn, the Predecessor of Serajah Dowla, died about the April preceding; that Serajah Dowla had always the character of a rash, vicious young man; and it was supposed the first occasion of his coming against Calcutta was, that he was tempted by the idea of the place being likely to afford great plunder; that the first accounts the Factory had of his ill intentions towards them, was the beginning of June 1756.

Being questioned as to what he knew of offence taken by the Nabob, in regard to protection given by the English to one Kiffindafs; he said, that Mr. Drake was governor of the settlement, and Mr. Watts was chief of Cossimbuzar, and believes, that Kiffindafs was at that time in the Dacca part of the country; that Mr. Watts wrote to Mr. Drake, to suffer Kiffindafs to land at Calcutta, in his way to Muxadavad, by way of refreshment, as his family had been useful to the English; that as Mr. Drake was absent at the time Mr. Watts's letter arrived, the letter was sent under cover to the witness to be opened, and he is not quite sure whether that period was before or after the death of Alli Ver di Cawn; that Kiffindafs landed at Calcutta accordingly; that he never saw him, and that when Mr. Drake arrived a few days after, he delivered him the letter.

The witness said, He was upon the spot when Serajah Dowla came down, and believes Kiffindafs was not then in the town; he does not recollect, that Serajah Dowla made any demand for the delivering up of Kiffindafs, but that if he did it would appear upon the public proceedings.

Being further questioned, he repeated, That it was impossible to give any rational account of the origin of the troubles; and said, that he was at Muxadavad, at the time Lord Clive was there in July of the same year; that enquiry was then made with all possible attention, but without success, into the motives of Serajah Dowla's conduct from his principal officers, and likewise from the officers of his predecessor, from the Seats, and every other person from whom information was likely to be obtained.

Being asked, whether Kiffindafs was really protected or not, what time he remained in Calcutta, after Mr. Drake's return, and whether he knew or heard before the taking of Calcutta, that the Nabob demanded Kiffindafs? he said, Kiffindafs was permitted to land, but how long he staid he could not tell, and that he had heard at that time of his being demanded: he also said, he was reckoned to be very rich, and that he had a number of boats, and it was supposed he had treasure with him.

Being further asked, whether Kiffindafs's coming to Calcutta, was considered as an escape from Serajah Dowla? he said, it could not be considered as an escape, because he was coming in his way from Dacca to Muxadavad, where the Nabob was; he could not form any opinion, whether Kiffindafs at the time he landed at Calcutta, in his way to Muxadavad or Cossimbuzar, knew of the death of Alli Ver di Cawn, or the succession of Serajah Dowla.

Being asked, whether it was in council that he heard the report, that the Nabob had formerly demanded the delivery of Kiffindafs? he said, that he heard at the time that Mr. Drake had received a letter from the Nabob to that purport, and had answered, that no further protection had been given to Kiffindafs, than a permission to land in his way to Muxadavad; that it was either in council or committee he heard it, but could not say which, and thinks this letter of the demand must have been received while Kiffindafs was in the place; the witness knew of no further demand from the Nabob relative to Kiffindafs, nor any demand of any other nature, except a trifling circumstance of a gentleman having erected a summer house in his garden, which had been represented to the Nabob as a fortification, but it was explained to the Nabob, and a desire expressed, that he would send to examine it.

He further said, that the English had no intercourse with the Nabob, and assigned no cause to his knowledge, for coming down against them.

Being asked, whether it is not the custom in Bengal, that the Prime Minister of a preceding Nabob or of his subordinates, should stand forth and be amenable to the power of the reigning Nabob, and not withdraw himself? he said, the nature of the government being arbitrary did



naturally expect it, but whether it is the custom he could not say; but that undoubtedly if this is refused, the Nabobs usually endeavour by all means in their power to compel them to be amenable.

The witness knew of no cause for any complaint of tenants of the Mogul being protected by the English in Calcutta, nor of any such complaint being transmitted to the factory, either directly from the Nabob or from Mr. Watts.

Notice being taken, that it appeared by certain proceedings of the governor and council of Fort Saint George, that Mr. Manningham had objected to several articles in the various accounts or informations transmitted to them from Bengal, respecting the capture of Calcutta; and it further appearing by the said proceedings, that in consequence of such objections from Mr. Manningham, the several informations were officially delivered to him, in order to state his objections at that time; the witness was then asked, whether he had ever delivered in any answer upon the reference so made to him? to which he said, that he was deputed by the governor of Calcutta, to go to Madras, and carried a letter directed to the governor and council at Madras; and was commissioned to give them a further account, by word of mouth, of the Affairs of the factory.

In regard to a messenger coming from the Nabob to Calcutta, upon the subject of protection given to the Nabob's tenants, and the treatment of that messenger; the witness said, he knew of a messenger coming with a letter addressed to the President, and wrote in Persian, and to the best of his remembrance, a part of that letter related, as he mentioned before, to Kiffindas; he does not recollect whether he saw the letter or not, and believed Mr. Drake, upon the messenger delivering the letter, ordered him to leave the Town; he believes an answer was sent afterwards, and the purport of it was, that Kiffindas was only allowed to land, and no protection was given him; the messenger, he believed, staid but a few hours in the Town after he delivered the letter; he was an Hircarrab, by name as he believes Narranzing.

Being asked, Whether the answer to the Nabob's letter was communicated to the Council, or whether it was sent as Mr. Drake's private letter? The Witness said, The purport of both the letter and the answer itself were communicated; he does not recollect, who the answer was sent by, nor how long it might be after the receipt of the letter, but believes, it might be the same day or the day following, and did not recollect the whole contents of the letter.

Being asked, If it was the usual practice, when a messenger brought a letter from the Nabob, to order him to leave the Town without any answer sent with him? he said, it was not, nor could he assign any reason for so doing, for the receipt of the letter was not public, nor was the treatment of the messenger so.

In regard to the measures the Factory took to pacify the Nabob, after they were informed of his hostile intentions, the Witness said, Mr. Drake was repeatedly desired to write to the Nabob, to know the cause of his resentment, and that he had no doubt but he did so, but believed, he received no answer; among other methods, Coja Wasseed, a merchant of considerable rank and substance, and likewise a tenant of several considerable farms, was requested by letters to apply to the Nabob, to know the reason of his resentment, and was desired to act as a mediator upon the occasion; it was also tried to be informed by means of this Coja Wasseed, whether money was the only object in view, and, in general, he was requested to interest himself as well as he could to appease the Nabob; his answer was, That it was not in his power to be of any use upon the occasion, and that the payment of a sum of money was not the object; the reason of applying to Coja Wasseed, was, that he was supposed to be a man of some weight, and in favour with the Nabob, from the circumstance of his having entertained him at his house, when he was Chuta Nabob.

The Witness being asked, Whether he had any reason to believe, that any sum of money or present was given to Mr. Drake, or any other person by Kiffindas? he said, he did not know, nor had any reason to believe that any were given to Mr. Drake, or any other person.

Being again questioned, Whether he was sure, that Kiffindas was not received in Calcutta, before the death of Alli Ver di Cawn? he said, he was not sure—And whether the contents of the letter from Mr. Watts, were not to permit Kiffindas to remain two months in the Town, and that there was a particular recommendation of Kiffindas's family, as being particularly serviceable to the English? he said, he could not recollect the particular purport of the letter; that in general it was a warm recommendation of Kiffindas, as the son of Rajah Bullub, a man of power and interest at the Durbar, and who might be of service to the affairs of the India Company at the Durbar.

Your Committee next called Richard Beecher, Esquire, who was desired to relate what he knew of the origin of the troubles in Bengal: And he informed the Committee, That about the end of the year 1755, he was appointed Chief of the subordinate Factory at Dacca; that from that time he did not attend at any of the Councils that were held at Calcutta, and of course could only speak of transactions that passed there, by report from others; that at the time the letter of the 10th of July 1756, was wrote from Dacca, himself and the other gentlemen that signed it, were prisoners to the Nabob, and by his permission allowed to reside in the French Factory; that for some time before the taking of Calcutta, they had no correspondence with the gentlemen of Fort William, but for intelligence were obliged to trust to the natives of the country, or what the French received from their settlement at Chandernagore; that he thought it his duty at that time to forward to the Court of Directors, and to the Governor and Council at Madras, such intelligence as he was able by those means to procure; that he has since had

the greatest reason to believe, the accounts transmitted to the Governor and Council at Madras, then obtained from the French, were greatly exaggerated, and very fallacious in many particulars; that the report of Kiffindaf's being received and protected in Calcutta, being a cause assigned by Serajah Dowla for his displeasure against the English, he heard from numbers of people where he then was, both French and natives, and he gave credit to it, and therefore assigned it to the Court of Directors as the principal reason.

In relation to the affair of Kiffindaf, the witness said, That he recollected to have heard Kiffindaf was received in Calcutta about the latter end of March 1756, and remained there till the place was taken by Serajah Dowla, on the 20th of June; he and Omichund were both prisoners in the Factory by order of the Governor, as he believed: And the Witness further said, That in the situation the India Company then were, as merchants living under the protection of the country government, he then was, and still is, of opinion, that neither Kiffindaf, nor any other subject of the Nabob, should have been received and protected in the Company's settlement, and he still thinks, that this did give a pretence to Serajah Dowla, to shew his resentment against the English, but at the same time he is now convinced, from the many opportunities he hath since had of conversing with those who were at that time principal officers and in high station about Serajah Dowla, at Muxadavad, that even if that pretence had not been given, he would have marched his army down against Calcutta; his object was money, Calcutta was reported to be very rich, and so were the other European settlements of Chandernagore and Chiniuta; Serajah Dowla was a young man, violent, passionate, of great ambition, tinged with avarice, and he expected both wealth and honour, by attacking the European settlements, and by extorting money from them; that this appears from his conduct in attacking Calcutta, and from the sums he extorted from the French, Dutch, and Danes, after that transaction.

The Witness being asked, Whether he ever heard of the Nabob's demanding Kiffindaf after he was received in Calcutta? he said, he did not recollect that he heard it before Calcutta was taken, though he may have done so, but he heard it soon after: That his opinion at that time was, that if Kiffindaf had been delivered up, and a sum of money offered, the Nabob would not have proceeded to the lengths he did in attacking Calcutta; and he grounded this opinion in great measure upon what had been the former custom of the Nabobs and Princes of that country, when they were displeased with the English: That Alli Ver di Cawn, who was a wife Prince, had upon different occasions shewn his displeasure and taken money from them, but appeared always to be so sensible of the benefits accruing to his country, by the trade carried on by the English, that he never proceeded further than to put a stop to the trade of the Company, and to place forces round their Factories, by which means he always brought them to the terms he pleased.

The Witness being asked, Whether he knew of any money unjustly taken from the Company by Alli Ver di Cawn, or any troubles arising from demands of money previous to the accession of Serajah Dowla? he said, he recollected two instances where sums of money were taken, the first, to the best of his remembrance in 1744 or 1745, when he made a demand upon all the European settlements in his dominions, and gave as reason for it, the great expence he was obliged to be at in maintaining a very large army to defend his country, and those who lived under his protection, from the Mharattas, who used at that time almost annually to invade Bengal; that the English Company, at that time, was obliged to pay three Lack and a half of Rupees, as well as he could remember; and the other European nations in proportion to their trade:—That he recollects another instance about the year 1748 or 1749, when the Company's trade was stopped, and forces put round their subordinate Factories for several months, in consequence of the complaint of an Armenian, who had freighted goods on a ship under Dutch colours, which ship was taken by Commodore Griffin or some of his Squadron, and condemned, as he understood, for having French property on board: The Armenian living under the protection of the Nabob of Bengal, made his complaint to the Nabob of the loss of his property, and the Nabob insisted on the English making good to him the loss he had sustained by that capture: At that time orders from home were peremptory, not to comply with the demands made by the country government; in consequence of which, the gentlemen refused to comply with the demand made by the Nabob; but after using their endeavours for several months to pacify him, they were obliged to submit: That he supposes the Company looked upon the demand of the three Lack and a half by Alli Ver di Cawn as a hostile one, and believed the orders above-mentioned were sent out in consequence of it.

The witness being asked, Whether he knew, or believed, that Mr. Drake or any other person received money or presents from Kiffindaf, for the protection given him? said, he did not know, nor did he believe that he or any other person did receive either money or presents.

John Cooke, Esquire, who in the year 1756 was secretary to the governor and council at Calcutta, being called to the same point as the above witnesses, gave the following narrative from notes taken by him soon after the transactions of that year, and since copied with his own hand.

Alli Ver di Cawn, Nabob of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, died on the 9th of April 1756, and Serajah Dowla took possession of his government, agreeably to the will and intention of his Grandfather, who had, even in his life time, seated him on the Musnud, and obliged the officers of his durbar to do him homage as Subah; this paved the way for his being acknowledged and obeyed as such, without hesitation or dispute, immediately on the death of the old Nabob:—The only shew of opposition that he met with, was from the widow of

Nawah-



Nawahjiscawn, who had got a body of men together to secure the wealth she was left in possession of by the death of her husband, in case the young Subah should attempt to seize it:—This was soon adjusted, and her troops disbanded, upon promise of being left unmolested in her person and riches, by which means all was quiet at the capital, and Serajah Dowla's authority universally established in the dependant provinces, except in Poornea, the Nabob whereof (a relation) refused to trust himself in the hands of the young Subah, and therefore would not come to Moorshedavad, but kept himself in his province of Poornea, at the head of his army:—This obliged Serajah Dowla to take the field very soon after his accession to the subahship, and march up as far as Raja Maul to intimidate the Poornean, and force him to come to the Durbar.

Presently after the death of the old Nabob, president Drake wrote Serajah Dowla a letter of congratulation on his accession, and desired his favour and protection to the English company, which was received very kindly, and promises given our Vackeel, that he would shew the English greater marks of friendship and esteem than ever his grandfather had done.

About this juncture the company's packet per Delawar was received from Madras, by which we found there was the greatest likelihood imaginable of a rupture between us and France, and the court of directors particularly recommended to the governor and council to be strictly on their guard, and to put their fortifications in the best state of defence they could.—In consequence of these advices the line of guns towards the river was repaired and strengthened, and some other trifling works erected, particularly a redoubt at Perrin's garden, which had been planned by Colonel Scott. This circumstance is mentioned, as the Subah made it one of his pretences for attacking the English.

It is necessary to take notice, that one Kiffindas (who had been in the government's service as duan and naib of Dacca) had embarked himself, his women and effects, on a large number of boats upon the death of Nawahjiscawn (which happened not long before that of old Alli Ver di Cawn) and had sheltered himself from the power of Serajah Dowla in the woods below Dacca, till he heard that his father Radghulluddas was set at liberty, and seemingly restored to favour; then, under pretence of going upon a pilgrimage to Saugers or Jaggernaut, he landed himself and effects in Calcutta on the 16th of March, in his passage down the river, by permission of the presiding member of the board (Mr. Drake being at Ballasore for his health):—This anecdote is likewise mentioned for the same reason as the reparations to our works, because Serajah Dowla made use of his being suffered to live in Calcutta, as another cause of offence, the English giving protecton (so he termed it) to the servants of the government, by this reception of Kiffindas in the settlement.

As soon as Serajah Dowla found himself pretty well established in the government, he sent a Hircarrah (Messenger) to demand Kiffindas; but as the Hircarrah came in a private manner, and disguised, into the settlement, the president, Mr. Drake, being then returned from Ballasore, thought it improper to admit him as a messenger from the Nabob, and ordered him to be turned out of the bounds.

Very shortly after this transaction the governor received a letter from the Subah, signifying his displeasure at our repairing our fortifications, or carrying on any new works without first obtaining his permission, and insisted, not only on our putting a stop to such works, but on our destroying what was already done:—The governor's answer not corresponding with the Subah's impetuosity of temper, and finding that he would not comply with his peremptory orders for destroying our works, he took the sudden resolution of forcing us to a compliance; immediately laid aside his design of crossing the Ganges to bring the Nabob of Poornea to reason, and marched his whole army back to Moorshedavad, having first sent orders to Rajah Doolubram (alias Roy Doolub) to invest our factory at Cossimbuzar, with a body of horsemen:—This step was followed by a total stoppage of all our business at the Aurungs, and the other subordinate factories.

The 25th of May we received the first advice of the Nabob's orders for investing Cossimbuzar, and from that time every day brought us fresh intelligence of that factory being surrounded with the Subah's forces; and that Serajah Dowla absolutely threatened to attack them, if we delayed or refused to destroy the works we had erected at Calcutta.

Letter after letter was dispatched to the gentlemen, to order their Vackeel to remonstrate at the Dunbar, how unjustly the Subah proceeded against the English, in suffering their enemies to persuade him they were erecting strong fortifications, when nothing was further from the truth; which the Nabob might be satisfied of, if he would send a person that he could confide in to Calcutta to see what we were doing, and report the same as it really was. Our communication with Cossimbuzar began now to be difficult, and as our last advices only served to confirm the report of the Subah's determination to make himself master of that Factory first, and after that to march against the presidency itself, a council of war was summoned on the 5th June, to consider of the situation of Cossimbuzar Factory, and whether it was practicable or advisable to send them a reinforcement. The weakness of our own garrison (which did not then exceed 170 effective men, not above 50 or 60 of which were Europeans) determined the majority of the officers, who assisted at that Council, to declare in writing, that in their opinion, it was imprudent at that juncture to attempt sending up a detachment for reinforcing Cossimbuzar, surrounded as it was by the Subah's forces.

For the reason already mentioned, as well as many other substantial ones, the President and Council thought it more eligible to promise obedience to the Nabob's orders, than to risk the issue of a quarrel with him, at a time we were so ill prepared in every respect, for offence or defence. A letter to that purport was accordingly inclosed to Mr. Watts, to be delivered Serajah Dowla;



Dowla; but the ingress to our Factory being totally put a stop to, the Chief never received this letter.

While this was doing at Cossimbuzar, the gentlemen were not idle in Calcutta, but exerted their utmost (as things grew towards a crisis) to put the place in as good a posture of defence as it was capable of, and dispatched several Pattamars to Fort Saint George for assistance. Orders were likewise sent to Dacca and the other Subordinates, to call in as much of the Company's money and effects that were outstanding as they cou'd, and to hold themselves in readiness to embark the same upon the first notice, and bring them to Fort William.

On the 6th June it was currently reported (but nobody knew from whence it arose) that Cossimbuzar was delivered up to the Nabob. The Governor thereupon ordered a survey of the town to be made, and the works necessary for its defence to be laid before the board by the officers in garrison, which was accordingly done the next day: The plan was to throw up a few batteries fronting the principal avenues in the Town, and a line of intrenchment between, which was immediately set about, and every Cooley employed to get it done: The Militia were summoned and exercised, and every other measure taken to maintain a siege, in case the Nabob carried things to that extremity. As it was impossible to receive any reinforcement in time, if the Subah pursued his march to Calcutta immediately, the French and Dutch were applied to for assistance: The Dutch declined giving us any, and the French only gasconaded with us, by offering to join their force with ours, if we would quit our own settlement, and carry our garrison and effects up to Chandernagore.

At One o'clock P. M. of the 7th June, we received the intelligence of Cossimbuzar Factory being surrendered up to Serajah Dowla on the 2d of that month. This intelligence came from Mr. Collet and therefore removed all doubts concerning the loss of that place, as he was second upon the spot. By his letter it appeared that the Chief had been assured, that if he would wait on the Nabob in person, he might possibly prevent the Factory being attacked, which his Council thought it more advisable for him to do, than to risk the event of a rupture.—Mr. Watts met with a very different reception to what he expected, and he and Messrs. Collet and Batson were forced to sign a Mutchulka, or obligation, that the Nabob had got prepared; they had been promised their liberty upon signing of it, but found there was no faith to be put on the Subah's word, for instead of obtaining their liberty, Mr. Collet was remanded back to the Factory, and forced to give it up to the commander in chief of the Nabob's troops; after which he was again carried to the camp, and Mr. Watts and he kept close prisoners, and treated in a very indifferent manner.

The seizure of Cossimbuzar in this treacherous manner, and his subsequent proceeding, plainly indicated the Subah's intention was no less than the attack of the presidency, and expulsion of the English; for immediate orders were given to his Generals to march towards Calcutta, and his whole train of artillery brought into the field:—The other Europeans at Chandernagore and Chinfura were called upon to assist his forces in reducing Calcutta, and every body at the Durbar forbid to intercede for the English.

So uncommonly expeditious were the Subah's forces in their march down to Calcutta, that in about 13 days after the surrender of Cossimbuzar, they began the attack of the presidency itself, having in that time marched above 160 miles with a heavy train of artillery, in the hottest season of the year.

Hostilities began on our part on the 12th June, by spiking up the cannon at Tannah's fort (a fortification belonging to the Moors, a little below the town) and endeavouring to heat down the walls of that battery, which could not however be effected on account of the prodigious hardness of the Pucca work, and the vast thickness of the masonry:—While our people were upon this enterprize, a party of the Nabob's troops from Hughly, with five pieces of artillery, arrived and obliged our men to return to their ships:—A second attempt was made two days after, to dislodge the Moors from that place, but to no purpose: the cannon from our country ships employed in the attack, being too small to make any impression, or do any mischief.

Several letters and messages passed between the President and Coja Wasseed, in which the latter was desired to use his influence with the Nabob in our favour, and authorized to accommodate matters by giving a sum of money, which it was imagined was what the Subah aimed at, according to the custom of his predecessor, who had frequently squeezed large sums from the Europeans under various pretences; but we were disappointed in our judgment of Serajah Dowla's views, and we quickly found he was too much exasperated to be appeased by the ordinary method of a present.

On Wednesday the 16th a firing was heard to the northward, which proved to be an attack made upon the redoubt at Perrins by the van of the Nabob's army who were advanced as far as Mr. Kelsall's garden at Chitpocr, and were attempting to enter Calcutta on that side, by forcing the post before mentioned. The reception they met with at this redoubt, obliged them to abandon the design of entering the town at that avenue, and we found their army had wheeled off to the eastward towards Dumdumina, which side of our town was quite exposed and defenceless:—It was hoped however, that the men they lost at Perrins would have cooled their ardour, and have made the Nabob listen to terms of accommodation:—All Thursday we were pretty quiet, excepting the disturbance occasioned by a band of robbers attending the Nabob's camp, who had entered the town in several quarters, and plundered every house they came to:—The enemy had now entirely surrounded the town, and on Friday the 18th June in the morning, attacked the entrenchments on every side with the musqueteers of their army: They had infinitely the advantage



rage over us in this attack, as they could fire upon our men from the tops, windows, and veranda's of the houses which stood close to, and overlooked, our lines and batteries, by which means they did a great deal of mischief, and annoyed our people so terribly, that scarce any body could venture to raise their heads above the cover of the breast works, for fear of being killed or wounded; while, on our part, we were obliged to spend our fire at random, by pointing our cannon at the houses they were lodged in, without being certain of their doing execution, though it is most probable we must have killed many of the enemy.

The firing was very hot on both sides from eight in the morning till noon, when the enemy slackened, and made almost a total cessation of the attack, for what reason we could not tell: In the afternoon they began with more warmth than ever; our people were now extremely fatigued; great numbers had been killed, and a far greater wounded; the enemy poured in multitudes from all quarters; there seemed no hopes of defending the lines under the disadvantages already mentioned, the Moors having possessed themselves of every lodgment that commanded the entrenchment, and in some places had even penetrated within our works.—In this situation of things, it was judged expedient to spike up all the cannon at the fascine batteries, and withdraw the military and militia stationed there nearer to the fort itself, and to abandon the entrenchment; orders were issued to the several posts for that purpose, and the same put in execution towards the close of the evening.

No sooner was this perceived by the enemy, than they possessed themselves of our lines, and turned one of our 18 pounders at the jail battery against the fort; but their little skill in managing artillery prevented their doing much damage with their cannon in any part of the siege; and had they used their musquetry no better, we might have remained very secure within our walls.—They now brought up a few pieces of small cannon to play against the fort, from a little battery or breast work to the south east; but what annoyed us most of all were the wall pieces and matchlocks, which they fixed upon the tops of several houses that entirely overlooked the fort, and fired such showers of balls from them, and that so incessantly, that it became very dangerous to stir from one part of the factory to another.—This evening (the 18th) it was determined to remove our women on board the *Doddalay*, and such other country ships and vessels as were in the river: This embarkation was performed in the dusk of the evening, but with so little order, that many of the ladies (among whom was the governor's wife) were left behind, and some of them obliged to remain even till the next day, for want of boats to carry them off.

It is easy to imagine the consternation and confusion that was discovered in every countenance, when it was known the enemy had in one day obliged us to abandon those works on which we placed our principal dependance, and had flattered ourselves we could have defended till a reinforcement arrived from Madras: The inability of our military officers appeared too evident now to expect much from them; and as the governor was as little qualified to act in such a situation as the officers, it could not but follow, that all command must have been in a manner at an end, for want of a proper confidence in those who were to be obeyed: This was actually the case, and from the time we were confined to the defence of the fort itself, nothing was to be seen but disorder, riot, and confusion; every body was officious in advising, yet no one was properly qualified to give advice:—The factory was so crowded with Portuguese women and unnecessary people, that it would have been impossible to have found provisions enough for one week, even had our walls and garrison been able to resist the efforts of the enemy. In this situation it was lucky for us the Moors (who never fight in the night) suspended their operations as soon as it was dark, and gave us, by that means an opportunity of consulting and debating on what was to be done; the majority of the military officers gave it as their opinion, that it was impracticable to defend the fort with so small a garrison, and so unprovided with stores for a siege, against the numerous army of the enemy; the artillery officers reported, we had not powder and shot enough for three days; our bombs and grenades were of no use, the fuses being spoiled by the dampness of the climate, owing to their being filled some years, and never looked into afterwards.—Thus circumstanced, a retreat to our ships was by every body judged the most eligible step that could be taken; but the dispute was, whether that retreat ought to be made immediately, under favour of the night, or deferred till the next day, and in what manner to conduct a general retreat without confusion or tumult? It was at last resolved to defer the retreat till the next night, and that all the next day should be employed in embarking the Portuguese women and our most valuable effects, by which means we should avoid the disorder we dreaded:—Had this plan been strictly adhered to, and rightly executed, a number of lives would have been saved, and all those dreadful and melancholy consequences prevented, which afterwards happened.—Mr. William Bailie, one of the council, who exerted himself upon all occasions in a most disinterested and generous manner, undertook to see the women and effects sent away, and began the embarkation of the first early on Saturday morning.—The enemy renewed their attack with the break of the day, and cannonaded the fort very briskly from two or three different batteries, besides keeping up a hot fire from the tops of the houses with their wall pieces and shambingees; the Moors pressed on so close, and in such multitudes, that it was deemed more prudent to call in all the out posts (for we had occupied the church and a few of the adjacent houses all the preceding night) to prevent their being cut off; the party stationed in Mr. Ciuttenden's house, upon leaving it, set fire to it, to prevent the enemy from making a lodgment there, as it stood within forty yards of the factory walls, and we had the satisfaction soon after of seeing the company's house likewise in flames (done we imagine by the enemy) which stood as near the walls on the other side.



Unluckily no orders relating to the intended general retreat had been published, and as the resolution of retreating was known by the whole garrison by report, without the method which had been planned for putting it in execution, many of the inhabitants imagined every body was to shift for himself, and endeavour to get on board such vessel as he conveniently could: Upon this presumption several left the factory, and made their retreat to the ships; which being observed, they were followed by many others, some of whom had been even present at the consultation in which the plan of the retreat had been settled, but concluding the former scheme was altered, for considerations to them unknown, they made the best of their way to the ships laying off the fort; to add to the general confusion, between nine and ten o'clock the *Doddalay* (on board of which ship were Messrs. M. and F.) weighed her anchor, and dropt down to Surman's Garden, the captain of her, it seems, being apprehensive of her being burnt by the fire arrows, or rockets, discharged by the enemy upon the vessels in the river; no sooner was this perceived, than every ship and sloop followed the example, and weighing their anchors, left the station they might have been of the greatest service in, by affording an asylum to the garrison at their retreat. This ill-judged circumstance occasioned all the uproar and misfortunes that followed; for the moment it was observed, many of the gentlemen on shore (who perhaps never dreamt of leaving the factory till every body did) immediately jumped into such boats as were at the Factory Stairs, and rowed to the ships; the *Manjees* and *Dandies* of the boats we had secured, seeing the universal confusion that prevailed, and that the ships were dropping down the river, thought the danger much greater than it really was, and began to consult their own safety, by leaving the shore and rowing away as fast as they could, either to the ships or to the other side of the river, maugre all that could be said or done to prevent them.—Among those who left the Factory in this unaccountable manner were the governor, Mr. Drake, Mr. Macket, Captain Commandant Minchin, and Captain Grant:—In less than a quarter of an hour those who persevered in defending the fort found themselves abandoned by all the seniors of council, and the principal military officers, and had the mortification likewise to see themselves deprived of the means of retreating, by the desertion of the ships and boats.—As soon as it was known the Governor had left the Factory, the gate towards the river was immediately locked, to prevent any further desertion; and the general voice of the garrison called for Mr. Holwell to take the charge of their defence upon him.—A Council being hastily summoned, Mr. Pearkes, the senior then on shore, waved his right to the government in favour of Mr. Holwell, who thereupon acted in all respects as commander in chief, and exerted his utmost to encourage every one. Signals were now thrown out from every part of the fort for the ships to come up again to their stations, in hopes they would have reflected (after the first impulse of their panic was over) how cruel, as well as shameful, it was to leave their countrymen to the mercy of a barbarous enemy; and for that reason we made no doubt they would have attempted to cover the retreat of those left behind, now they had secured their own; but we deceived ourselves; and there never was a single effort made, in the two days the Fort held out after this desertion, to send a boat or vessel to bring off any part of the garrison.

All the 19th the enemy pushed on their attack with great vigour, and having possessed themselves of the church (not thirty yards or forty from the east curtain of the fort) they galled the garrison in a terrible manner, and killed and wounded a prodigious number:—In order to prevent this havock as much as possible, we got up a quantity of broad cloth in bales, with which we made traverses along the curtains and bastions; we fixed up likewise some bales of cotton against the parapets (which were very thin, and of brickwork only) to resist the cannon balls, and did every thing in our power to baffle their attempt, and hold out, if possible, till the *Prince George* (a company's ship employed in the country) could drop down low enough to give us an opportunity of getting on board.—This ship, had, in the commencement of hostilities (on the 16th) been ordered up to Perrin's, to assist that redoubt, in case the enemy made a second attack; but after they wheeled their army round towards *Dumdumma*, the party at that post was withdrawn, as no longer necessary, and the *Prince George* directed to fall down to her station, opposite the south east bastion of the fort:—She was in sight about noon of the 19th, and was now the only glimmering of hope left us to escape falling into the hands of the Moors:—Our situation and distress was therefore communicated to the commander of her (*Thomas Hague*) and he positively directed to bring his ship as near the fort as he could, without loss of time. These instructions were transmitted on board by the hands of Messrs. Pearkes and Lewis, and we began now to entertain some expectation of making a general retreat, notwithstanding what had happened in the morning; but it was otherwise determined by Providence; for by some strange fatality the *Prince George* run aground a little above the factory (owing to the pilot's misconduct, who lost his presence of mind) and was never after got off.

The enemy suspended their attack as usual when it grew dark; but the night was not less dreadful on that account; the Company's house, Mr. Cruttenden's, Mr. Nixon's, Doctor Knox's, and the marine yard, were now in flames, and exhibited a spectacle of unspeakable terror. We were surrounded on all sides by the Nabob's forces, which made a retreat by land impracticable; and we had not even the shadow of a prospect to effect a retreat by water, after the *Prince George* run aground.

On the first appearance of dawn, on the 20th June, the besiegers renewed their cannonading, —they pushed the siege this morning with much more warmth and vigour than ever they had done; about eight o'clock they attempted to break into the factory by means of some windows in the easterly curtain, which we had neglected to brick up; while every body was intent on



repelling this onset, an alarm was spread, that the enemy were scaling the North West Bastion; part of the garrison were thereupon detached to prevent this attempt, and the hottest fire ensued for above an hour, that we had yet seen, on both sides: The besiegers at length gave over their efforts, and retired with great loss; but they continued to cannonade very briskly from their batteries, and with their wall pieces and musquetry did us infinite mischief.

It was now esteemed most eligible to endeavour to pacify the Nabob's resentment, and supplicate his forgiveness, by the mediation of Monickchund (his principal minister) to whom Omichund, by Mr. Holwell's direction, wrote a letter, requesting him to intercede in our behalf, and prevail upon Serajah Dowla to desist from prosecuting the attack, and suffer us to carry on our business as usual, under his protection: An Armenian undertook to carry the letter to Monickchund, and was suffered to pass; but we never received any answer.

About noon there was a sudden cessation of firing on the enemy's part, from whence we conceived some hopes, that Omichund's letter had been delivered, and was likely to produce the effects we wished for.—About four o'clock a serjeant, stationed on the front gate of the factory, came to Mr. Holwell, and informed him, that one of the Nabob's people had stepped into the street, and with his hand made signs for us to desist firing:—This circumstance gave great satisfaction, and seemed to promise a favourable end of our troubles and distress. Orders were accordingly given for a suspension of hostilities on our part; but in less than half an hour intelligence was brought to Mr. Holwell, that the enemy were crowding in great numbers under the walls of the fort, to the eastward and southward, whereupon he hastened up himself to the south east bastion to view their motions, directing every one to be at their quarters: By this time the besiegers had been suffered to advance close up to the foot of the walls, without a single musket being fired upon them; and Mr. Holwell (still imagining every thing would be compromised) forbid all acts of hostility, notwithstanding the enemy pressed in such multitudes upon us: By way of capitulation or conference he waved a flag of truce, which not being understood by the Moors, no regard was paid to it; and while this was transacted to the eastward, a body of the enemy scaled the north west bastion, as did another party to the southward (where the wall was low) and drove our people from their stations there.—As soon as this was known, a Dutchman of the artillery company broke open the back door of the factory, and with many others attempted to make their escape that way.—The besiegers now poured in great numbers from all parts; and Mr. Holwell, finding how things were circumstanced, and how impracticable it would be to drive the enemy out of the fort, now that so many had penetrated within the walls, with the west gate of it open, and considering that further opposition would not only be fruitless, but might be attended with bad consequences to the garrison, he and Captain Buchanan delivered up their swords to a Jemmaudar that had scaled the walls, and seemed to act with some authority among the Moors; this example was quickly followed by every body, who threw down their arms, and by that act surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion. The factory was in a few minutes filled with the enemy, who, without loss of time, began plundering every thing they could set their hands on; we were rifled of our watches, buckles, buttons, &c. but no further violence used to our persons.—The bales of broad cloth, chests of coral, plate, and treasure, laying in the apartments of the gentlemen who resided in the factory, were broke open; and the Moors were wholly taken up in plundering till the Subah entered the fort, which was a little after five in the afternoon, carried in a kind of litter, his younger brother accompanied him in another. Serajah Dowla seemed astonished to find so small a garrison, and immediately enquired for Mr. Drake, with whom he appeared much incensed.—Mr. Holwell was carried to him with his hands bound, and upon complaining of that usage, the Nabob gave orders for loosing his hands, and assured him, upon the faith of a soldier, that not a hair of our heads should be hurt. The Nabob then held a kind of Durbar in the open area, sitting in his litter, where Kissindas (who had been kept a prisoner by us during the siege) was sent for, and publicly presented with a scerpaw, or honorary dress. The Armenians and Portuguese were set at liberty, and suffered to go to their own houses. Between six and seven Serajah Dowla left the fort, the charge whereof was given to Monickchund, as governor: They searched every part of the house, to prevent treachery; and in the dusk of the evening the Mussulmen sung a thanksgiving to Allah, for the success they had met with.

Hitherto we had fared extremely well; and as we had been left unmolested in our persons so long, our apprehensions of ill usage and barbarity began to vanish; and we even entertained hopes, not only of getting our liberty, but being suffered to re-establish our affairs, and carry on our business upon the terms the Subah had pointed out in the Muschulka Messrs. Watts and Collet were made to sign: But these hopes and expectations were very soon changed into as great a reverse as human creatures ever felt; the circumstance of the black hole affair; with all the horrors of that night, are so well known, and so much surpass any description that words can paint it in, that I shall say no more upon that subject, than that a little before eight we were all of us directed to withdraw, and remain in a place contiguous to the black hole (where our soldiers were usually confined in the stocks.)—While we were wondering what this should mean, and laughing at the oddity of it, a party of fellows came and ordered us to walk into the place before mentioned, called the black hole, a room, or rather dungeon, about 18 feet long, and 14 wide, with only two holes, barricaded with iron bars, to let in air, which opened into a low piazza, where a guard was set: Into this hole we were forcibly crammed about eight o'clock in the evening, and the door immediately locked upon us.—The number of souls thrust into this dungeon were near 150, among whom was one woman, and twelve of the wounded officers:

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The heat and stench presently grew intolerable; some of our company expired very soon after being put in; others grew mad, and having lost their senses, died in a high delirium.—All we could urge to the guard set over us, could not prevail upon them either to set us at liberty or separate us into different prisons, which we desired, and offered money to obtain, but to no purpose; and when we were released, at eight o'clock the next morning, only 22 came out alive.

The witness being asked, Whether he remembered the terms of the Mutchulka, signed between Mr. Watts and the Nabob? he said, To the best of his remembrance it was, we should carry on trade as other merchants, and without any exemption by our firmaund.

Being asked, Whether he had reason to believe, that any money or other present was given or ordered by Kiffindafs for the protection given him? he said, he did not know or believe that any money or present of any kind was given by Kiffindafs, or any of his friends, directly or indirectly, to the governor or any other member of the committee: He believed, that Mr. Drake really refused to deliver up Kiffindafs to the Nabob; and said, that Omichund was a prisoner; but was not sure whether Kiffindafs was kept in the factory against his consent or not; that the reason of Omichund's being a prisoner, was, that Mr. Drake suspected him of being a fomentor of the troubles: That the only offence with which the Nabob charged Kiffindafs, when he demanded him, was only, that he was a tenant of the Sircar; he did not know of any other tenant or officer of the country government that was protected at Calcutta.

The witness further said, That he did not believe the Nabob had any intention of a massacre when he confined the English in the black hole; but that his intention was merely to confine them for the night, without knowing whether the prison was great or small; he said, that Mr. Holwell was carried to the Nabob after he was released from the black hole, and that he heard afterwards, that he and three or four other gentlemen were put in irons and sent up the country, and very hardly treated; that those who were not confined with Mr. Holwell were set at liberty; that he never heard the Nabob expressed the least concern at the catastrophe that had happened in the black hole, but always understood that he received the account with total indifference; he likewise understood, that the Nabob sent for Mr. Holwell before him, to discover where the treasures were, and that he was extremely surprised to find the treasury so low; there was not above £. 5,000. in the Company's treasury: That at the raking of Calcutta every thing found in the settlement was restored to those who could make out their claims:—The army and navy did not touch any part of it; what was found was not of great value; there was a great deal of the Company's broad cloth, but very little private property.

The witness believed, that upon the loss of Calcutta, there was not a man who was not ruined, excepting one gentleman, who had remitted part of his fortune home; and that the loss of the company was very great; That it was supposed the restitution made afterwards was more than equivalent; a great quantity of the Company's goods were restored at the re-capture, both at Calcutta and other places; and whatever came into the hands of the Sircar was delivered up again.

The witness being asked, What answer the Dutch and French factories returned to Serajah Dowla's application for assistance, as mentioned in a former part of his evidence? said, He believed they declined to assist him.

Richard Becher, Esquire, being again called to inform the Committee what he knew of the state of the company's affairs, after the taking of Calcutta, said, That in the August following he joined the president, and other gentlemen, at Fulta, where soon after they had intelligence that Admiral Watson, with troops from Madras, was coming to their assistance; and when it was judged they might be nearly expected, the council deputed Mr. Watts, himself, and Mr. Mackett, to meet the Admiral in Ballalore Road; that they met him in the month of December, he not arriving sooner.

Being asked, By whom Calcutta was retaken? he said, That Admiral Watson, and the men of war, proceeded up the river; and that troops were landed; but whether Admiral Watson or the forces took it, he cannot answer.—That he was on board a ship that was following the squadron, and that the ships assisted in taking it; and was no judge whether the place would ever have been retaken if Admiral Watson had not been there; that the number of troops landed, amounted to 400 or 450 Europeans, and 17 or 1800 Sepoys; that the Moors left Calcutta the second of January, 1757, and that there was no capitulation.

In answer to the question, By whom was Calcutta taken possession of? he replied, it was delivered over by Admiral Watson to Mr. Drake.

Being asked, Whether he remembered the first idea of setting up Meer Jaffier, and deposing Serajah Dowla? he said, he could not be positive; he believed about the month of May, 1757.

And being asked, If he recollected what money was stipulated to be given to the Select Committee, in case that affair was brought about? he said, That his situation confined him to Calcutta during the years 1757, 1758, and 1759, and therefore could not give any answer about transactions out of Calcutta.—That Mr. Watts, who was agent for the Company at Muxadavad, wrote word, that Meer Jaffier would make some consideration to the navy, army, and others, who should be instrumental in promoting his advancement to the Subahship, by way of donation.—That by others he understood at that time was Mr. Watts himself, who was upon the spot at Muxadavad; and that he could not recollect who was upon the spot besides.

He said, he was the first person who mentioned the reasonableness and propriety, that the gentlemen of that committee, who really set the whole machine in motion, should be likewise considered on that occasion; and in consequence, that Mr. Watts was wrote to, to the effect he had

had mentioned, viz. That as there were to be donations to the army, navy, &c. it was but reasonable the other gentlemen should be considered: He said, That this letter does not appear upon the public proceedings.—That he should conclude, that on the public service, every thing was to be entered by the Select Committee; but this letter was not so considered; the Select Committee consisted of the President, Mr. Drake, Colonel Clive, Mr. Watts, Major Kilpatrick, and himself; the Committee was appointed by the Court of Directors, and Colonel Clive was taken in as second.

The Witness further informed your Committee, That so far from any sum being stipulated to his knowledge, he did not know any thing of the sum till some time after Meer Jaffer was established in the Subahship.—That some time after, an account was sent to the Committee, that Meer Jaffer, thought proper to make presents to some particular gentlemen, and the Company had wrote word that they should not interfere in any private donations from the Nabob to the Company's servants; that the sums he knew of were to the Governor 2 Lack and 80,000 rupees; Colonel Clive the same; to the rest of the gentlemen 2 lack and 40,000 each.—That he always understood the Admiral was considered as commander in chief of the navy, in a sum separate, which he does not know the amount of; that he esteemed Colonel Clive as a member of the Committee, and did not esteem Admiral Watson as belonging to it; he believes one gentleman of the council in Bengal (Mr. Bottum) did send a small sum to the representatives of Admiral Watson, but he does not know what it was;—that he knows of no stipulation for particular sums, but each of the council, who were not members of the Committee, received a Lack of Rupees; they were six or seven in number; an account was sent in writing; it was a letter directed to the governor; he does not know who it was signed by, but believes by Mr. Watts, Colonel Clive, and Mr. Manningham; he considered it as a private letter, and therefore apprehended it was not entered—he knows of no other private donations, but has heard of such; he cannot recollect from whom; and never discoursed with Mr. Watts upon the subject.

Being questioned, Whether, in the course of the negotiation with Meer Jaffer, he knew any thing of two treaties of the same date, one real, and the other fictitious? the witness said, That he apprehended the only treaty stood publicly upon the Company's records; that while this affair was upon the anvil, Mr. Watts employed a black merchant, residing at Calcutta (by name Omichund) who insisted on having no less a sum than 20 lack of rupees from Meer Jaffer, in case of success; that Mr. Watts represented to the gentlemen in Calcutta, that Meer Jaffer was so averse to the allowing that sum to Omichund, that he would rather all treaties should be broke off, than consent to it, or something to that effect; and further represented, that he himself believed that Omichund was acting a double part, and would deceive both the English and Jaffer. In consequence of these representations, it was judged by the gentlemen, that Omichund was no way meriting that reward, and therefore they did not insist on it, but thought it necessary, for the security and safety of the Company, to keep Omichund from the knowledge of their sentiments; in consequence of which two papers were transmitted to Mr. Watts; in one of which Omichund was mentioned, and in the other not; the design being to prevent the ill consequences which might have ensued, if Omichund got a notion that he was not to have the money.—The witness believes the two papers were signed by Admiral Watson and the gentlemen of the Committee.

Being asked, Whether Admiral Watson signed the fictitious agreement, or whether he, at that time, heard of Admiral Watson's scrupling, or refusing to sign? he said, He thinks the fictitious treaty was sent to him to be signed, but does not recollect whether that and the other treaty were transmitted to him by writing, or by messenger, or by whom; neither does he know whether he signed it or not, nor does he recollect that he heard of his refusing to sign it.

The witness further said, in relation to the transaction with Omichund, That he thinks he heard that Omichund insisted upon the sum of 5 per cent. on all the late Nabob's treasures, exclusive of the sum of 20 lacks; and threatened to betray the whole negotiation, if his demands were not complied with; that Mr. Watts represented the apprehensions he had of his doing so, if he was not kept in the dark.

The Witness knows of no letter from Mr. Watts saying, he believed the Nabob's treasures amounted to 40,000,000, and therefore dissuading the Committee from agreeing to give 5 per cent. upon that sum, but rather to give a specified sum.

The Witness being asked, Whether he knew any thing of the additional article to the treaty with Jaffer Aly Khan, said, he believed the 13th article, or something similar, was added; and does not recollect the circumstances of transmitting the articles to the Directors.

It is 29 years since the Witness left England in the Company's service.

The next Witness your Committee called, was Francis Sykes, Esquire; who being requested to inform the Committee what he knew of the transaction with Omichund, said, That in the year 1757 he was stationed at the subordinate factory, called Cossimbuzar, in council; that he does not know particularly the terms demanded by Omichund; but being on a visit to Mr. Watts, he found him under great anxiety; that he took him aside, and told him Omichund had been threatening to betray them to Serajah Dowla, and would have them all murdered that night, unless he would give some assurances that the sum promised him (by Mr. Watts) should be made good;—that upon this visit Mr. Watts further said, That he was under the greatest anxiety how to counteract the design of Omichund; the Witness could so far say, on his own part, that Omichund's conduct in the whole scene of that business was always suspected, and that he had spies upon Mr. Watts's conduct—he apprehends that



that nothing was reduced to paper at that time; that it was only talked of between Omichund and Mr. Watts, and believes it was only a verbal promise; he further said, That Serajah Dowla was at Muxadavad at that time, and was visited frequently by Mr. Watts—that he (the Witness) was in the service about 20 years, from 1749 to 1769.

Your Committee next called upon

Sir George Pocock, to state what circumstances he knew concerning the attack upon Chandernagore:—Who informed your Committee, That he did not enter the river Bengal with Admiral Watson, but that the place surrendered to that Admiral; that it was afterwards garrisoned by officers and seamen: And in June a detachment, of a lieutenant, 7 midshipmen, and 50 private men, was sent to Lord Clive.

The Witness was clearly of opinion, That the revolution could not have been brought about without the assistance of the King's ships then in the river; he does not recollect the number of the King's troops, but thinks there might be about 300.—The Company's troops assisted in taking the place.

The right honourable Lord Clive, being desired to relate to your Committee what he knew of the transaction of the above period, said, That when he returned to England in 1755, the first time, the Court of Directors solicited him to go out again; they obtained for him his Majesty's commission of Lieutenant Colonel, and appointed him deputy governor of Fort Saint David, and to succeed to the government of Madras; but before he went to his government they wished him to undertake an expedition of great importance, provided Colonel Scott (who had been strongly recommended by the Duke of Cumberland) did not chuse to undertake the expedition himself.—The intent of the expedition was to join the Mharattoes at Bombay, and in conjunction with them to attack the French, in the Subah of the Deccan; for which he carried out three companies of the King's artillery, and 3 or 400 of the King's troops. That when he arrived at Bombay, in the beginning of the year 1756, there was a truce between the two nations, and Colonel Scott was dead.—He found there Admiral Watson and Sir George Pocock with his squadron.—It was thought adviseable that these troops should not lie idle, and that there was a fair opportunity of taking Ghereah, a strong fort, possessed by an Eastern Prince (Angria) and who, upon all occasions, very much distressed the Company.—That he commanded the land troops on that expedition; and Mr. Watson commanded by sea.—The enterprize succeeded, and the prize money amounted to £. 150,000. That although he commanded the land forces, by virtue of his rank, he shared only as a captain of a man of war. Admiral Watson thought his case so hard, that he very generously offered to make his share equal to Sir George Pocock's; he thought himself as much obliged to him for the offer as if he had accepted it, but he declined the offer.—That after that he went to his deputy government at Fort Saint David, about April 1756; that in August 1756, he was called from thence to Madras, on the news of the capture of Calcutta.—It was long debated by the council what force should be sent to retake Calcutta, and who should command it; it was decided in his favour, and the wish of every officer that he should go upon that expedition.

In the beginning of October the troops were ready, and there was received on board Admiral Watson's squadron, and other transports, about 700 Europeans belonging to the Company, and 1,200 Sepoys.—There was likewise a detachment of 250 of Adlercron's regiment, to serve as marines.—That they embarked about the 15th of October; and after they had been sometime at sea, a council was held on board Admiral Watson's ship, to settle the distribution of prize money; and it was proposed it should be settled upon the same plan as it was at Ghereah.—That he objected to it, because he thought it bore too hard upon the military; and would not content to a division of prize money upon any other division than of two equal parts, that one half should go to the military, and the other to the navy.—This was agreed to; and they arrived in Ballasore road early in December; and it was agreed that the squadron should go up the river to Calcutta; and he looks upon that attempt to be as daring and meritorious an attempt as ever was made in his Majesty's sea service. That they met with some slight obstructions till they approached near Calcutta.—When the squadron came within a few miles of Calcutta, he desired Admiral Watson would give orders for landing the company's troops; accordingly they were landed; and at the same time the ships went by water, the troops went by land.—The garrison of Calcutta, upon the approach of the ships, and of the land forces, abandoned the fort after a few shot fired by the squadron, and a few returned by the fort.—That when he entered the fort at the head of the company's troops, Captain Coote presented to him a commission from Admiral Watson, appointing him the governor of the fort.—That he denied any authority Admiral Watson had to appoint an inferior officer in the King's service governor of the fort, and told Captain Coote, if he disobeyed his orders, he would put him under an arrest.—Captain Coote obeyed, and desired leave to acquaint Admiral Watson with these particulars; upon which Admiral Watson sent Captain Speke to him, to know by what authority he took upon himself the command of that fort.—He answered, By the authority of his Majesty's commission, as Lieutenant Colonel, and being commander in chief of the land forces.—Captain Speke went on board with that message; he returned, and brought for answer, That if he did not abandon the fort he should be fired out.—In answer, he said, he could not answer for the consequences; but that he would not abandon the fort—upon which Captain Latham was sent; and when the matter was talked over coolly, it was soon settled; for he told Captain Speke and Captain Latham repeatedly, that if Admiral Watson would come and command himself, he had no manner of objection.—That Admiral

miral Watson did come on shore; he delivered the keys of the garrison into his hands, and he delivered them to the governor and council of Calcutta.

His Lordship further said, That he was sent from Madras with a power independant of the governor and council of Calcutta.—He commanded in Bengal as the King's officer and the Company's both.—The King's troops, when on shore, were under him; he was commander in chief of the Company's forces in Bengal, by a commission from the governor and council of Madras, on his setting out on that expedition.—The governor and council of Madras looked on the government of Bengal as annihilated.—They thought, if he had not the independant command, the governor and council of Bengal would retain the troops which they thought necessary should return to Madras.—He took the command as a military officer.—The governor and council of Calcutta put their troops under his orders.

That when he came to examine into the state of the fort, he found it was not defensible; it had no ditch; the bastions did not deserve the name of bastions; the fort was surrounded by houses, within 40 yards of the walls, which commanded the fortifications.—That he suggested to the governor and council the necessity of destroying them, and making a ditch round the fort without delay.—That he was convinced that a defensive war would prove destructive.—He desired Admiral Watson would land the King's troops, to reinforce those of the Company.—Great part of the forces that went out from Madras upon this expedition were not arrived. The Admiral landed the King's forces, amounting to 250 men; and those, added to the Company's, might make 700 Europeans and 1200 Sepoys.—That with these troops they took the field, at about four miles from Calcutta, and encamped in a strong situation, and entrenched themselves in expectation of Serajah Dowla and his army, who were upon their march to Calcutta.—Serajah Dowla in a few days arrived; passed within about half a mile of their camp, and encamped his army at the back of Calcutta.—At the same time that he was marching to this ground, he made offers of treaty, and intimated to him by letters, that he wished to conclude a peace with the East India Company:—He encamped about six o'clock in the evening, at the back of Calcutta.—By this time, the terror of his march had frightened away all the natives, and his Lordship saw, that if something was not done, the squadron and land forces would soon be starved out of the country. That he sent Mr. Walth and Mr. Scrafton to the Nabob, about seven that evening; they returned about eleven, and assured him, they thought the Nabob was not sincere in his intentions for peace, and that he meant treachery.—That he went immediately on board Admiral Watson's ship, and represented to him the necessity of attacking the Nabob without delay; and desired the assistance of 4 or 500 sailors to carry the ammunition, which he assented to: The sailors were landed about one o'clock in the morning, about two the troops were under arms, and about four they marched to the attack of the Nabob's camp.—It was his intentions to have seized his cannon, and attacked his head quarters; but when day light appeared, there arose so thick a fog, that it was impossible for the army to see three yards before them, which continued till they had marched through the whole army.—He cannot ascertain the loss the enemy suffered, but it was reported very considerable.—Our loss amounted to about 150 killed and wounded.—That they continued their march to the fort, where the troops were allowed an hour to rest, and ordered back to camp.—In the evening Serajah Dowla and his army got to about 8 or 10 miles from them; he sent a letter to him and Admiral Watson, that he desired to treat with them; upon which it was agreed to receive his proposals without delay; and a treaty was concluded, which is upon the Company's records.—The reason that it was not more advantageous than it was, was that they had just received advice of a war with France, and the French had within the garrison of Chandernagore almost as many Europeans as they had in the field; and if they had joined Serajah Dowla before the conclusion of the peace, they must have been undone; for there wanted only some intelligent person to advise him not to fight at all, and they should have been ruined.—While this treaty was carrying on, the French sent a deputation to propose neutrality, it being long debated, whether a neutrality should be accepted of.—Serajah Dowla forbid the English to attack the French, and declared if they did, he would become their enemy.—That he had no doubt but he would become their enemy the first opportunity that offered, and that he meant, with their assistance, to drive them out of Bengal.—He supplied them with money publickly, and sent 1500 men to be ready to give them their assistance.—During this time, a reinforcement of troops was received from Bombay; and it was taken into consideration by the Committee, whether they should undertake the attack of Chandernagore, at the risk of displeasing the Nabob, and having his army to encounter.—That the members of this Committee were, Mr. Drake, himself, Major Kilpatrick, and Mr. Becher:—Mr. Becher gave his opinion for a neutrality, Major Kilpatrick for a neutrality;—his Lordship gave his opinion for the attack of the place; Mr. Drake gave an opinion that nobody could make any thing of: Major Kilpatrick then asked him, Whether he thought the forces and squadron could attack Chandernagore, and the Nabob's army, at the same time?—he said, he thought they could; upon which Major Kilpatrick desired to withdraw his opinion, and to be of his Lordship's.—They voted Mr. Drake's no opinion at all; and Major Kilpatrick and he, being the majority, a letter was wrote to Admiral Watson, desiring him to co-operate in the attack on Chandernagore.—The land forces marched first, and beset the place, made themselves masters of the out-works, and erected two batteries, one about 120 yards off the walls, of six 32 pounders, and another of three 32 pounders, about 150 yards off the walls.—By this time the squadron came up the river.—That they surmounted difficulties, which he believed no other ships could have done; and it is impossible for him to do the officers of the squadron justice upon that occasion:—The place surrendered to them, and it was in a great



great measure taken by them; but his Lordship does believe, that the place would have been taken by the army, if the Squadron had not come up: It must have fallen into their hands, but not so soon.—And he must say, That he thinks, if the land forces and Sepoys could have been landed in Calcutra, every event which has happened, would have happened without the assistance of the fleet. That after Chandernagore was resolved to be attacked, he repeatedly said to the Committee, as well as to others, That they could not stop there, but must go further: That having established themselves by force, and not by consent of the Nabob, he would endeavour by force to drive them out again.—That they had numberless proofs of his intentions; upon many records; and his lordship said, He did suggest to Admiral Watson and Sir George Pocock, as well as to the Committee, the necessity of a revolution;—Mr. Watson and the gentlemen of the Committee agreed upon the necessity of it; and the management of that revolution was, with consent of the Committee, left to Mr. Watts and him.—Mr. Watts was resident at Muxadavad; he corresponded with him in cypher; and his lordship sent the intelligence to the governor and committee; and Mr. Watson was always consulted, but declined being a member of that Committee.—Great dissatisfaction arising among Serajah Dowla's troops, a favourable opportunity offered, and Meer Jaffier was pitched upon to be the person to place in the room of Serajah Dowla; in consequence of which, a treaty was formed, which, amongst others, consisted of the following articles: That £. 1,200,000 should be given to the Company;—£. 600,000 to the European sufferers; £. 600,000 to the navy and army; about £. 250,000 to the natives of the country; and about £. 100,000 to the Armenians.—When this was settled, his lordship remembers, that Mr. Becher suggested to the Committee, that he thought that Committee, who managed the great machine of government, was intitled to some consideration, as well as the navy, and army.—In consequence of which, Mr. Watts was wrote to upon the subject; but what that consideration was, he never knew till after the battle of Plassey; and when he was informed of it by Mr. Watts, he thought it too much, and proposed that the Council should have a share in it; the sums received were, he believed as Mr. Becher had stated.—Upon this being known, Mr. Watson applied, that he was intitled to a share in that money.—He agreed in opinion with the gentlemen, when this application was made: That Mr. Watson was not one of the Committee; but at the same time did justice to his services, and proposed to the gentlemen, to contribute as much as would make his share equal to the governor's and his own: About 3 or 4 consented to it, but the rest would not. That he sent the proportion of the share he had received.—Some years ago the heirs of Admiral Watson filed a bill in chancery, wherein it was set forth as a right; he denied that right, but never had any objection to add his proportion to the rest, if that claim was withdrawn.—The money was paid by installments, in the same proportion as to the army and navy; and he sent his proportion of the first installment to Mr. Pocock, for Admiral Watson.—The law-suit dropt, and he has heard no more of it since.—His Lordship observed, That at that time there were no covenants existing; the Company's servants were at liberty to receive presents; they always had received presents; and his idea of presents is as follows: When presents are received as the price of services to the nation, to the Company, and to that Prince who bestowed those presents; when they are not exacted from him by compulsion; when he is in a state of independance, and can do with his money what he pleases; and when they are not received to the disadvantage of the Company; he holds presents so received not dishonourable: But when they are received from a dependant Prince; when they are received for no services whatever; and when they are received not voluntarily; he holds the receipt of such presents dishonourable.—He never made the least secret of the presents he had received; he acquainted the Court of Directors with it; and they, who are his masters, and were the only persons who had a right to object to his receiving those presents, approved of it.

His Lordship then read to the Committee the following extract from a printed pamphlet, intituled, "A letter to the proprietors of the East India stock, from Lord Clive," together with two letters thereunto annexed.

Every thing being agreed on between Meer Jaffier and the secret Committee, we marched the army to meet the Nabob, whom we entirely defeated:—His death followed soon after, and Meer Jaffier was in a few days in possession of the government, and of a revenue of three millions and a half sterling per annum.—The one half of the secret Committee being then present at the capital, and a report made by the Nabob's ministers of the state of the treasury, it was settled, that half the sum stipulated by treaty should be paid in three months, and the other half in three years; all conditionally, that we supported him in the government.—The Nabob then, agreeable to the known and usual custom of Eastern princes, made presents, both to those of his own court, and such of the English who by their rank and abilities had been instrumental in the happy success of so hazardous an enterprize, suitable to the rank and dignity of a great prince.—I was one amongst the many who benefited by his favour; I never sought to conceal it; but declared publicly in my letters to the secret Committee of the India directors, that the Nabob's generosity had made my fortune easy, and that the Company's welfare was now my only motive for staying in India. What injustice was this to the Company? They could expect no more than what was stipulated in the treaty: Or what injunction was I under to refuse a present from him, who had the power to make me one, as the reward of honourable services? I know of none; I had surely myself a particular claim, by having devoted myself to the Company's military service, and neglected all commercial advantages. What reason can then be given, or what pretence could the Company have to expect, that I, after having risked my life so often in their service, should deny myself the only honourable opportunity that ever offered, of acquiring a fortune with-

out prejudice to them, who, it is evident, would not have had more for my having had less? When the Company had acquired a million and a half Sterling, and a revenue of near £. 100,000 per annum, from the success of their forces under my command; when ample restoration had been made to those whose fortunes suffered by the calamity of Calcutta; and when individuals had, in consequence of that success, acquired large estates; what would the world have said, had I come home, and rested upon the generosity of the present Court of Directors?—It is well known to every gentleman in Bengal, that the honour of my country, and the interest of the Company, were the principles that governed all my actions; and that, had I only taken the advantageous opportunities that presented themselves, by my being commander in chief, and at the head of a victorious army, and what by the custom of that country I was intitled to, the Jaghire itself, great as it is, would have been an object scarce worth my consideration.

The city of Muxadavad is as extensive, populous, and rich, as the city of London; with this difference, that there are individuals in the first, possessing infinitely greater property than any in the last city: These, as well as other men of property, made me the greatest offers (which nevertheless are usual upon such occasions, and what they expected would have been required) and had I accepted these offers, I might have been in possession of millions, which the present Court of Directors could not have dispossessed me of: but preferring the reputation of the English nation, the interest of the Nabob, and the advantage of the Company, to all pecuniary considerations, I refused all offers that were made me, not only then, but to the last hour of my continuance in the Company's service in Bengal; and do challenge friend or enemy to bring one single instance of my being influenced by interested motives to the Company's disadvantage, or to do any act that could reflect dishonour to my country, or the Company, in any one action of my administration, either as governor or commanding officer.—I little expected ever to have had my conduct impeached, or to have received such treatment from the Court of Directors, especially after the many public and honourable testimonies of approbation I had received.

Copy of Company's letter to Colonel Clive, March 8, 1758.

S I R,

Our sentiments of gratitude, for the many great services you have rendered to this Company; together with the thanks of the general court, have been hitherto conveyed through the channel of our general letters; but the late extraordinary and unexpected revolution in Bengal, in which you had so great a share of action, both in the cabinet and in the field, merits our more particular regard; and we do accordingly embrace this opportunity of returning you our most sincere and hearty thanks for the zeal, good conduct, and intrepidity, which you have so eminently exerted on this glorious occasion, as well as for the great and solid advantages resulting therefrom to the East India Company: We earnestly wish your health may permit your continuance in India, for such further term as will give you an opportunity of securing the foundation you have laid; as likewise to give your assistance in putting the Company's mercantile and civil affairs on a proper and advantageous footing, upon the plans now transmitted. For this purpose, as well as in consideration of your eminent services, we have appointed you governor and president of Fort William in Bengal, and its dependencies, in the manner mentioned in the general letter, by this conveyance; to which we have annexed an additional allowance of £. 1,000 a year, as a testimony of our great regard for you.

Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated March 8, 1758.

Paragraph the 23d. In our letter of the 3d instant, we lamented the situation of the many unhappy people who had lost their property on the capture of Fort William, and had no relief from the treaty concluded with the late Nabob: In compassion to their sufferings, we recommended your applying to him on their behalf for relief, if you had the least probability of succeeding. It is with great pleasure we find that the late happy revolution, and your care, have produced what we had very little reason to expect from the late Nabob, a grant from the present Nabob of such large sums, to make good the losses of the several inhabitants, as we are satisfied are much more than sufficient to indemnify them, even with interest thereon. Although the Nabob gives the Company a crore of rupees, yet, when the immense expence of maintaining the settlement at Fulta, the military charges of our troops from Fort Saint George and Bombay, and the hazard those presidencies have been exposed to by drawing them off from thence; the charges of fortifications and rebuildings, replacing stores, increase of our garrison, the loss of a season's investments, if not more, and many other obvious particulars, are taken into the account, it will appear that the Company will still be considerable sufferers. It is highly reasonable therefore, if the several inhabitants are paid out of the money stipulated in the treaty with the Nabob for that purpose, the full amount of their respective losses, together with interest thereon, that all the surplus should be applied to the Company's use: We shall expect to hear you have acted in this manner, and that such surplus has been accordingly deposited in our cash; and we direct that you observe this as a rule for your conduct in the distribution of any further sums of money on this account. We do not intend by this to break in upon any sums of money which have been given by the Nabob to particular persons, by way of free gift, or gratuity, for their services. It is the surplus of the sums we mean, which are agreed to be paid by the Nabob in the 5th, 6th, and 7th articles of the treaty with him. It is thought proper here to acquaint you, that such surplusses, whatever they are, we propose to expend in such manner, as will tend to the general utility and security of the settlement; they are therefore to be reserved for our farther



orders; and you are hereby directed to transmit us, for our information, exact accounts of every person's loss, whether English or other inhabitants, on the late capture of Fort William, and what has been paid to each of them in particular, by way of indemnification for the same, out of the monies granted by the Nabob for that purpose.

As to the fictitious treaty, Lord Clive informed your Committee, That when Mr. Watts had nearly accomplished the means of carrying that revolution into execution, he acquainted him, by letter, that a fresh difficulty had started; that Omichund had insisted upon 5 per cent. on all the Nabob's treasures, and 30 lack in money; and threatened, if he did not comply with that demand, he would immediately acquaint Serajah Dowla with what was going on, and Mr. Watts should be put to death:—That when he received this advice, he thought art and policy warrantable in defeating the purposes of such a villain; and that his Lordship himself formed the plan of the fictitious treaty, to which the Committee consented; it was sent to Admiral Watson, who objected to the signing of it; but to the best of his remembrance gave the gentleman who carried it (Mr. Lushington) leave to sign his name upon it:—That his Lordship never made any secret of it; he thinks it warrantable in such a case, and would do it again a hundred times: He had no interested motive in doing it, and did it with a design of disappointing the expectations of a rapacious man:—That he never heard that Mr. Watts had made a promise to Omichund of any money, directly or indirectly:—That when he was last abroad, he had given the same account, which is entered in the public proceedings:—That Omichund was employed only as an agent to Mr. Watts, as having most knowledge of Serajah Dowla's Court; and had commission to deal with 3 or 4 more of the Court:—Omichund's only chance of obtaining retribution was depending on this treaty:—He did not believe that Omichund was personally known to Meer Jaffier, but through Mr. Watts.

When the army marched, Meer Jaffier had promised that he and his son would join them with a large force at Cutwa:—When they arrived there, they saw no appearance of force to join them; but received letters from Meer Jaffier, informing him, that the Nabob had suspected his design, and made him swear on the Koran, that he would not act against him; and therefore he could not give the promised assistance; but that when they met Serajah Dowla in the field, he would then act:—At the same time Omichund received two or three letters from the Nabob's camp, that the affair was discovered, and that Meer Jaffier and the Nabob were one.—That his Lordship was much puzzled; for he thought it extremely hazardous to pass a river, which is only fordable in one place, march 150 miles up the country, and risk a battle, when, in a defeat ensued, not one man would have returned to tell it. In this situation he called a council of war; and the question he put was, Whether they should cross the river, and attack Serajah Dowla with their own force alone, or wait for further intelligence? Every member gave their opinions against the attack, till they had received further intelligence, except Captains Coote and Grant. His Lordship observed, this was the only council of war that ever he held, and if he had abided by that council, it would have been the ruin of the East-India Company. After about 24 hours mature consideration, his Lordship said, he took upon himself to break through the opinion of the council, and ordered the army to cross the river:—He did not recollect any memorial from Captain Coote upon that occasion, nor was he of rank sufficient at that time to have any influence upon his conduct; and whatever he did upon that occasion, he did without receiving advice from any one.

Lord Clive further said, in explanation of the foregoing evidence, That Calcutta was taken by Serajah Dowla in June 1756, upon the pretence of a black merchant being protected by the English: That Mr. Watts was two or three months employed in the negotiation of the revolution; and the correspondence was carried on entirely between himself and Mr. Watts; that he did not know exactly the amount of the treasure of Serajah Dowla, but believed about three or four millions; that the final terms of the agreement between Meer Jaffier and Mr. Watts were not agreed on till a few days before the march of the army; that Mr. Lushington was the person who signed Admiral Watson's name, by his Lordship's order.

John Walsh, Esquire, being here called to give an account of what he knew of the fictitious treaty, said, That he and Mr. Lushington went together to Calcutta, with the treaty; a letter from Colonel Clive was carried by him and Mr. Lushington from the French gardens, where the army then lay, to the Committee, and he returned with the treaties signed in the evening; that he cannot recollect whether he went to Admiral Watson, nor now recollect the whole transaction:—He only recollects that the treaties were sent and brought back again: That his idea had always been, that Mr. Watson refused to sign the fictitious treaty, but permitted Mr. Lushington to do it for him: That the fictitious treaty was called Lol Coggedge, from being wrote on red paper; and he remembered Omichund was very earnest in his enquiry after that particular paper, after the Nabob was put upon the Musnud.

Lord Clive further acquainted the Committee, That all the letters in cypher, which passed between Mr. Watts and himself, are not entered in the country correspondence, or any where else; that he had got some of the letters, but did not know whether he had the letter wherein mention is made of Omichund's demand of 5 per cent. on the treasures, and 30 lack; that the fictitious treaty, to the best of his remembrance, stated 30 lack and 5 per cent. upon the treasures:—It might be 50 lack for ought he knows:—That he believes the letter relating to the donation to the army and navy is entered or mentioned in one of his letters:—He did not recollect what he paid to the heirs of Admiral Watson:—That he wrote to the secret Committee

in England, stating donations to the navy and army, but not the donations to the Committee.—He wrote a private letter to Mr. Paine then chairman, in which he mentioned the donations to the Committee; that he mentioned in his general letter, that the Nabob's bounty had made his fortune easy:—He knew of no stipulation by Mr. Watts, for 50 lack, or any other sum besides the donation to the army and navy and select Committee; if there was any such sum, it was without his consent or knowledge.

In regard to the fate of Serajah Dowla, his Lordship said, He had been informed, that he fled and took shelter in a sackier's house, whose nose and ears he had cut off upon a former occasion. That there was a brother of Meer Jaffier's at Kajamaul (a small distance from the place where he took refuge) that this sackier sent immediate notice to him, that he had Serajah Dowla in his house, and he should keep him till he could seize him; that the Nabob's brother immediately set out with a few attendants, and seized him; and that he was brought from thence to the city, and immediately put to death by Meerham, Meer Jaffier's son; it is said, without the father's knowledge; that his Lordship knew nothing of it till the next day, when the Nabob made him acquainted with it, and apologized for his conduct, by saying that he had raised a mutiny among his troops; and this was all his Lordship knew of the matter.

Lord Clive further said, in regard to the fictitious treaty, That he did not recollect whether Mr. Lushington brought it back with Mr. Watson's name to it; to the best of his remembrance, Mr. Lushington told him, that Admiral Watson gave him leave to sign his name to the fictitious treaty; he did not recollect whether Mr. Watson's seal was put to it, but believes that Mr. Watson's name and a seal were put to both the treaties before they were dispatched to Mr. Watts, he is not certain whether Mr. Lushington signed in his presence at Calcutta or the French Gardens. Roy Doulub did not receive 5 per cent. on all the money paid, but on some of it, particularly not on that which was paid to the army and navy.—Roy Doulub was one of the Nabob's Generals.

His Lordship being asked, What might be the particular value in money or jewels received by him and such other gentlemen as he may recollect? said, He received about 16 lack of rupees clear, after deducting commission and all other articles; that he received no jewels, but all in money; that he believed Mr. Watts might receive altogether about 8 lack; Mr. Walsh about 5; there were 3 or 4 more, but could not recollect the sums: that he thinks Mr. Scrafton had 2 lack, but is not certain: These donations were given exclusive of the sums stipulated for the gentlemen of the Committee, council, army, and navy:—That the share he received as commander in chief, amounted to about 2 lack; Major Kilpatrick, he believed, had about 3 or 4 lack, exclusive of the sums stipulated for the army and Committee; Mr. Lushington had something very trifling, about 50,000 rupees; Captain Grant of Adlereron's regiment had one lack.

His Lordship also said, That these presents were not paid down at the time, but by installments; and in a subsequent part of his Lordship's evidence (which is placed here in order to lay the subject matter more connectedly before the house) being asked, by what installments the presents, over and above those stipulated for the army, navy, council, and committee, were paid? he said, that he knew of no agreement, but they were paid half down, and half in about 15 months, to the best of his remembrance:—And being further questioned, whether, when the first half was paid down, his Lordship had any expectation of the remainder? he said, he had, from the intelligence of Mr. Watts, who acquainted him that the present for his share would amount to 20 lack, but he received only 16. That lands to the amount of £. 700,000 a year were mortgaged for payment of the remainder of the money stipulated for by treaty; the mortgage he believed was made about December 1757, or the January following: That Sir George Pocock applied to the Governor and Council by letter, to desire that they would advance to the navy their remaining half of the 50 lack given to the navy and army, desiring that the Governor and Council would make such a deduction as they thought reasonable for the risk of advancing the money:—That some sharp letters passed upon the occasion; and to the best of his remembrance, he was the only person of that Council who objected to that request being complied with; and then, after it had been complied with, he made the same request in favour of the army, and not before; that the money deducted, to the best of his remembrance, was 5 lack, the remaining 20 lack was paid down by the Company for the navy and army.

As to the 13th article of the treaty with Meer Jaffier, his Lordship never recollected till he was last in India, that there was a 13th article, 12 only appearing in the directors books; that he saw no more at the India house or in Mr. Scrafton's book, and understood that particular article had been suppressed by Mr. Vansittart, in order, as his Lordship apprehended, that Mr. Vansittart might justify his proceedings in the second revolution, as the Company stood bound, by that article, in alliance with Meer Jaffier; and his Lordship acknowledged writing to the Directors on the 15th December 1762, that there was no such article to the best of his knowledge.—And being asked at what time it became necessary for Mr. Vansittart to suppress the 13th article? he said, Upon the affair of the Dutch, the Court of Directors enquired whether there was a 13th article, and Mr. Vansittart suppressed it as he supposed.

John Walsh, Esquire, being again called upon to explain further the affair of the 13th article, said, That it is the only one in the treaty binding up on the English, and the only thing that could properly have been signed by them; that he imagines the copy of it was neglected to be taken in the treaty sent home; the treaty without it is inserted in the select Committee proceedings, as a translate from the Persian, the 12 articles are all in Persian, and only the 13th in English. The English signed Persian articles as far as 12, which were prefixed to the English article.

The



The witness further said, That some little time after a publication of Mr. Vansittart's, in which he had treated the 13th article as never to have subsisted; he had a conversation with that gentleman, and at that time shewed him the words of that 13th article, and he confessed his knowledge, that that article did subsist:—That he by no means charged Mr. Vansittart with having suppressed that article, for he believed no copy of it remained among the Company's papers at Calcutta: That he looked over Lord Clive's papers, and there saw a copy of the treaty with the 13th article, in Mr. Lushington's writing; and that he acquainted Mr. Rous, the deputy chairman, with the 13th article.

Mr. Holt. (from the East India house) being called upon to relate what he knew relative to this treaty, and the concealment of the 13th article, said, That Mr. Gillam, who had the collecting those treaties for parliament, is dead, but that he found a paper in his hand writing containing as follows:

“ In the treaty here referred to, was an article containing the condition of the part of the Company; it was not transmitted from India to the Company, but is to be found in the 12th page of the appendix to the D. memorial; and as there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of it, it is subjoined to the treaty with the Nabob Meer Jaffer.”

The witness further said, That the treaty now upon the table was copied by Mr. Cray, a clerk in the office about the year 1767:—And being asked, whether the original, from which it was copied, was lodged among the Company's papers? he said, That in the year 1758, a treaty, consisting of 12 articles, and dated the 5th of July 1757, was received by the Company in a letter from the select Committee at Bengal, to the secret Committee of the Court of Directors, bearing date the 14th of July 1757; and the 13th article was added when the treaties were called for by the House of Commons in 1767.

The witness produced the minutes of the English and Dutch commissaries in 1762, out of which were read the entries marked in the appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. 4.

Mr. Walsh was then called upon to explain further the fact, respecting his having found a copy of the treaty with Meer Jaffer, wrote in Mr. Lushington's hand writing (who was, at the time of making the treaty, secretary to Lord Clive) to which there was a 13th article, and what he did in consequence? and said, that he certainly saw among Lord Clive's papers a copy of this treaty, and is very well convinced it was in Mr. Lushington's hand writing:—It contained the 13th article:—That he thought likewise that he took a copy of that 13th article, and shewed it to the then chairman and deputy chairman, who he believed were Mr. Rous, and Mr. Dudley, but was not very clear; he could not say whether this was before the papers were laid before the House of Commons, nor upon what occasion he carried it to the chairman and deputy chairman; he believed it was whilst Lord Clive was abroad, and was certain it was not shewed the chairman and deputy chairman in their public capacity.

The witness further said, That in the copy in Mr. Lushington's hand writing, the 13th article was by no means distinguished from the 12 others—it was numbered 13th:—What facilitated him to recollect that, he said, was by having recurred to a copy in his hands of that copy, which he supposed to be Mr. Lushington's.

The witness being asked, Whether the first time he saw the 13th article was the time when he carried it to the chairman and deputy chairman? he said, He certainly had seen it before; he never had an idea, but that that article existed:—He could only speak upon supposition why it was not transmitted with the other 12 articles:—The treaty being sent down to Calcutta to be returned with great dispatch, it is likely that after the signing, no copy was taken of it by the gentlemen at Calcutta, who had the transmitting of these papers to the Company.

Being asked, Whether he recollected any other instance of an instrument of such importance being delivered over without a copy taken? he said, He recollected many instances of omissions—And in answer to whether he knew how Mr. Lushington came by his copy? he said, Because he was not so negligent as others; and that he supposes Mr. Lushington took his copy before it was transmitted to the Nabob:—He believed Lord Clive certainly transmitted to the Company accounts of that treaty, but not a copy.

Being asked, If he recollected from what paper Lord Clive copied the 13th article that was sent to Mr. Bisdorn? he said, He had no doubt from that copy which he supposed to be Mr. Lushington's.

Being further questioned as to the manner of executing these instruments, and of exchanging them between the contracting parties; he said, He concluded only one instrument was signed by the gentlemen at Calcutta, which was that delivered to the Nabob; and he imagined that instrument contained 13 articles, and that delivered by the Nabob to the Company contained only 12; and that the instrument containing the 13 articles was signed by the Company alone, and not by the Nabob; and that of 12 articles by the Nabob alone. He further said, That he imagined Lord Clive's letter to the Dutch governor, respecting the 13th article, was not entered in the public proceedings at Calcutta:—And being asked why not, it being a public proceeding of a very important nature? he answered, That all he could say was, that Lord Clive having an independant command from the Gentlemen of Calcutta, did not in every circumstance transmit the particulars of his proceedings to them; and that in those times there might have been great irregularity in the offices, there being few servants:—He further said, That he did not know that this transaction was not entered upon the books of the Company.

In the course of the above proceeding your Committee read the several letters, and other papers marked in the appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 5.

The next witness your Committee called upon was

Captain Brereton, who was lieutenant with Admiral Watson in the Kent, in the year 1757; and being asked, Whether he had heard Admiral Watson make any declarations concerning the treaty that was to deceive Omichund? said, That he had often heard the Admiral speak of it; that it was proposed to him to sign a fictitious treaty to deceive Omichund of 30 lack, which he refused to do, as dishonourable to him as an officer, and an affront to propose it to him: That it was then proposed somebody should sign it for him, which he also refused, and said, he would wash his hands of it, he would have nothing to do with it, he was a stranger to deception; they might do as they pleased.

Being asked, Whether in the conversation he had had with the Admiral on that subject, he had ever heard him say, that he authorized any person to sign the treaty for him? the witness said, he believed not; that he had often heard him say, he had not; and would not authorize any body to do it.

And being further asked, whether he believed Admiral Watson ever put his seal to it? he said, He believed not; he was sure he had too good a heart.

Being further asked, if he knew whether Admiral Watson, before his death, had ever heard of his name being put to the fictitious treaty? he said; He had; it was communicated to him by Captain Martin, on his death bed; and that the secret Committee had agreed to share the 30 lack, stipulated in the agreement for Omichund, among themselves, and excluding the Admiral of his share, because he had not signed the treaty:—The admiral said, that he always thought the transaction dishonourable, and as there was so much iniquity among mankind, he did not wish to stay any longer among them; this was just before his death, which he believes was the 16th of August 1757:—The witness said, He was not present at this conversation, but in the next room; and that it was communicated to him by Captain Martin (who is now dead) the moment he came out of the room.

Being asked, if he was sure Admiral Watson did not put his seal to it? he answered, That he had heard him say so in repeated conversations:—He further said, That he never heard that Admiral Watson applied to the select Committee for a part of this money; but that after his death, his executors did.

Being asked, if he ever heard Admiral Watson mention who was the person that proposed to him to sign the fictitious treaty? said, The Admiral did not mention the gentleman's name; but said (with a sneer) it was a member of the secret Committee.

As to the Admiral's signing the real treaty, he never heard him mention it particularly; that he had heard him say he thought it an extraordinary measure to depose a man they had so lately made a solemn treaty with; but that as he was instructed by the King to afford the East India Company assistance in their affairs, he assisted them with his forces according to his duty; and he always understood, from the Admiral's conversation, that he did sign the real treaty, but never heard him say whether he approved it or not.

The witness further said, That he heard of this treaty immediately after the attack of Cutwa, which was the beginning of June, and before the battle of Plassey, and it was then talked of, that Admiral Watson's name was put to the fictitious treaty; that the Admiral was then at Calcutta, and that he took to his bed about the 8th of August following, as he believed.—That the time when Admiral Watson made the declaration "that it was extraordinary to depose the Nabob" was at breakfast, about the latter end of May, when he gave the witness orders to prepare the men who were to act with the artillery on shore; the men who formed the detachment on that occasion were from the King's ships, and were sent on board the Bridgewater to Chandernagore, to join the army; and, as the witness understood, they acted as artillery during all that campaign.

The witness being asked, whether he was with the Admiral when he first heard the report of his name being put to the fictitious treaty? said, He was every other day upon duty with the Admiral, as the officer who received his orders; that he never took the liberty with the Admiral to mention the report to him, but that he had heard the Admiral say it had been put.

Being asked, whether, between the report of the Admiral's name being put, and his taking to his bed, was not nearly two months, and whether he believed that the first time the Admiral heard of it was in the conversation referred to with Captain Martin? he said, He believed it was about two months, and that the Admiral might know it before that conversation, but then he was sure he knew it: That it is impossible he can recollect for 15 years distance the precise time of the conversation, when the admiral said he knew his name had been put to the fictitious treaty.

Being further asked, whether when he used the words of the Admiral, that he declared he always thought the transaction dishonourable; he meant that it was dishonourable to make a false treaty to deceive Omichund, or to use the Admiral's hand and seal to the treaty when he did not put it himself? he said, He understood it that it was dishonourable to make a false treaty to deceive Omichund.—And being further asked, whether before Captain Martin communicated the subject of Admiral Watson's name being put to that treaty, it was not a matter of suspicion only? said, He believed it might.

Being also asked, what he understood the Admiral to mean when he said "he was a stranger to deception, they might do as they pleased?" he said, In the transaction of the Company's affairs:—And if he understood Admiral Watson to mean by those words that they might put his name to the fictitious treaty if they pleased, he said, He did not; he could not conceive that the



Admiral would give his consent to any transaction that he held dishonourable, that should insinuate his approbation of deception.

In the course of the above examination the witness was questioned as to the following points, which the Committee reserved to the last to avoid confusion in the state of the evidence; viz. If it had not been for the assistance of his Majesty's ships and troops he thought the East India Company could have succeeded in their different enterprizes, and particularly in effecting the revolution in favour of Meer Jaffer? He believed not.

Whether the witness was not, at the time of Admiral Watson's illness, suspended his Majesty's service? He never was suspended.

By what accident he became commanding officer under the Admiral? Captain Speke was wounded in the attack of Chandernagore, the first lieutenant was killed, the second lieutenant was appointed governor of Chandernagore after the capture, the third lieutenant was wounded and he died of his wounds, the fourth lieutenant was wounded and sick ashore, the witness was fifth, and then became commanding officer.

The next evidence that relates to the fictitious treaty, and which your Committee therefore think proper to lay before the house in this place, is that of

John Cooke, Esquire, who was before mentioned to have been secretary to the select Committee in Bengal, in the year 1757; and he informed the Committee, that he knew there was such a treaty; that after the battle of Plassey he waited upon Admiral Watson with a message from the select Committee; that among other things this fictitious treaty was mentioned in conversation; that the Admiral said he had not signed it (shrugging up his shoulders) but had left them to do as they pleased, alluding, as the witness supposed, to Colonel Clive and the select Committee. This conversation, as the witness thought, was in July, and the Admiral was then in good health and spirits.

The witness further said, That he had no doubt that the Admiral knew his name was to it; and he understood, from what dropped from him, that he had secretly permitted his name to be used; he believed he did not publicly give his consent, but had known of it, and made no objection; he did not conceive his name could have been put without his permission: The conversation was only between the Admiral and himself; the Admiral, in that conversation, certainly did not express any resentment or surprize that his name was put. And being questioned again, as to the purport of that conversation? he said, If he remembered right, when the circumstance of the fictitious treaty was mentioned, he shrugged up his shoulders, and said (laughingly) that he had not signed it, but that he had left it to them to do as they pleased.

Being asked, whether it was from this circumstance that he collected the Admiral knew of his name being put? he said, it was, and from this circumstance only: And he further said, It gave him no surprize that an officer of Admiral Watson's rank had agreed to have his name put to a treaty he could not sign, because he was convinced the Admiral knew the motives for which such a fictitious treaty was made; and that, though he would not sign it, he had no objection to Omichund being lulled into a security, and preventing the whole design from being discovered and defeated.

Being asked, if Admiral Watson told him so much? he said, By no means; these were his reasons why he was not surprized.—He further said, That the Admiral's consent to having his name put to the fictitious treaty was never communicated to the select Committee.

As to the real treaty, the witness said, He had no doubt that the Admiral signed it, and if he remembered right, he sealed it; he was sure he signed it, but to the best of his memory he was not present; but he was certain, because the treaty was sent down by Mr. Watts, for the Admiral and Committee to execute, and then to be returned to him with all imaginable dispatch; and the treaty was executed by the Committee and Admiral, and returned accordingly: To the best of his remembrance he did not see the real treaty after the Admiral had signed it, but thought he did see it after the Committee had signed it, before it was sent to the Admiral; and that, to the best of his recollection, there was one article in that which was returned to Meer Jaffer, which was not in the treaty which Meer Jaffer had executed and sent to the Committee, to be kept by them: That it occurs to him the treaties were in Persian and English, in one he is sure there were both Persian and English articles:—That there was an additional article in one of the treaties, which the Committee and the Admiral signed, and that article was in English; that he believed only one copy of the treaty was signed by Meer Jaffer, which was left with the Committee, and the other copy was signed by the Committee, and sent to the Nabob, and that he understood the difference in the treaties were known, and really thought that a copy of the treaty sent to Meer Jaffer was kept; he knew no reason why it was not sent to the Company; he imagined it was:—That he was Secretary, but that there were clerks to make copies; that it was his business to give the clerks orders what to copy, and to keep the copies; and that if there had been a copy, it would naturally have been in the Secretary's office, under his management.

The witness being shewn the proceedings of the Select Committee, 19 May 1757, in which it is ordered, that the treaty with Meer Jaffer, then signed by the Committee and Admiral Watson, should be entered after the proceedings; and being asked, if he apprehended he could have allowed his clerks to omit entering the 13th article, when it appeared all the other articles were entered after the proceedings? he said, it appeared to him that the translation entered there was of that treaty which Meer Jaffer signed, in which the additional article was not inserted—he could account for it no other way.

Being

Being asked, if that treaty, signed by Meer Jaffier, was in his custody? he said, it was in the office.—He further said, the treaties were sent to Admiral Watson immediately after they were signed, and thought only one part came back to the office, and the other was immediately dispatched up the country.

Being asked, How often, in the course of his office, he thought he copied the treaty as it now stands in the books? He said, he did not know, nor did he think he ever copied it himself.

In regard to Admiral Watson's expressing any displeasure at the measure taken for deposing Serajah Dowla, he recollects no such conversation, nor did he ever hear he was displeas'd on that account.

Sir Eyre Coote being called upon to give an account of the transactions in Bengal, in the year 1757, that came within his knowledge, said; That he was at that time Captain of the 39th regiment doing duty on board the fleet commanded by Admiral Watson; that he was a member of the council of war, previous to the battle of Plassey, upon the 21st of June 1757; that Colonel Clive informed the Council he found he could not depend on Meer Jaffier for any thing more than standing neuter, in case the army came to an action with the Nabob; that Monsieur Law, with a body of French was then within three days march of joining the Nabob, whose army, by the best intelligence he could get, was about 50,000 men; and that he called the Council together for their opinion, whether, in those circumstances, it would be prudent to come to an immediate action with the Nabob, or fortify themselves where they were, and remain till the monsoon was over, and the Mharattoes could be brought into the country to join us; the question being then put, began with the president and eldest members, whose opinions were,

Against coming to an immediate action.

For coming to an immediate action.

Lieut. Colonel Clive.

Major Eyre Coote.

Major James Fitzpatrick.

Captain Alexander Grant.

Major Archibald Grant.

Captain John Cudmore.

Captain Frederick Gaupp.

Captain Andrew Armstrong.

Captain Thomas Rumbold.

Captain Geo. Muir.

Captain Christian Fischer.

Captain Robert Campbell.

Captain Charles Palmer.

Captain Lieut. Peter Castairs.

Captain La Boom.

Captain R. Waggoner.

Captain Corneil.

Captain Lieut. William Jennings.

Captain Lieut. Fra<sup>s</sup>. Parstrow.

Captain Lieut. Moltair.

The reasons for the witness's opinion in this council were, That having hitherto met with nothing but success, which had consequently given great spirits to the men, any delay might cast a damp.—2dly, That the arrival of Monsieur Law would not only strengthen the Nabob's army, and add vigour to their councils, but likewise weaken our force considerably, as the number of Frenchmen we had entered into our service, after the capture of Chandernagore, would undoubtedly desert to their countrymen upon every opportunity.—3dly, The distance from Calcutta was so great, that all communication from thence would certainly be cut off, and therefore there was no reason to hope for supplies, and consequently the army must be soon reduced to the greatest distress.—The Witness further said, That if it should be impracticable to come to an immediate action, his opinion then was, for returning to Calcutta, the consequence of which must have been disgrace to the army, and inevitable destruction to the Company's affairs.

The Witness further said, That about an hour after the Council broke up, Colonel Clive informed him, unasked (Captain Robert Campbell, to the best of his recollection, was with him at the time) that notwithstanding the resolution of the council of war, he intended to march the next morning, and accordingly gave orders for the army to hold themselves in readiness, leaving a subaltern officer's command in the fort of Cutwa; that the army consisted of 750 men in battalion, including 100 Topazzes, 2,100 Sepoys, and 150 artillery, including 50 sailors; of these about 150, besides sailors, might be of the King's troops.

Sir Eyre Coote here read a description of the battle of Plassey, and was afterwards desired, by the Committee; to give an account of the attack upon Chandernagore, in order to shew the difference of loss when acting against European or Indian forces; and it appeared, that the loss was much more considerable, at the attack of Chandernagore.

The Witness being asked, Whether, at the attack of the Nabob's camp, near Calcutta, Lord Clive's Secretary, Aid de Camp, and Captain of grenadiers, were not killed? said they were, and a great many other officers, and a great many men.

Being asked, Whether he presented any memorial to Lord Clive after the council of war held at Cutwa? said, he never did; on the contrary, Lord Clive spoke to him first, unasked, of the army marching, without his having mentioned a word to him upon the subject.

Being asked, Whether the sailors, at the battle of Plassey, belonged to the Company's ships, or to the men of war? he said, He believed some were from the Indiamen, but the officers who commanded them were belonging to the men of war.—The garrison of Chandernagore was composed intirely of seamen from the King's ships; he could not tell whether the seamen from the Indiamen were not first turned over on board the King's ships; but he found a minute on his journal, wherein it was agreed, that the officers and sailors belonging to the squadron, which were



were with the army on the expedition to Muxadavad, were not to share with the army in the prize money, but with the navy.

The witness being desired to give his opinion, whether, without the assistance of the King's troops and ships in the whole of the transactions in 1757, the enterprizes would have succeeded? he said, He had no idea that they could:—And whether the army under Colonel Clive alone could have taken Chandernagore without the assistance of the navy and King's troops? he said, He thought the probability was against them.

Several letters and other papers relative to the above transactions were read, for which the house is referred to the appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 6.

Lord Clive observed, that in a former part of his evidence he had made a mistake in respect to the number of the council of war, who on the 21<sup>st</sup> of June voted for the immediate attack of Serajah Dowla, and said, he might very easily have been led into that mistake, the event having happened 15 years ago, and he not having consulted a single record from that time to this: that although he might have informed Captain Coote of his resolution to attack Serajah Dowla, notwithstanding the opinion of that council of war, he did imagine that he had not concluded upon the whole plan till 24 hours after, because the troops did not cross the river to make that attack till the 22<sup>d</sup> of June in the evening, and the discourse between Captain Coote and him was the 21<sup>st</sup> in the morning.—His Lordship also observed, with regard to another part of his evidence, that he certainly should not have declared that Admiral Watson had consented to have his name put to the fictitious treaty, if he had not understood so from Mr Lushington, but that he would have ordered his name to be put, whether he had consented or not.

Your Committee take the same occasion to insert the following extract of a letter, which a member of the Committee informed the Committee he had lately read in Lord Clive's letter book, from his Lordship to the select Committee at Fort Saint George, the 12<sup>th</sup> of September

1757.  
“ It is with the deepest concern I acquaint you of Admiral Watson's death; his zeal for the service of the Company, and the extraordinary success it was crowned with, both at Gheriah and in the expedition, will make his memory, particularly in India, survive to latest ages.”

The next point of evidence to which your Committee proceeded, was the manner in which Meer Jaffer gave Lord Clive his Jaghire. And,

Francis Sykes, Esquire, a member of the house, being requested to relate what he knew of that transaction, informed your Committee. That he was appointed resident at the Nabob's court on the leave of absence of Mr. Hastings; to the best of his remembrance it was in June or July 1758; that he was with the Nabob upon business relative to the Company, when the Nabob speaking to him of Lord Clive's expedition against the Shawzadda, mentioned the sense he entertained of Lord Clive's conduct towards him, and likewise in reducing the Shawzadda to such necessity as to apply to his Lordship to put him under the English protection:—He mentioned also, that he owed his government to Colonel Clive before, and this was the second time he was indebted to him for it; that he had been a means of having honours conferred on Colonel Clive, in creating him an Omrah of the empire, but that he had given him nothing to support those honours; he had frequently had it in his thoughts, but had never entered upon it seriously till now; that he had thoughts of giving him a Jaghire in the Patna province, but found it would be attended with inconvenience to the officers of his government, and that Juggutseat had fallen upon a method of obviating those difficulties, by giving him the quit rent arising from the lands ceded to the Company to the Southward of Calcutta; that he thought it would interfere the least with his government, and stood the clearest in relation to the Company's affairs.

The witness said, That to the best of his remembrance he mentioned to the Nabob, that he thought it was a large sum, but the Nabob told him, that it was very little adequate to the services he had received from the Colonel, but more especially for his behaviour upon the capture of Muxadavad, when the whole inhabitants expected to be put under contribution, and that none of them had experienced a conduct of that kind, for that their persons, as well as their properties, were entirely secured to them, that the Nabob also desired at that meeting, that the witness would acquaint him when he heard of the Colonel's coming down the country, and in the mean time he would prepare an instrument called the Jaghire; that he would give the Colonel the meeting, and desired the witness's attendance at the time it was to be presented; that the witness did attend him, in company with Juggutseat and other persons, and met the Colonel two miles to the north of the city, when, after some conversation betwixt the Nabob and Colonel Clive, the Nabob retired, and Juggutseat, in the presence of the witness, and he thinks of Mr. Scrafton, presented him, from the Nabob, with the Jaghire.

The witness did not mention who was present at this conversation, nor did he take any notes of it at the time:—No English were present except himself; the conversation was in the Moorish language, which he thought he understood sufficient for most conversations.—He further said, He did not acquaint any person, by letter or otherwise, about that time, nor does he know of any notification given to the Company of this grant.

Being asked, whether the quit rent, granted by this Jaghire, was not payable by the Company? he said, It was payable by the Company to the Nabob, and he did not know how it was paid after the grant.—He further said, That he had frequently mentioned this conversation with the Nabob since he came to Eng'and, and undoubtedly did the same in India; it was a public act, and he believed was given to Mr. Hastings to translate into English:—The amount of the Jaghire was reckoned about £. 30,000 a year; that he had never any instructions from Lord Clive,

or any other in his name, directly or indirectly, to apply for this Jaghire, nor did he ever hear, till of late, that Lord Clive ever made application to the Nabob for this Jaghire; he said, at the same time he must undoubtedly have read Lord Clive's letter to the proprietors upon that subject.

Being asked, whether he conceived the instrument delivered by Juggutseat to Lord Clive to be the Dewan's Sunnud, or an order from the Nabob to the Company to pay the quit rent? he said, Whether it was one or the other he could not answer; that he only saw it inclosed in a silken bag, and it was not opened at the time it was presented to Colonel Clive, and he never saw it opened.

For further letters and papers relating to the above transactions, your Committee refer to the appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 7.

Lord Clive, in evidence to the same point, informed your Committee, that the first letter he ever wrote about a Jaghire, was, to the best of his remembrance, on the 31<sup>st</sup> of January 1759, to Juggutseat, informing him that the Nabob had made him an Omrah without a Jaghire; in answer to which, he replied, that the Nabob never granted Jaghires in Bengal; that Oriza was too poor, but that he might have one in Bahar; and his Lordship declared, upon his honour, that he never applied for any Jaghire, directly or indirectly, after that period; and that when the Nabob presented him the Jaghire (which was near six months afterwards) he did not know what that Jaghire was, had not the least idea of the amount of it, nor of its being the quit rent upon the Company's lands; and that he did believe the Nabob gave him that Jaghire in consequence of the services he had rendered him, which have been stated by Mr. Sykes.

That having looked upon the Nabob's answer as an evasive one, and that he was not inclined to comply with his request he never wrote or thought more upon the subject, until he received a second letter from Juggutseat, in answer to his first, after the success against the King's son, mentioning that the Nabob had turned the thing in his mind, and was willing to grant him a Jaghire in Bengal, but the nature of it, where or what value it was to be, he was intirely ignorant of, till the patent explained it; Juggutseat was a banker, and a man of great influence and weight with the Nabob.

Your Committee here read a letter from the Seats to Lord Clive, received 4 June 1759, which is annexed in the appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 8.

His Lordship being asked, whether he received the benefit of the Jaghire from the time it was granted? he said, He had received it from July 1759 to this day.

Being further asked, whether application was not made to the Nabob Meer Jaffier, for a grant of lands, to the northward of Calcutta, to the amount of £. 12,000 a year, for the behalf of the Company; and that the Nabob refused this grant till the Company complied with his request, to lend him two lack of rupees, and that the Company were also obliged to make presents to several of the principal officers about him? he said, It was so; and he believed that transaction was not above six, eight, or ten, months after the battle of Plassey.

Being further asked, if he knew that Meer Jaffier about the time of granting the Jaghire was surrounded by his troops, who had mutinied, because he could not pay them? he said, He certainly knew it.—That the matter of fact was, there were great arrears due to the army by Serajah Dowla, as well as by Meer Jaffier, amounting to three or four millions sterling; that it is the custom of that country, never to pay the army a fourth part of what is promised them, and it is only in time of distress they can get paid at all, and for that reason the troops always behave so ill.

Being asked, Whether he recollected that before the grant of the jaghire, the Nabob's jewels, goods, and furniture, were publickly sold in order to make good the money he had agreed by treaty to pay the Company? he said, he had been informed, that the Nabob's jewels amounted to near a million sterling; about £. 50,000, worth of the worst of them were sent to Calcutta, and sold there as part of the treaty money; that some goods were also to be sold, but the parties differing as to the value, the Nabob took the goods back again, and paid for them in money.

Being asked, Whether the Nabob had not granted assignments upon his revenues, particularly the revenues of Burdwan, for payment of the money to the Company, and to the Select Committee, as settled by the treaty? he said, The Nabob made assignments of lands for fulfilling all the articles of the treaty, and also for the Committee money, and that there were other lands assigned likewise in the nature of a mortgage.

His Lordship being asked, On whose application he was made an Omrah? he said, at Meer Jaffier's; but he applied to Meer Jaffier to make the application to the Mogul.

Some days after this evidence was given, Lord Clive acquainted the Committee, That upon recollection he finds he was mistaken in the answer he made to the above question, and his answer to it now is, "By Meer Jaffier's to the Mogul, and without any application on his Lordship's part."

Lord Clive, in further explanation of the evidence of Sir Eyre Coote, stated in a former part of the report, went on to relate; that on the 22<sup>d</sup> June 1757, in the evening, the army crossed the river, and marched all night, amidst incessant rains, until they reached Plassey Grove; and early in the morning the army of Serajah Dowla attacked them in that situation.—That as the description of the battle had been already given in part by Sir Eyre Coote, he should only observe, that its being attended with so little bloodshed, arose from two causes: First, The army was sheltered by so high a bank, that the heavy artillery of the enemy could not possibly do them much mischief; the other was, That Serajah Dowla had not confidence in his army, nor his army any



confidence in him, and therefore they did not do their duty upon that occasion.—His Lordship proceeded to relate, that after the army was routed, Serajah Dowla, for the sake of expedition, fled to the city upon an elephant, which he reached that night thirty miles from the field of battle.—That the troops pursued the routed army about nine miles, to a place called Doudpaur; and in the evening Meer Jaffier sent him word, that he, and many more of the great officers, and a very considerable part of the army, were in expectation of his orders.—That he sent Messrs. Watts and Seraton to wait upon him; and he came to him the next morning, accompanied by his son, made many apologies to him for the non-performance of his agreement to join him, and said, his fate was in his hands. That he assured Meer Jaffier that the English would most religiously perform their treaty, and advised him to pursue Serajah Dowla without delay, and he would follow with the English army. That when Serajah Dowla arrived at the city, his palace was full of treasure; but with all that treasure, he could not purchase the confidence of his army; he was employed in lavishing considerable sums among his troops, to engage them to another battle, but to no purpose.—About twelve at night the fatal news was brought him of Meer Jaffier's arrival at the city, closely followed by the English army; he then in despair gave up all for lost, and made his escape out of one of the palace windows, with only two or three attendants and took refuge in the Fackier's house, as mentioned in a former part of this evidence.

That the English army having encamped within about six miles of Muxadavad; his Lordship sent Messrs. Watts and Walth to congratulate Meer Jaffier upon his success, and to know the time when he should enter the city; in consequence of which, the day was fixed upon, and he entered the city at the head of 200 Europeans and 500 Sepoys.—That the inhabitants, who were spectators upon that occasion, must have amounted to some hundred thousands; and if they had had an inclination to have destroyed the Europeans, they might have done it with sticks and stones. On that day, continued his Lordship, being under no kind of restraint, but that of my own conscience, I might have become too rich for a subject; but I had fixed upon that period to accomplish all my views whatever, and from that period to this hour, which is a space of fifteen years, I have not benefited myself directly or indirectly the value of one shilling, the Jaghire excepted; I have been placed in great and eminent stations, surrounded with temptations; the civil and military power were united in me; a circumstance which has never happened to any other man before that time, or since: The Committee will therefore judge whether I have been moderate or immoderate in the pursuit of riches.

Lord Clive went on to relate that a few days after his arrival at the city, Meer Jaffier was placed on the musket, and proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and a day was then fixed upon to consider the state of the Nabob's treasures, and to see how far he could comply with the treaty immediately; and after that state was known, this matter was left to be decided by the Seats, two men of immense wealth, and great influence, and it was agreed that half should be paid down, and the other half in three years.—That at this meeting was Omichund; and when the real treaty came to be read, the indignation and resentment expressed in that man's countenance, bars all description—He said, "This cannot be the treaty, it was a red treaty that I saw."—That his Lordship replied, "Yes, Omichund, but this is a white treaty."—That this important business being accomplished, he returned to Calcutta with the army, and the Nabob soon began to feel his own greatness, and manifested evident designs of shaking off all dependence upon the English, and of evading the fulfilling the rest of the treaty. That he dismissed from his service those great men who had been the instruments of his greatness, and he put to death the only brother of Serajah Dowla.—That as soon as the rains were over, he took the field without the Company's assistance to quash three rebellions; but when he came seriously to consider of his situation, he thought proper to call upon the English for their assistance; and that the witness marched immediately to join him.—That at the city he had a meeting with the discontented chiefs, when he engaged to protect them in their persons, and to use his influence to get them restored to favour. That this was easily accomplished, and he then insisted that he should immediately pay down that part of the treaty money, which was then due, and that he should assign over lands sufficient in mortgage to secure the rest. That no difficulty was found in subduing all his enemies, except Ramnarrain, who was the Nabob of Bahar; and at the head of a great army, and would not acknowledge Meer Jaffier without the English security; which being given, and a promise made, that he should remain in his government, he came to the Nabob, and paid his obedience. That the country being now just settled, he returned to Calcutta, with an intention to embark for the Carnatick, and taking the first honourable opportunity of returning to his native country; but in the interim the ships arrived from Europe, which brought out the very strange appointment of four governors, which was called a rotation government, because one governor was only to be as such for three months.—He had not the honour to be appointed one of those governors.—Upon which, the gentleman who had that honour, as well as the rest of the council, sent him the following letter.

S I R,

Our most serious attention has been devoted to the commands of our honourable employers per Hardwick, naming a rotation of governors for the future management of their affairs at this settlement, and having duly weighed the nature of this regulation, with all its attending circumstances, a sincere conviction of its being, in our present situation and circumstances, repugnant to the true interest of our honourable masters, and the welfare of the settlement in general, obliges us (though with the utmost respect and deference) to believe, that had our employers been apprized

prized of the present state of their affairs in this kingdom, they would have placed the presidentship in some one person, as the clearest and easiest method of conducting their concerns, as well as preserving and maintaining the weight and influence the late happy revolution has given us, with the Soubah of these provinces, on which influence, at the present period, the interest and welfare of the Company depends in the highest degree at this settlement. The difficulties we may be liable to by a rotation in the executive part of government, with its consequences, are sufficiently obvious in our present state of affairs; we will however mention only a few points. The treaty of the Nabob not perfected in all its branches, the possessions of the lands incomplete, the settlement in no posture of defence, the French considerably reinforced with military and a fleet, their designs with respect to Bengal hitherto unknown, and the impossibility of impressing a proper idea of this divided power in the minds of the Soubah and others, of this kingdom, who have, at all times, been accustomed to the government of a single person; a little reflection will introduce many more, and clearly evince the necessity of this address.

The gentlemen nominated governors in the honourable Company's commands per Hardwick, have the highest sense of gratitude for the honour conferred on them by our employers in their appointment, but deem themselves in duty bound at this juncture of affairs to wave all personal honours and advantages, and declare all their sentiments, that a rotation in the executive part of government, for the foregoing reasons, would be extremely prejudicial to the real interest of the Company; in which opinion we unanimously concur, and judge it for the welfare of our honourable employers, and of the settlement in general, to deviate in this instance from the commands of our honourable masters, and fix the presidentship in a single person, till we hear further from Europe.

Your being named as head of the general Committee (in the letter of the 3d of August last) establishing at that time, for conducting the Company's affairs in Bengal, your eminent services, abilities, and merit, together with your superior weight and influence with the present Soubah and his officers, are motives which have great force with us on this occasion, and all concur in pointing out you, at the present, best able to render our honourable employers necessary service at this juncture, till they shall make their further pleasure known by the appointment of a president for their affairs here.

These reasons urge us to make you an offer of being president of the Company's affairs in Bengal, till a person is appointed by the honourable Company; and we flatter ourselves you will be induced to accept of our offer from your wonted regard to the interest of our honourable employers, and zeal for the welfare of their affairs, which we doubt not you are as well as ourselves convinced, will be much prejudiced by a rotation in the executive part of government.

We wait your reply, and have the honour to be,

S I R,

Your most obedient,

and most humble servants,

W<sup>m</sup>. Watts,

C. Manningham,

Rich<sup>d</sup>. Becher,

M. Collet,

M. Mackett,

Tho. Boddan.

Fort William,  
26 June, 1758.

Lord Clive said, He did not hesitate one moment to accept of this request; and soon after he received his appointment from the Court of Directors themselves, in consequence of the success at Plassy. That soon after this appointment, he took into the most serious consideration the situation of affairs upon the coast of Coromandel: Mr. Lally was arrived with such a force as threatened not only the destruction of all the settlements there, but of all the East India Company's possessions, and nothing saved Madras from sharing the fate of Fort St. David, at that time, but their want of money, which gave time for strengthening and reinforcing the place. That however Madras was besieged, and no words that he can command can do justice to the gallant behaviour of Lord Pigot, General Lawrence, Colonel Draper, General Caillaud, Major Brereton, &c.—That he thought it was his duty to contribute his mite towards the destruction of the French, and therefore he projected the scheme of depriving the French of the northern Sircars (whose revenues were computed to amount to £. 400,000 a year) contrary to the inclinations of his whole council.—That this expedition succeeded completely, for the French were totally driven out by Colonel Ford, with the Company's troops, whose conduct and gallantry upon that occasion was equal, if not superior, to any thing that had happened during the whole course of the war.—That in the mean time he was called up the country with the remaining part of the forces left behind, to raise the siege of Patna, which was besieged by the King's son.—The siege being raised, and the King's son being drove out of the country, he returned to his government in Calcutta, where he had been but a very short time before he received intelligence that the Dutch were forming a great armament from Batavia.—It was thought to be destined for Bengal; and it was reported that the Nabob had given them encouragement to come there; that in the month of August 1759, a Dutch ship arrived in the river full of troops, which circumstance brought matters to a certainty. And here his Lordship observed will be seen the use of the double government; for soon after arrived six other Dutch ships, having on board in all 700 Europeans, and 800 Mallays.—His Lordship said, he was sensible how very critical his situation was at that time



time; that he risked his life and fortune in taking upon himself to commence hostilities against a nation, with whom we were at peace; but that he knew the fate of Bengal and of the Company depended upon it, and therefore he ran that risk; that he called upon the Nabob to fulfil his agreement, and to order the Dutch to leave the river, and if they did not comply with his orders, he resolved under his sanction to attack them: The seven ships came within a few miles of Calcutta, and then landed near 700 Europeans and 800 Mallays; that he ordered that gallant officer Colonel Ford, who was returned from the expedition of the Decan, to intercept them in their march to Chinfura (the Dutch factory) which he did so effectually that of their 700 Europeans not above 14 got to Chinfura, the rest were either killed, or taken prisoners; this he did with a force of 300 men, 800 Sepoys, and about 150 of the Nabob's cavalry; that he ordered at the same time three English East-Indiamen, fitted out and manned for the purpose, under the command of Captain Wilson, to attack the seven Dutch East-Indiamen; and after an engagement of two hours, they took six of them, and the seventh was intercepted by two of our ships that laid lower down in the river, and that they took three times the number of men that our ships contained.—That after this, two treaties were concluded, the one between the English East-India Company, and the Dutch East-India Company; where they agreed to pay to the East-India Company all the expences of that war: With the Nabob they made the other treaty, by which they agreed never to introduce forces into his country without his consent, and that they would never keep at Chinfura, and all their other settlements together, more than 125 European soldiers. The Witness observed, that at this time by much the greatest part of his fortune was in the hands of the Dutch; the Company's treasury was so full in consequence of his successes, that the governor and council declined giving their servants any bills in their favour, and he was reduced to the necessity of sending his fortune home by bills upon the Dutch; that these bills were made payable by installments, one third part every year, so that he was morally certain that two thirds of the sum sent, which to the best of his remembrance was about £.180,000. would remain in the hands of the Dutch, when they heard the news of their ill success in Bengal; but the Dutch Company refusing to accept of those bills in the manner drawn, and insisting upon a deduction of near £.15,000. for prompt payment, or else refusing to pay them at all; his attorneys thought proper, considering the critical situation of the two nations at that time, to accept payment upon those terms; his Lordship said, That this design of the Dutch being frustrated, he resigned his government to Mr. Holwell, embarked on board a ship in February 1760, and arrived in England in July.

His Lordship then read to the Committee the following minutes of the East-India Company.

At a Court of Directors, held on Wednesday, February 6, 1754, minutes of the Committee of correspondence, dated the 5th instant, being read, it was unanimously

Resolved, That a sword set with diamonds, to the value of £.500. be presented by the Court to Captain Robert Clive, as a token of their esteem for him, and sense of his singular services to the Company upon the coast of Coromandel.

At a General Court, held on Wednesday, December 21, 1757, on a motion, and the question being put, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this General Court be given to Lieutenant Colonel Robert Clive, for his eminent and signal services to this Company.

At a General Court, held on Wednesday, September 24, 1760, the Chairman from the Court of Directors informed this Court, That such important services had been rendered to the Company in the East-Indies by Vice Admiral Pocock, and the Colonels Clive and Lawrence, as appears from the accounts formerly laid before this Court, and lately received, to demand some further marks of the Court's sense thereof, than had been already expressed; and moving the Court thereupon, it was, on the question,

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this court be given to Vice Admiral Pocock, Colonel Robert Clive, and Colonel Stringer Lawrence, for their most eminent and signal services to this Company.

And another motion being made;

Ordered, That the chairman and deputy chairman wait upon those gentlemen, and acquaint them with this mark of this Court's great regard for their services.

And another being made, it was, on the question,

Resolved, unanimously, That the chairman and deputy, when they wait upon Vice Admiral Pococke, Colonel Clive, and Colonel Lawrence, will desire those gentlemen to give their consent that their portraits or statues be taken, in order to be placed in some conspicuous parts of this house, that their eminent and signal services to this Company may be ever had in remembrance.

His Lordship likewise read the following letter.

To Robert Clive, Esquire,

S I R,

We have received your several letters of the 23d, 24th, 25th, and 26th instant, and with great pleasure observe and congratulate you on the rapid success therein mentioned.—The revolution effected by your gallant conduct, and the bravery of the officers and soldiers under you, is of extraordinary importance, not only to the Company but to the British nation in general; that we think it incumbent to return you and your officers our sincere thanks on behalf of his

Britannic

Britannic Majesty, and the East India Company, for your behaviour on this critical and important occasion.

Although in your last letter Jaffer Ally Khan is stiled Nabob, yet we have not ventured on that authority to make any public rejoicings for him, as Subah of these provinces; we should be glad therefore to be informed in your next letter, if he has been proclaimed in form, and is in possession of the government. This will very much add to our satisfaction, and give us a proper opening to address him as the Subah, proclaim him such in our town, and salute his accession.—We have the honour to be,

S I R,

Your most obedient,

and most humble servants,

Cha<sup>s</sup>. Watson,  
G. Pocock,  
Roger Drake, junior,  
C. Manningham,  
Rich<sup>d</sup>. Becher.

Fort William,  
29 June, 1757.

His Lordship being asked, whether from a review of all the transactions of the period when the Dutch armament came to Bengal in 1759, he believes they were invited by Meer Jaffer, or not?

He said, He had no proof for what he was going to offer to the Committee, but that he believed, when from political motives, he found himself obliged to lay the Nabob under restraints, which were by no means agreeable to him, that he did by some means or other, give encouragement to the Dutch, to send for those forces; but he believed at the same time, that after the services which he had rendered him, by raising the siege of Patna, and when his life was saved from the mutiny of his own army, that he repented of what he had done; for he was down with him at Calcutta, to the best of his remembrance, at the time the Dutch armament arrived, and seemed very ready to fall into every measure which he recommended; that however, from his timid conduct towards the Dutch, even at that time, he was confirmed in his suspicions of his having given the Dutch some such invitation.

Some days after this evidence was given, Lord Clive acquainted the Committee, that having recollected an omission in his evidence; he desired the following words to be inserted after his account of the transactions with the Dutch

“ After these two treaties were concluded, one between the English East India Company,  
“ and the Dutch East India Company, wherein the Dutch acknowledged themselves  
“ to have been the aggressors, and agreed to pay to the English Company all the ex-  
“ pences of the war; we returned to them all their ships, together with all the trea-  
“ sure and effects on board, amounting by computation to about half a million ster-  
“ ling.”

Being further questioned, whether from any subsequent negotiations of the Dutch East India Company, his Lordship was confirmed in the opinion of Meer Jaffer's having encouraged them to come to Bengal?

He said, He did believe the Nabob had invited the Dutch from this circumstance; that upon his return to his capital, he either paid them a visit, or received a visit from them, and treated them with such civility as served to confirm his suspicion; that there is reason to believe that he connived at their raising troops in the country; and when he was taxed with it, he pleaded ignorance.

Being asked, whether the Nabob's cavalry had any share in the action with the Dutch?

He said, They had in the pursuit, and killed a great many men.

Whether the European troops in the Dutch service are Dutchmen?

They are not; generally speaking they are Germans; their officers were both French and Dutch; their commanding officer was a Frenchman.

Being asked, whether when he went to raise the siege, he had any intercourse with the Nabob?

He said, Certainly; his son joined him with 8,000 men; and he thinks it was about February or March 1759.

Your Committee having closed the evidence upon the historical part of the first period of their enquiry; in the opening of the examination into the second period, read the papers, which are annexed in the appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 9.

Your Committee then called upon Colonel Caillaud, to give an account of what he knew of the transactions preceding the revolution in 1760, and what induced him to consent to that revolution. And he informed the Committee, That he was called to Bengal in November 1759, to take the command of the troops in the room of Lord Clive, who intended to return to Europe early the next season; that he arrived two days after the affair of the Dutch, and upon his enquiring the state of affairs of that country at that time, was informed, that the Prince (called the Shauzadda) was again preparing to enter the province of Bahar, with a large army, and joined by several Zemindars of that province, who had not taken part with him the year before.—That the Nabob of Purnea had taken the field on the eastern bank of the Ganges about half way between Patna and Muxadavad, and his motives for so doing were thought to be an inclination of joining the Prince, if a favourable opportunity offered.—Lord Clive judged it therefore expedient that he should march with a detachment to Muxadavad, there to wait his arrival, and his orders.—That he set out from Calcutta in December, with the detachment of 300 Europeans, 50 artillery, 6 pieces of cannon, and a battalion of Sepoys, consisting of about 1000 men, and arrived



at Muxadavad about the 26th of December.—And that on the 6th of January, Lord Clive and Colonel Ford joined him.—That Lord Clive then introduced him to the Nabob, recommended him to his friendship, and desired he would repose all the confidence possible in the witness, who was well inclined and attached to his interest.—That on the 14th of January, Lord Clive and Colonel Ford set out upon their return; and on the 18th he began his march to Patna, joined by the Nabob's son, at the head of a large number of country forces.—There was a great many difficulties in setting out the expedition; the low state of the Nabob's treasury obliged him to borrow money, as he could get it from the bankers, by mortgaging countries for it. That about the 30th of January he reached a place, opposite to which the Nabob of Purnea was encamped.—He had not declared his intentions openly; but said, he was ready and willing to obey the Nabob's orders in every thing, to pay all the revenues that were due, and to prove himself a faithful subject and servant.—It was necessary to get more than these general assurances from him; he was at the head of a large body of troops; and as the affairs of Patna were then situated, it was dangerous to leave such a force in his rear, without knowing whether he could trust them.—That he endeavoured to settle matters between him and the Nabob as well as he could; he would accept of no mediation but his; he would not see the young Nabob, but took his security, that if he faithfully discharged all the demands the old Nabob had on him for revenues due, that he would endeavour to get the Nabob's consent that he should remain in his command.—That this kept him seven days; and at this time the Prince was drawing near Patna; the Subah of that province (by name Ramnarrain) had a considerable army under his command, besides a battalion of our Sepoys, that was left in garrison at Patna by Lord Clive, who joined him upon that occasion, and he marched out of the city with these forces.—That the witness repeatedly wrote to him, and pressed him not to come to an action, but to wait his arrival, and had no doubt then of success against the Prince.—That however he chose to follow his own advice; he engaged the Prince; two of his principal Jamaudars deserted him during the action; he was totally defeated and severely wounded.—400 of our Sepoys marched to his assistance, when he was surrounded by the enemy, saved him, and were cut to pieces themselves, with three European gentlemen, two officers, and one gentleman a volunteer.—That the remainder of the battalion secured his retreat into Patna, which the Shauzadda immediately invested.—That he received the news of his defeat the 11th of February, and marched with all the expedition in his power, such as obliged him on the 15th to raise the siege of Patna; and on the 22d the two armies met and engaged; the detail of the action is very uninteresting. That the young Nabob followed quite a contrary disposition to the one he wanted him to make, but that he saved him in imminent danger, and the enemy was totally routed.—That the instant the engagement was over, the young Nabob retired to his tent, on account of the wounds he had received.—That the Witness requested and conjured him to give him ever so small a body of cavalry, and with his Europeans and Sepoys, fatigued as they were, he would do his best to pursue the enemy, and clear the country of them; that he was deaf to all his entreaties—and his means of pursuit, with the handful of troops he was at the head of, fatigued beyond measure with the forced marches he had made to raise the siege, put it quite out of his power; besides out of the six pieces of cannon which he had in the field, four broke down during the engagement, and some time was necessary to put those carriages in repair.—That at length he persuaded the Nabob to leave the city of Patna on the 29th of February, and on the 2d of March he received advice that the Shauzadda (the Prince) was in full march for the province of Bengal.—That he had the advantage of a day's march of our army, with an army composed almost entirely of cavalry, unincumbered with baggage.—That on the 7th he got within 10 miles of him; he marched off in the night, and took his way across the mountains, to enter the province of Bengal in another part; a road through which no army before had ever marched; but through which however the witness made a shift to follow him, and on the 4th of April joined the old Nabob, who was in the field.—That on the 6th, with their united armies, they got so near the Prince, that he proposed to the Nabob, that he would give him a body of cavalry, and some spare horses to assist him in carrying the Europeans, who were exhausted and spent with fatigue, and he would attack the Prince in his camp that night: This he would not comply with, and the next day he came up however with the rear of their army, a river only dividing them; that he again sent repeated messages to the Nabob, to beg he would only march a body of cavalry, to keep the enemy in play, until he could come up with his infantry; but this he would never consent to, and the enemy marched off unmolested; and in two days after took the same road into the province of Bahar: That afraid for the safety of Patna, which he knew was destitute of troops, he detached Captain Knox, with 200 Europeans, a battalion of Sepoys, and two pieces of cannon, to march with all the expedition he possibly could for the relief of Patna, if the Prince should besiege it: He came in time to save the city, on which the Prince had made two general assaults, and was preparing for a third, when Captain Knox arrived with some part of his detachment, and obliged him to raise the siege a second time.—That he remained in camp with the old Nabob, and his son, until the 16th of May, when again he marched with his son against the Nabob of Purnea, whom the old Nabob had endeavoured to bring back to his duty, but which the other refused, and would comply with none of his terms, broke his promise with the witness, and was setting out with an intention of joining the Prince.—On the 22d he again reached Patna, and crossed the river there; but before that happened, Captain Knox, whom he had ordered to march from Patna across the river, and endeavour to stop the progress of the Nabob of Purnea, so that we might get up with him, had taken a strong and judicious post, and was attacked by the Nabob's whole army, and maintained his post



post with great bravery.—That they joined in pursuit of the enemy, who was retreating as fast as they could. On the 27th he came up with them; the young Nabob with his army in the rear two miles; the cannonading began between the two armies; he soon seized their cannon, dislodged them from all their posts, and would have obtained a complete victory, if foot could have overtaken cavalry, of which his army was chiefly composed; that he had none of his own, and the Nabob would not send him one horseman: That they continued pursuing the Nabob of Patna until the 3d of July; they were to have continued their march next day, when between one and two o'clock in the morning Mr. Lushington came into his tent with a harcarra (or messenger) and told him the young Nabob was dead; that it would be difficult to express his surprize, which was followed by his enquiries, to know how the accident had happened, which he was told was by a flash of lightning, as he lay on his bed: In a few minutes after, his Duan (or Prime Minister) came to the witness in the greatest distress, assuring him that if something was not immediately done, the consequence would be, the plunder of the camp, and the Nabob's troops marching off wherever they thought proper: There was no way to prevent this accident, and the confusion which must follow, but to endeavour to keep his death a secret from his army, that we might gain time to bring over some of the Jamautdars of the greatest consequence, and attach them to our interest: That he sent for one or two of those he thought he could most confide in, told them the story, and requested as a mark of the regard they had for their old master, to continue faithful in the service of the old Nabob, and to bring over, by degrees, as many of the other Jamautdars as they could, to this way of thinking; that he, on his part, would use all his endeavours with the old Nabob, that all the arrears of pay, and all the just demands they might have, should be settled to their satisfaction: That we then determined, that the army should march back towards Patna, and give out that the young Nabob was ill; this was performed in seven days, and during this whole time, except the people who were entrusted with the secret, the army had no knowledge of the young Nabob's death.—The witness said, this was the narrative of his campaign; that soon after his arrival at Patna, about the 28th or 29th of July, or the beginning of August, he received advice of Mr. Vanfittart's arrival at Calcutta, as Governor.

Colonel Caillaud then read to the Committee the following letter.

To the honourable J. Z. Holwell, Esquire, President and Governor of Fort William.

Camp at Balkiffen's Gardens, 29th May, 1760.

S I R,

I am honoured this day with your favour of the 24th instant. My last letters of the 24th, and those of yesterday of the 28th, contain all I can urge in favour of our return to Patna with the young Nabob.—You seem also convinced of the necessity of it since the receipt of Mr. Amyatt's letters: I shall be glad to find it further confirmed by the sentiments of the Select Committee.

I am not master enough of the subject, to know how the Company's investment of salt-petre will be so much hurt this year, and that you fear, succours will arrive too late to prevent such mischief; but this I am very confident of, that if we do not find succours, the whole province may be lost, and many years investments to come.

I will endeavour now, Sir, to reply as fully as I can to the subject on which you desire so earnestly to know my sentiments, and hope what I have to say will so fully satisfy you, that I need not at least leave the army until the campaign is quite concluded, as I think it cannot be done without prejudice to our affairs.

Bad as the man may be, whose cause we now support, I cannot be of opinion, that we can get rid of him for a better, without running the risk of much greater inconveniences attending on such a change, than those we now labour under.—I presume, the establishing tranquility in these provinces, would restore to us all the advantages of trade we could wish for the profit and honor of our employers; and I think we bid fairer to bring that tranquility about by our present influence over the Subah, and by supporting him, than by any change which can be made.—No new revolution can take place, without a certainty of troubles, and a révolution will certainly be the consequence whenever we withdraw our protection from the Subah.—We cannot in prudence neither, I believe, leave this revolution to chance; we must in some degree be instrumental to bringing it about; in such a case, it is very possible we may raise a man to the dignity just as unfit to govern, as little to be depended upon, and in short as great a rogue, as our Nabob; but perhaps not so great a coward, nor so great a fool, and of consequence, much more difficult to manage.—As to the injustice of supporting this man on account of his cruelties, oppressions, and his being detested in his government; I see so little chance in this blessed country of finding a man endued with the opposite virtues, that I think we may put up with these vices with which we have no concern, if in other matters we find him fittest for our purpose.

As to his breach of his treaty, by introducing the Dutch last year, that was never so clearly proved, I believe, but as to admit of some doubt.—Colonel Clive, before he left the country, seemed satisfied, that what was suspicious in his conduct in that affair, proceeded not from actual guilt, but from the timidity of his nature. But if we still suspect him from further circumstances, we always have it in our power to put it to the test at once, by making him act as he ought, whether he will or no.

With



With regard to drawing our swords against the lawful Prince of the country, no man can more pity his misfortune than I have done, nor would any one be more willing and happy to be instrumental in assisting him to recover his just right.—But such a plan is not the thought of a day, nor the execution of it the work of a few months; there is a powerful party still remains; the Vizier with the Mharratas and Jutes, who, notwithstanding the constant success of Abdallah against them, still make head against him, and such are their resources and their numbers, that I believe they will at last oblige the Patans to leave the country; for though they cannot beat them fairly out of the field, they bid fair to starve them out of the country.

You have no doubt received advice from Mr. Hastings, that Abdallah hath sent orders to the several powers, to acknowledge the Prince King of Indostan, by the name of Shah Allum; rupees are struck by his order at Banaras and Lacknow, in that name; orders are also given to Sujah Dowlatt, to accept the post of Vizier; and our Nabob hath got, it is said, instructions to acknowledge him, and pay him the obedience due to the King of Kings, as he is stiled.

If we were perfectly sure Abdallah would remain, as he says, until he saw the Prince well fixed on the throne, and the peace and tranquility of the country restored; we might, I think, all joined together, be a match for the Mharratas, but we must be well assured, that Abdallah will heartily enter, and when entered, will firmly support the cause; for should this appointment of his be no more (as it is possible) than a finishing stroke to end his expedition with the eclat of having given us a Mogul, and when a certain number of the country powers had entered into the alliance, he should think of a return to his own country, and leave us to fight it out with the other contending party, I fear the Vizier and the Mharratas would be too strong for those who remained of the alliance. supposing them to be the Ruellahs, and Sujah Dowlatt, and the Nabob of Bengal.—However, supposing all this should take place, why may it not be done with our Nabob in our hand, still his friends and his protectors?

I am this instant favoured with yours of the 25th, and I find by your postscript, that your opinion and mine with regard to the Prince do not differ much. I have no objection to follow the plan you propose.—Let Mr. Hastings sound the old Nabob, and I will go to work with the young one, who joins me this day.

We may continue our march on to Patna, the rains will give us time to negotiate, to see we go on sure grounds, and make such a plan of the alliance as will do us honor, and be an advantage to our country, and our employers.—But let us not abandon the Nabob; besides the reasons I have urged above. One more still remains, which I believe will have some weight, and make us cautious how we attempt, without very strong and urgent reasons, any change in the present system.

You are well acquainted sir, with the cause which first gave rise to the present share of influence, which we enjoy in this part of the Mogul's empire: A just resentment for injuries received, was the first motive which induced us to make a trial of our strength; the ease with which we succeeded enlarged our views, and made us cheerfully embrace all opportunities of increasing that interest and influence, both on account of the advantages which accrued from it to the honourable Company, as likewise the hopes that it might in time prove a source of benefit and riches to our country; such were, I believe, the motives of Colonel Clive's actions during his administration; such, I believe, were the views of the honourable Company, when they solicited and obtained Colonel Coote's regiment from the government; and such, I am certain, is the plan which the Colonel proposes on his return to pursue and to support, in hopes to convince the ministry, and the Company, as he is convinced himself, that if they please to support his project, it will prove of the greatest advantage to the public.

If I have stated our situation right, it follows, I believe, of course, that we are bound with vigour to work on the same plan, to act on the same principles, and to keep up the system as perfect and entire as it was left in our hands; that whatever resolutions the nation or the Company may come to, on Colonel Clive's representations, they may not be disappointed by finding here (at least through our faults) any very material change in our situation, power, or credit.

One word more: All we can wish to do is, not to suffer the Nabob to impose on us, and to check every beginning of an independence he may endeavour to assume: Let us consult and improve, on every occasion that offers, the honour and advantage of our employers, and the increase of their trade and credit; and not let them suffer any additional expence, on account of pursuing any plan, or supporting any system whatever: By acting thus, I think we cannot err; we run at least no risk, and I believe the Company's affairs may be conducted by us under this Subah, as much to their advantage and credit, as any other, whom a revolution may place in the government.

Inclosed, I have the honour to send Mr. Amyatt's last letter, received this morning: We have had, as you will see, another brush with the Prince's troops, and with great success; however if the other plan goes on, we must put an end to this fighting system, and talk coolly on affairs: I shall expect the favour of your opinion with great impatience, and have the honour to assure you, that I am, with perfect esteem and respect,

S I R,

Your most obedient,  
and most humble servant,

John Caillaud.

The Witnesses being asked, What were his reasons for approving a revolution in September 1760, which he seemed to disapprove so strongly by the letter he had read, dated in May? he said, he would, to the best of his recollection, declare those motives, by stating some particulars of his situation at that time in the country: The ascendancy which Lord Clive had over the Nabob, which flowed from the Nabob from a sense of the favours he had received from Lord Clive, was, very soon after he came to the command, at an end: That the Witnesses's constant unwearied attention, to keep up that confidence so necessary between them and the Nabob, was prevented by some very untoward circumstances: Mr. Holwell succeeded Lord Clive in the chair, only by virtue of his rank, in order of succession; and the certainty of another governor being soon appointed, was known to the whole country; and of course, that degree of respect which the Nabob would have had to a governor in other circumstances, was not paid to Mr. Holwell; Mr. Holwell soon saw this, and resented it. The Nabob's exceeding weak and irresolute character, gave plenty of occasions for Mr. Holwell to find fault, and blame his measures: That he felt them too, and observed them, but he thought that he did his duty best as a faithful servant to the Company, by acting the part of a mediator between them, and by softening, rather than irritating, the ill disposition that subsisted between them. That on this plan he acted throughout the whole course of Mr. Holwell's administration; putting off by delays, and sometimes with reasons, every approach to a change of system in that government, which though in his own heart he adopted, and knew the necessity of, yet he was desirous to keep it off as long as he could, till the necessity of it might press so hard as to make it unavoidable: That he thought of nothing but temporary systems formed to the day and to the minute; he would not trust his own abilities and judgment, so far as to decide upon what was right or wrong; he knew something was to be done, but how to do it, he really did not know: That when that letter he read was wrote, the Nabob's son was then alive; his extraordinary death made a great change in the situation of affairs in that country: That Mr. Vansittart's arrival, and the confidence he had in his abilities and judgment, made him without reluctance adopt his plan; he knew his motives; they were honest and disinterested, as to him self, honourable and advantageous to his employers, and such as the necessity of the times, the particular situation at Bengal, the general state of the Company's affairs throughout India, have ever in his opinion vindicated the measures pursued.

Being asked, Whether 20 lack, or any other sum was stipulated, for bringing about that revolution?

He said, The night that Cossim Ally Khan signed the articles, for accepting the management of the affairs of Bengal, under Jaffier Ally Khan (in the presence, as he believed, of Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Holwell, and himself) Cossim Ally Khan, after expressing the many obligations he had for our intended good offices in his favour, tendered a paper to Mr. Vansittart; which, as Mr. Vansittart interpreted to us, contained a note for 20 lack of rupees, payable to the gentlemen then present; that he don't recollect a gentleman present there, that did not concur with him, in desiring Mr. Vansittart to return that paper to Cossim Ally Khan; telling him, That he mistook our motives for his advancement. He pressed on Mr. Vansittart again the acceptance of the paper; telling him, That if we continued to refuse that favour, he should fear that the gentlemen present were not well pleased with the appointment: Mr. Vansittart, who knew his own motives, as well as those of the witnesses, and also of the rest of the gentlemen in the Committee, told Cossim Ally Khan, returning him the paper again, "When you have paid off all the arrears due to the Company, to your own troops, that the peace of this country is settled, and that your own treasury is full; if then you think proper to make us any acknowledgement for the services now done you, we shall not then be unwilling to accept such marks as you will be pleased to give us of your friendship." The Witnesses said, That the affair ended there; and he declared solemnly upon his honour, there was no stipulations made, no partition treaty, or any thing of the kind mentioned, then or after, to his knowledge, of that transaction.

The Witnesses added, That he was now ready and willing to declare, what he received upon the occasion, when he received it, and how he received it; he said, He little expected after 13 years service in that country, and 9 of them in the field, that the little fortune he made, should become the object of so public an enquiry, but he was happy to meet this enquiry more than half way, and the more so in this particular point; as perhaps it may give him an opportunity of doing justice to the memory of the man from whom he received it (Mr. Vansittart) who did it in his usual generous and handsome way: so that he knows not but to this minute, the sum he received may be charged to his account. After Cossim Ally Khan was placed in the government, he went up to the army at Patna, came down again, embarked for the coast in January 1761, remained there a year and an half, and came back to Calcutta, called there upon extraordinary business. In October 1762, Mr. Vansittart then going up to Munger, told him, "If I am happy enough to settle with the Nabob the unfortunate differences that have subsisted between him and my Council, and that I can with propriety remind him of the services you jointly did him; I shall certainly endeavour to serve you." Mr. Vansittart went up to Munger, and he embarked on board a ship for Europe. In the year 1763, he received an account current from Mr. Vansittart, in which he found credit for 2 lack of rupees, unsolicited as he had mentioned before, and much beyond his expectations, and this upon his honour was the whole of what he received directly or indirectly upon that occasion; so little was money his object or thought, that he never enquired or knew what others might have got upon the same occasion; and that if money



had been his object, he should have been more curious in his enquiries: It is not stated in the account from Mr. Vansittart, from whom the 2 lack came, but he supposed it to come from Cossim.

Being asked, Who took possession of the house and effects of Meer Jaffier?

He said, Cossim Ally Khan, after Jaffier had taken out every thing that he wanted.

Being asked, When the resolution was taken of making Cossim Ally Khan Nabob, in the room of Meer Jaffier?

He said, In the accounts read of the transaction, it appears, that Meer Jaffier, rather than consent to the terms proposed, sent for Meer Cossim, and gave up the government to him immediately.

Being asked, Whether Mr. Holwell made any report to the Select Committee, that Cossim Ally Khan proposed to take off the Nabob?

He said. He never heard of such proposal, Mr. Holwell never reported to them, that such a proposal had been made to him.

The Bengal proceedings relating to Colonel Caillaud; and the opinion of the Court of Directors upon the same subject, were read, and are annexed in the Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 10.

A member of the house being present, desired to acquaint the Committee, That he was chairman of the East India Company at that time, and was the principal cause of Colonel Caillaud's coming home, in order to do justice to a character he entertained a high opinion of; that the Court of Directors entered into a minute enquiry, when he was unanimously acquitted, and was returned to India, with higher honours.

William Brightwell Sumner, Esquire, being called upon by the Committee, to state his reasons for assenting as a select Committee man, to the measure of deposing Meer Jaffier, and placing Cossim Ally Khan on the Musnud?—said, That, without insisting on the public breach of treaty on the part of Meer Jaffier, in the instance of the Dutch invasion, and the many other doubtful parts of his conduct, the irregularities of his private life, or the cruelties with which he was charged, he would rest the reasons for his conduct on the necessity of the reformation, from the extreme difficulties and imminent dangers the affairs of the Company, as well as those of the state, were reduced to by the jealousies, indolence, and inactivity, of the Nabob Meer Jaffier, and the mal-administration and corruption of his ministers, in the collection and dissipation of the revenues, and adding to these, the intestine troubles through the whole country; the witness was of opinion, and still continued firm in the same, that it would have been impossible to have supported the system of government then established two months longer, and that embarked as we were with Meer Jaffier, we must inevitably have shared in his ruin.

For the difficulties and distresses of the presidency, and the opinions formed thereon, while these were strong in view and immediate conclusions were necessary, the witness referred to the public records, which, he said, fully evinced the necessity of the measures pursued, but he wished to have it understood, that when the Committee first entered into negotiation with Meer Cossim, their only idea was reformation in the ministry, not a revolution in the government; and that it was the unexpected obstinacy of Meer Jaffier alone, not an original design in the Committee, that placed Meer Cossim on the Musnud; that he believed, it was a circumstance as little thought of by Mr. Vansittart, as by himself, when he left Calcutta, on his visit to the Nabob, for the purpose of these reformations; but he readily admitted the necessity of the subsequent change made by Mr. Vansittart, as pointed out by him in his narrative; every part of which, from his intimate knowledge of the man, he gave the fullest credit to.—The witness repeated, That he was, and still remained of opinion, that the destruction of Meer Jaffier's government made the intended reformation necessary, and that having gone such lengths, there was no room for receding; and that on the whole, he flattered himself, when all matters were duly weighed, his conduct would stand justified in the opinion of every candid and impartial man, whether he was considered as a subject of this kingdom, or, as an immediate servant of the Company.

The witness being desired to inform the Committee, whether the invitation which Meer Jaffier was supposed to give to the Dutch, was ever more than suspicion?—he said, It was so far proved by a letter or letters, found in his cabinet after he left Muxadavad, wrote by the Dutch governor to him, on the subject of that invasion: That he could not recollect the purport of them precisely, but they were full conviction to him; they were not entered upon the public proceedings; and he does not recollect, that the Committee made any remonstrance or memorial to Meer Jaffier, upon the subject of their suspicions with respect to the Dutch, nor to his knowledge did Meer Jaffier ever acknowledge such transaction.

The witness read from a printed book, the translations of the following letters from Mr. Bisdon, Director of Chinsura, to the Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan, and which he recollected to be those mentioned above.

#### L E T T E R I.

Our settlement was established here long before the English and other nations entered this kingdom, of which we were eye witnesses: Our power was then greater as well as our trade, but now we perceive, that both our power, interest, and wealth, are lost, whilst that of other nations daily increase: In this case, what recourse have we left? Our dishonour and shame is almost inevitable.

For

For this reason, and for the security of our possessions, as well as for the service of your excellency, I have sent for troops into this country: You are our master and sovereign; and therefore I hope for your protection, and wait your orders to bring our troops to this place.  
 God grant that your riches may daily increase.

## L E T T E R II.

As our nation has always been encouraged by the favour of your excellency, and more particularly from that time, when having a favourable regard to our Company's business, you repeatedly assured our chief of Cossimbuzar, of your attachment; considering these circumstances, I was extremely surpris'd, that your excellency, during your residence at Calcutta, entered into an agreement, that you would strengthen the fort of Muha Tanna, in order to prevent the Dutch troops from coming this way; and also give a note to the English, directing them to oppose the coming up of our army—All these things considered, it seems plain to us, that your excellency did not enter into the agreement, or gave this order from any ill opinion of us; but it is all to be imputed to the overbearing spirit of the English: But if any one enters into an agreement through force or distress, and afterwards does not abide by it, he will stand justified by the laws of God and man; particularly the Governor of a kingdom, who wishes for nothing else but the good of his country, and the prosperity of his people.

I am therefore in hopes, through your justice and favour, that you will recede from your agreement and order, and that we shall obtain an order from your excellency, for the bringing up of our army; and also, that a positive order may be given to the English, on no account to molest them, for we sent for the said army to this country, in consequence of your directions.

The King's revenues are greatly detrimented, and the country almost ruined, and of this you can only look upon the English as the sole cause. Our nation formerly brought considerable sums of money into this kingdom, and did not carry out any, and now the English are so powerful, that no trade can be carried on by us, for which reason no money now arrives, and the English yearly remit considerable sums: By this means the revenues of the country are greatly decreased; and therefore how will you be able, without great difficulty, to maintain your forces? and when your enemies come upon you, you will not then be capable of opposing them:—This time if you will favour the Company, they will ever be at your command; and your present anxiety and uneasiness may be removed:—Your excellency cannot take a better step, and I hope you will take this into your favourable and serious consideration, and return me a proper answer.

## L E T T E R III.

The wrathful letter you wrote to me I have received, and it has given me inexpressible uneasiness:—The troops were not called here at my own desire, nor did I imagine they would ever have come to action, and fully intended to have returned them by the ships when they sailed for Europe;—They were brought here for the security of the ships: This I acquainted your excellency of several times.—During their stay in camp they molested no man, nor had any disturbances with the country people; this also you are well assured of.—It was never my intention they should fight; but the English hoisted Moors colours, and immediately came down upon them, and a battle ensued. Your excellency is the magistrate of justice, and therefore I desire you will interfere:—I was desirous that some advantage should arise to the riots from the sale of the goods when they were brought up, and intended to have laden on board the ships the salt petre and other goods that were bought, and with the people that came here, dispatched them to Europe; but the English would not permit the boats to pass:—I am willing to act up to our agreement, and hope your excellency will adhere to it also: In this we entirely depend on your favour. The Company have for a long time carried on trade here; and therefore earnestly desire you will continue to them your favour and protection, as we are not able of ourselves to root out our enemies.

The Witness further said, There were several other letters shewn him by Mr. Vansittart, but does not know they were ever acknowledged by Meer Jaffier, and believes they were never shewn to him; and he does not know whether these letters were signed; but they were sealed on the cover; and he was convinced they were wrote by the Dutch governor.

Being asked, What he apprehended to be the reason that these letters were not shewn to the Select Committee, and transmitted as part of their proceedings? He said, he believed they were shewn to every one of the Committee separately; that he could assign no certain reason for the conduct of Mr. Vansittart, but supposes he did not think them of consequence to be shewn to the Committee in their collective capacity.

Being asked, Whether there were any hostilities between the two companies, previous to the Dutch fleet coming into the river? He said, there were no hostilities; some disagreements there had always been on commercial transactions, which were generally accommodated.

The Witness further said, in answer to other questions, That he certainly thought the Nabob was bound by the second article of the treaty, to prevent any ships or troops of the Dutch coming into Bengal; and that certainly the Dutch would have acted as our enemies, had they been permitted to introduce 7 or 800 Europeans: That he apprehends the strength of the Dutch in all their factories before this operation, amounted to about 150 military men: That a correspondence had passed between the English and Dutch upon that transaction: He could not recollect exactly their public professions, but had no doubt of their intentions.



The Witness further said, That he was a member of the Select Committee from the time of Lord Clive's departure to the period of the revolution; that he did not recollect they had any meetings as a Select Committee upon that subject; the whole being carried on in the correspondence between General Caillaud and Mr. Holwell.

He further said, That he was one of the Select Committee present when Cossim Ally Khan made the offer of 20 lack to the governor and council; and that he confirmed every part of General Caillaud's evidence upon that occasion, with this difference, that when the paper was returned, Mr. Vansittart observed that we were labouring for the peace and safety of the country; that the exigencies of the State were pressing, and that we would not on any account receive this offer; but that if, when the Company was settled, he found himself in a situation so to do with convenience to his affairs, he would then be at full liberty to gratify his friends as he thought proper: And Mr. Vansittart further added, "I will, for my part, under such circumstances, freely accept any token of your regard; and I should suppose the other gentlemen will do the same." That Mr. Vansittart then returned the paper to Cossim Ally Khan, who seemed uneasy, and said, He apprehended we were not so much his friends as he wished:—That Mr. Vansittart then gave him the strongest assurances of our sincerity, and took the opportunity to press a donation from him of 5 lack of rupees to the Company, as a help towards the reduction of Pondicherry; this was granted, and was paid the very first money—to the best of the Witness's recollection, a very few weeks after the transaction.

The Witness being further questioned, said, That he knew of no acknowledgement made to the governor and council, as a body, after Cossim Ally Khan was placed on the Musnud; but that as to himself, as in the course of his evidence, he should have occasion to mention his dismissal from the Company's service, a circumstance, which if not explained, might leave an impression of culpability on his part, he begged leave to inform the Committee, that the cause of his dismissal was, his having signed a letter to the Court of Directors, as one of their council among many others, wherein they expostulated on what they thought harsh and undeserved treatment; that this letter gave the Directors such umbrage, that every man in India who had signed it, was immediately dismissed without the least regard to the merits or length of their services; that he states this as the sole cause of his dismissal; and in proof thereof, referred to the several papers annexed in the Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 11.

The Witness observed, that the change of government in favour of Cossim Ally Khan, took place in October 1760, and said, That several months after his establishment, Coja Petrusse, the Nabob's agent in Calcutta, presented him, in the name of the Nabob, with 80,000 Sicca rupees (£.10,000): The payments were made from May to July 1761: That he was dismissed the Company's service the 5th of August following; and from that period, to his leaving Bengal, the 20th of January 1762, he received further, and in like manner, at different times, the sum of 144,000 Sicca rupees (£.18,000) making together the whole amount received £.28,000 sterling: That the reason of separating the sums received, was in support and confirmation of the idea that he had always entertained and wished to convey to the Committee, of its having been a free and voluntary gift, and he begged leave again to remark, that by far the largest part of the present was received after his dismissal: That under these circumstances he ever considered the transaction honourable, and never made a secret of it: That he had thus intruded upon the patience of the Committee, to obviate an opinion, which seems too prevalent, that presents are received indiscriminately in India, and that self-interest is the only motive of actions there: And to shew what he thought dishonourable presents, he further informed the Committee, That in March 1761, he was employed by the governor and council in the province of Burdwan, to enquire into the state of the revenues, so as to enable them to form a settlement with the Rajah for the ensuing year; that while he was upon his journey, the Rajah found means to send his agents to Calcutta, who represented to the governor and council, that of late years the Nabob's receipts, which was the claim the Company had on the province, had scarcely exceeded 18 lack of rupees: However, after much treating, they offered to settle the next year, at between 24 and 25 lack: That the governor and council had not agreed in form to this proposal, but he was informed by a letter on the 3d of April, they had determined so to do; and he was in consequence immediately recalled: That he informed Mr. Vansittart with the opinion he had formed upon the intelligence he had got into the state of the province; and that he meant to protest against those terms of agreement: That the next morning, before the council met, he convinced Mr. Vansittart so fully of the justness of his opinion, that he was re-appointed to Burdwan with the same commission and powers: That this transaction appeared on the consultation of the 10th of April 1771:—That about the latter end of June, or beginning of July, he had completed his enquiries, and returned to Calcutta with a voluntary offer from the Rajah, of the payment of 32 lack and a half of rupees, which was agreed to, and the whole received within that year: That this transaction established a footing for a further resident at Burdwan, and thereby laid the foundation of an annual increase of rents, amounting at this time, if he is rightly informed, to 43 lack per annum, net receipt to the Company.

The witness said, That on the morning of the 10th of April, when his re-appointment to Burdwan took place, he had an offer made him by the Rajah's agent of 4 lack of rupees for his own use and benefit, to be paid down immediately, on condition he would forbear all opposition to the engagement which the Council were before ready to enter into; and that Mr. Smith (a member of the Council) with whom he was intimately connected, soon after informed him, that  
he

he had offers of 2 lack of rupees for his influence with him, not to stir in the affair; and that their further offers to him (through Mr. Smith) were unlimited: That they both treated this proposal as it deserved.

In regard to presents received by others, the witness said, That whatever had come to his knowledge had been by acting as their attorney; but as he is persuaded that the gentlemen who employed him have no reserve upon the occasion, and as he can speak with certainty on the subject, he should conceal no part:—That Mr. Holwell, who was of the Council, received 2 lack and 70,000 rupees—Mr. M'Gwire, one lack and 80,000—Mr. Culling Smith, secretary to the Committee, one lack and 34,000—Major Yorke, who commanded the detachment immediately attendant on Meer Cossim, one lack and 34,000—He did not know whether Mr. Vansittart received any thing: These sums were paid in 1761.

The witness being asked, what were the circumstances of the country when this money was received:—he said, It was a matter he supposed the Nabob a proper judge of.

Being asked, whether Meer Jaffer, at the time of the revolution, had discharged his debt incurred by his treaty with the Company in 1757:—he said, No, A ballance remained due, for which, when the assignments in the Burdwan country were given up, the Company received jewels and other effects, which were considered as full security, not as payment; and could not recollect when the payment was made.

Being asked, whether at the time he received the first payment of his present, he did not receive an obligation for a larger sum?—he said, He did; that it was some weeks, to the best of his recollection, after Cossim Ally Khan left Calcutta, that Coja Petrusé informed him the Nabob intended to make him a present of 2 lack and a half; and desired to know whether he would accept of them:—That he answered, he would very thankfully accept of them as a free and voluntary gift, whenever his circumstances and situation admitted it, without inconvenience to his own affairs: That he then presented him with the Nabob's obligation for that sum, saying, that the Nabob had suffered much uneasiness by Mr. Vansittart's refusal of the obligation for 20 lack. The witness replied, That he considered the obligation of no validity; but he received the present as an earnest of the Nabob's friendly intentions toward him.

Being asked, If, at the time of this conversation with Coja Petrusé, the Nabob was indebted to the Company? he said, It was probable he might be in debt, but he thinks jewels were mortgaged for the payment of every debt. The deposit of jewels was considered as absolute good security; but when they were redeemed, or how the account was settled, he could not recollect.

The witness further said, That large sums had been sent by Meer Jaffer to Patna for payment of the troops; and payment had likewise been made at Muxadavad; that sums were still due was most probable, for he did not suppose army accounts ever have been, or will be, settled. As to the troubles in the country, he apprehends they were not concluded; and that the battle with the Shawzadda had not then happened.

Being asked, whether he apprehended the treasure of the Nabob was abounding at that time? he said, At the time the obligation was given, he apprehended not; but when it was paid, he apprehended the Nabob found no inconvenience.

In answer to further questions, the witness said, That he never disclosed to Mr. Vansittart his conversation with Coja Petrusé, nor had he had curiosity to enquire whether messages, similar to that sent to him, had been sent to Mr. Holwell, Mr. Callaud, Mr. M'Gwire, or either of them: And he does not believe that Mr. Vansittart knew any thing of the 2 lack mentioned in Mr. Holwell's letter, and thought it impossible he should.

In the course of the above evidence, were read the papers annexed in the appendix. N<sup>o</sup> 12.

Your Committee having proceeded thus far in their report; and finding it impossible, from the prorogation, to digest in any manner the rest of their proceedings, have, in consideration of the importance of the matter, laid a transcript of their minutes before the house.

General Carnack.

Whether you was present in Bengal at the time of the revolution, which placed Cossim Ally Khan on the Musnud?

I left Bengal in 1760, with Lord Clive, on my return to Europe.—At my arrival at St. Helena I had information that the Court of Directors had appointed me Major of their settlement at Bengal, and commander of their forces there.

In consequence of that information, I availed myself of the opportunity of one of the Company's ships that was at St. Helena, and went back to Bengal.—I arrived in the mouth of the river, I think, in the beginning of October in that year; but being detained there five or six days by contrary winds, I suppose it was about the 12th or 13th before I arrived at Calcutta:—I there received a letter from Mr. Vansittart, who had heard of the ship's being in the river, informing me he was gone to Muxadavad with Colonel Callaud, and wished me to follow him as soon as possible:—I accordingly tarried but a very few days at Calcutta, and proceeded up to Mr. Vansittart.—In my way to one of the palaces, called Moradbag, where Mr. Vansittart was, I of necessity passed by the Nabob's palace, while Colonel Callaud, with the troops, was there, it being the very day of the revolution, in the act of making the revolution; and yet every thing was so quiet, that I passed the place without having any idea of the matter.—Mr. Vansittart, upon our meeting, informed me of what had been transacted.

To state the circumstances relating to Ramnarrain.

Ramnarrain was a very able man, but very avaritious, and he had the credit of being very wealthy, which was motive sufficient for Cossim Ally Khan to wish to have him in his power.—

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He was always an object of jealousy of the Nabob's, and even Meer Jaffier wished to have had hold of his treasures; however, my Lord Clive had secured him from any injustice of that nature, and it was deemed a point of policy to support Ramnarrain; and the first orders I received after the victory over the Shawzadda, were to maintain the engagements which had been observed in Lord Clive's time, with respect to protecting Ramnarrain from any violence or injustice on the part of the Nabob.—The plea of his being in arrear was the pretext always made use of for oppressing him, but without foundation; for in the frequent conversations I had with Ramnarrain on the subject, he always seemed ready to come to a fair and equitable account:—The Governor and Council thought proper afterwards to give me contrary directions respecting that unfortunate man: There stands upon the Company's records a letter from me to the board, shewing the contrariety of their orders, and an absolute refusal, while I was at the head of their forces, of doing so dishonourable an act, as delivering up this man to his enemy.

Fort William consultations, 21 April 1761—Major Carnack's letter relating to Ramnarrain read.

The 2d order the Governor and Council gave me, was to deliver up Ramnarrain, which I absolutely refused.—In the interim Colonel Coote came and took the command of the army:—Colonel Coote's pursuing the same measures, with respect to Ramnarrain, was an approbation of my conduct, which was very pleasing to me.

At the time you left the army at Patna did you understand that you had a right to quit the service when you thought proper?

I certainly had a right, in my apprehension, to resign the service, except to evade punishment for any crime I might have been guilty of, or in the face of danger.

Whether you delivered such an opinion to the president at Calcutta?

I did, and it stands upon record.

Was there then any obligation or covenant between the military servants and the Company to serve for any limited time?

I believe there have been instances of inferior officers entering into such covenants, but my commission was sent out without any such stipulation; and I will observe, why in justice it ought to be so, for it was in the power of the Governor and Council to dismiss me at their pleasure.

Whether the same liberty did not extend to all the other military servants of the Company not having entered into covenant?

So I have always understood singly, and with restriction, as I have mentioned.

Do you imagine, that if at the time you had resigned, another person exercising the same right at the same time would have rendered an action, innocent in itself, criminal by the conduct of another?

No—nor men in more than one—as no immediate detriment could have from thence ensued to the service; but I should think myself highly criminal to join in a general combination to resign.

Do you imagine that several persons combining together to do an act, which was lawful for each to do separately, would, by such combination, be guilty of a crime?

I do, and for this reason, that general ruin (and more especially in India, where the loss of officers cannot be supplied) would be the consequence of such a general resignation.

Do you think that every thing which may be hurtful in its consequences is therefore criminal to do?

Where the public is materially concerned I think so.

Whether your motive for quitting the army was the orders you received for giving up Ramnarrain?

I did not quit the army, but was ordered down, I believe, with a view of removing every obstacle to the delivery up of Ramnarrain.

Whether you do not think that a breach of the general engagements, under which officers served the Company, would have warranted a general resignation?

I think it may tend to exculpate; but no private consideration can warrant an act, when the public safety is at stake.

Sir Eyre Coote.

To give an account of the particular circumstances relative to Ramnarrain.

After the campaign was over, on the coast of Coromandel, which ended, I believe, in January 1760, I then went down to Bengal:—I may say, prior to that, that I had received a letter from the Governor and Council of Madras, 4 December 1760, informing me of the revolution in Bengal, and that there was five lack of rupees sent from the Nabob, Cossim Ally Khan, for the payment of the troops acting in the siege of Pondicherry:—At that time we were, I believe, three or four months in arrears to our black troops, notwithstanding all the attention the Governor and Council of Madras paid to the supplying us with money; if that money had come in any other way than by a revolution, it would have made me much happier than it did.—In my answer to that letter of the 7th, I gave my opinion of my disapproval of that revolution, as a measure I thought would be productive of the loss of our reputation.—Upon my arrival in Bengal I found there was two different parties of the Council, the one that had formed the revolution, and the other that disapproved of it:—I was intimately acquainted with the gentlemen of both those parties, and therefore, as the affair had happened, however unfortunate I thought it might prove, I made it my business to endeavour to reconcile the two parties, with a resolution, at that time, not to interfere in any matter of business or politics where I thought no honour was to be gained; however, I was over persuaded by Mr. Vansittart and the other gentlemen (as a measure which they

they told me they imagined would be of great service to the Company) to go up to the army at Patna; accordingly I desired they would give me instructions to proceed by, which are as follows.

Instructions to Colonel Coote in the Select Committee proceedings, Fort William, 21 April 1761, read.

By this, I believe, it will plainly appear, that the governor and council had two objects in view, in sending me there, one was the fixing a plan of operation upon the supposition that we should be able to conduct the Mogul to Delhi; the other to secure and protect Ramnarrain in the province of Patna:—Upon my arrival at Patna I applied, with the closest attention, to the business upon which I was sent there, I informed the Shawzadda of the sentiments of the Board towards him, and the desire the English had to assist him to the utmost of their power, which he seemed very sensible of, and very desirous of having; at the same time desiring that he might be proclaimed and acknowledged by us as he had been by different powers in Indostan; and said, he thought it very extraordinary, that where he himself resided, there he was not acknowledged: Those matters I communicated to the Board to receive their instructions, as will be seen in the course of the correspondence in July.—I likewise informed Ramnarrain, that I had orders from the governor and council to protect him, provided he would settle his accounts with the Nabob; and therefore I desired him immediately to set about it, informing the Nabob of the same, as may be seen in my correspondence with the governor and council.—During those transactions I received a letter from the Board recommending it to me to proclaim the King.—I found, that had I immediately complied with the request of the Board, it might prove of fatal consequence to the Nabob, and to the Company, at that time; for he had given away several of the best provinces to different people that belonged to him, particularly Purnea, which will likewise be seen in the correspondence; I therefore thought it, to the best of my judgment, for the advantage of the Company and the Nabob, as it was the Shawzadda's inclination, to let him go to Shujah Dowla; at the same time I had got the Nabob to consent to that measure, and to pay a visit with me to the Shawzadda; then it was thought adviseable, both by the Nabob, and several of the Company's servants who were present, that the Nabob for himself, and I on behalf of the English, should coin the Siccas, and acknowledge him Mogul on the day that he should pass the boundary of the province; this he seemed satisfied with, and it was agreed that Major Carnac, with part of the army should escort him; the Major informing me, in proper time, of the day he should join Shujah Dowla, in order that I might keep my promise, the Nabob consenting entirely to all this matter; and at the same time agreed, that if we prosecuted the expedition, and settled matters with Shujah Dowla, that he would advance the 10 lack towards the payment of our forces.—The King was but a few days gone, when the Nabob seemed to alter his sentiments entirely, with regard to the promises he had made, and turned his thoughts intirely towards the seizing of Ramnarrain, for which, if I would give him up, he offered me seven lack and a half of rupees, and whatever I pleased to the gentlemen of my family; this I communicated, by letter, to the governor and council of 17th July, 1761:—The Nabob finding he could not gain his point, with regard to Ramnarrain, then thought it necessary to write the governor, Mr. Vansittart, the most scandalous invectives, and false accusations, against me, and was determined that he would not declare the King the day we had both given our words of honour for doing it.—He had then a large army encamped on the outside of Patna:—I was then in the city, and from the detachments which I had made, and which were sent for the collection of revenues with Major Carnac, I had not then under my command above 150 Europeans, 70 of which were in the hospitals, and I believe 3 or 400 Sepoys; I was, with this force, to protect the city, Ramnarrain, and to defend my own honour:—The Nabob knowing my weakness, thought it a proper opportunity to get possession of the city:—He applied to me for leave to come into the fort of the city the day before the Shawzadda was to be proclaimed; to which I agreed, and he seemed thoroughly satisfied, provided he only brought in the attendants about his person; this he consented to: The night or two before the Mogul was to be proclaimed, he sent me word, that he would not proclaim him, nor come into the city, unless he had the gates delivered up to him, which I would by no means consent to; at the same time I informed him, that I had given my honour for declaring the Mogul on such a day, and I would have it performed in the city, which would not appear proper in the eyes of the country, as he was Subah of the province, and begged we might have a conference upon the subject, which he evaded having; and I was informed by my spies, that that very night his camp was all in motion, and his artillery brought towards the city.—I sent the next morning to one of his chief ministers, to learn the reason of such a movement, and the meaning of the Nabob, which he told me was done by Coja Gregory, who was his head general; and he was not afraid to say at the Durbar, that it would be productive of mischief: Finding, the next night, the same movements and disturbances in his camp, I thought it necessary to go the next morning myself, and to see him if possible; accordingly I ordered a company of Sepoys, and a troop of 30 horsemen that I had, to get themselves in readiness by six in the morning, at which hour the next morning I sent Mr. Watts to inform him of my coming: It was seven before I arrived at his tent, and Mr. Watts informed me, that the Nabob was not to be seen; he had sent to him, but had not seen him: I went into the outer tent, taking pistols in my hand for my own security, and sat down there till I should hear further:—As it is a custom in India, when they mean ill to a person that visits them in camp, to cut the tent cords, and let the tent fall on the person they mean to destroy, I desired Captain Iser to place two of the troopers round the tent, to prevent any mischief of that kind; and finding the Nabob would not see me, I rode away, and left Mr.

Watts



Watts to inform him of my business: This the Nabob represented to the governor and council, as a grievous insult, for which reason I received several extraordinary letters from the Board, which are upon the correspondence, with my answers; and at my return to Calcutta, I desired a strict enquiry might be made into the matter; and the enquiry was made.

[Consultations, Fort William, 28 September 1761, Letter to Colonel Coote read]

I was ordered by the Select Committee to withdraw the protection from Ramnarrain, which I did accordingly; he was soon after murdered, and his treasure seized.

[Letter, 18 June, 1761, to Colonel Coote, for Ramnarrain's suspension, read.]

[17 July, Colonel Coote's Letter in answer to d<sup>o</sup>. read.]

The withdrawing the protection from Ramnarrain was in effect giving him up to the power of the Nabob.

The papers read in the course of the above evidence are annexed in the Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 13.

Your Committee having taken the evidence of Colonel Munro, a Member of the House, at his express desire, that he might be at liberty to attend his private affairs in Scotland, they have added it to their report, though beyond the period to which they have been able to extend their present enquiry, as it has turned out.

Colonel Munro:—In April 1764 I was under the King's orders, from his Majesty's secretaries of state and war, to return to Europe with such of his Majesty's troops as did not chuse to enlist into the Company's service; I was accordingly to have embarked with the troops the beginning of May on board a Mocha ship, which was to sail for Europe; but before I embarked there were two expresses arrived from Bengal, acquainting the Governor and Council at Bombay, that Shujah Dowla and Cossim Ally Khan had marched into the province of Bengal, at the head of 60,000 men: That Major Adams who commanded the army was dead: That the settlement of Calcutta was in the utmost consternation, and the Company's affairs in the utmost danger; they therefore requested, that the governor and council of Bombay would apply to me to go round immediately to take the command of the army with his Majesty's troops, and as many as could be spared from the presidency of Bombay.—As his Majesty's intention in sending out his troops to India, by the orders I had, was to assist and defend the Company in their different settlements, I thought it would not be answering the intention of sending them out to return and leave the Company's affairs in that situation; I therefore complied with the request, and arrived at Calcutta with his Majesty's troops, and a detachment of the Company's from Bombay, some time in the month of May 1764: Mr. Vanlittart, who was then governor, acquainted me that the army under the command of Major Carnac had been, since the death of Major Adams, and Shujah Dowla and his army had come into the province, upon the defensive, and retreated before the enemy; but I am sure, from Major Carnac's gallant behaviour upon every occasion, that he will be able to give a proper account for his conduct in that campaign.—Mr. Vanlittart requested, that I would immediately repair with the troops I had carried round from Bombay, to join the army who were in cantonment at Patna, and take the command of them.—I found the army, Europeans as well as Sepoys, mutinous, deserting to the enemy, threatening to carry off their officers to the enemy, demanding an augmentation of pay, demanding large sums of money, which they said had been promised them by the Nabob, and disobedient to all order; 400 of the Europeans had gone off in a body, and joined the enemy some time before I joined the army: This being the situation the army was in, I fully determined to endeavour to conquer that mutinous disposition in them before I would attempt to conquer the enemy:—I accordingly went with a detachment of the King and Company's Europeans from Patna, with four field pieces of artillery, to Chippera, one of the cantonments:—I think the very day, or the day after I arrived, a whole battalion of Sepoys, with their arms and accoutrements, went off to join the enemy; I immediately detached about 100 Europeans, and a battalion of Sepoys, whose officers told me they thought they could depend upon them not to desert, with two field pieces, to endeavour to come up with the deserters, and bring them back to me; the detachment came up with them in the night time, found them asleep, took them prisoners, and carried them back to Chippera:—The officer who commanded the detachment, sent me an express, acquainting me with the hour he would arrive at Chippera with the prisoners.—I was ready to receive them with the troops under arms; upon their arrival at Chippera, I immediately ordered their officers to pick me out 50 of the men of the worst characters, and who they thought might have enticed the battalion to desert to the enemy; they did pick out 50; I desired them to pick me out 24 men of those 50 of the worst characters: I immediately ordered a field court marshal to be held by their own black officers, and after representing to the officers the heinous crime the battalion had been guilty of, desired they would immediately bring me their sentence; they found them guilty of mutiny and desertion, sentenced them to suffer death, and left the manner to me; I ordered immediately four of the 24 to be tied to the guns, and the artillery officers to prepare to blow them away:—There was a remarkable circumstance, four grenadiers represented, as they always had the post of honour, thought they were intitled to be first blown away; the four battalion men were untied from the guns, and the four grenadiers tied and blown away, upon which the European officers of the battalions of Sepoys, who were then in the field, came and told me, that the Sepoys would not suffer any more of the men to be blown away:—I ordered the artillery officers to load the four field pieces with grape shot, and drew up the

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Europeans with the guns in their intervals; desired the officers to return at the heads of their battalions; ordered them immediately to ground their arms, and if one of them attempted to move, I would give orders to fire upon them, and treat them the same as if they were Serajah Doalah's army. — They did ground their arms, and did not attempt to take them up again, upon which I ordered 16 more of the 24 to be tied to the guns by force, and blown away the same as the first, which was done: I immediately ordered the other four to be carried to a cantonment, where there had been a desertion of the Sepoys some time before, with positive orders to the commanding officer at that cantonment to blow them away in the same manner at the guns, which was accordingly done, and which put an end to the mutiny and desertion.

I prepared to take the field as early as possible after the rains. with the army, and fixed the 15th of September for the rendezvous of the troops from their different cantonments:—A couple of days before the army marched, I had intelligence that the enemy had advanced several parties of horse, and had thrown up some breast works on the banks of the Soane, to impede the crossing of the troops:—I ordered Major Champion with a detachment and 4 field pieces to march and cross the Soane some miles below, where the army was to cross, after fixing with him the hour and day that I intended to arrive at the Soane with the army:—I desired that he might be at that time on the other side, and endeavour to dislodge the enemy; and cover the landing of the troops. — That officer was so pointed in executing his orders; he began to fire upon the enemy just as the van of the army appeared upon the banks of the Soane, and soon dislodged them, by which means the whole army, in 4 hours, was landed on the other side without the least molestation:—I continued to march on towards Buxar, where the enemy was:—The last 2 or 3 days march the line of march was a good deal harassed by the enemy's cavalry, so much that there was 2 serjeants and 6 or 7 men of the advanced guard were killed:—Upon the 22d of October we arrived at Buxar, and encamped just without range of the enemy's shot; and upon my going to reconnoitre their situation with some of the field officers, I found the greatest part of them were entrenched with the Ganges upon their left and the fort or village of Buxar on their rear:—I intended to have attacked their camp about 1 or 2 in the morning of the 23d, and sent out spies to bring me some pieces of intelligence, such as to know whether I could bring my artillery on the right of their camp, resolving not to attack them on their left, that we might have a better chance to drive them into the Ganges than they should us: I likewise wanted to know in what part of their encampment the force of their artillery lay, and where the Vizier and Cossim Ally Khan's tent stood:—The spies did not return to camp by 12 o'clock at night:—I took it for granted they had been taken prisoners, and therefore resolved to put off the attack till the 24th in the morning: Two of the spies came in by day-light of the morning of the 23d, and told me, that the enemy were under arms all night, moving their artillery, and sending off their treasure and women in the night.—I went immediately with some officers to look at their disposition: I saw a good many of their troops under arms, but not out of their entrenchments.—The officers who were with me, as well as myself, thought they only meant to shew themselves in order to strike a terror into our troops, never imagining they would quit their lines in order to attack us; and as I never heard of a Black army before attacking a European army, I returned to our camp; wishing they would come out and attack us, for our army was encamped in order of battle.—About eight o'clock in the morning the field officer of the day came into my tent as I was at breakfast, and acquainted me, that the enemy's right was in motion, and he was sure they meant to attack us; I immediately went out with my reconnoitring glass in my hand, and saw and thought as he did, upon which I ordered the drums to beat immediately to arms, which was done, and the troops advanced from their encampment, and were in a few minutes ready to receive them:—The action lasted from nine till twelve; the enemy then gave way, went off very slowly, blowing up several tumbrels and three large magazines of powder as they went off.—I immediately ordered the line to break into columns and pursue; and two miles from the field of battle there was a rivulet, where the enemy had a bridge of boats; they pierced the boats, and sunk them before the rear of their army got over; by which means there was about 2000 of them drowned and sticking in the mud; but that was the best piece of Generalship Shujah Dowla shewed that day, because, if I could have crossed the rivulet with the army, I would either have taken or drowned his whole army in the Carnassa, and come up with his treasure and jewels, and Cossim Ally Khan's jewels, which I was informed, amounted to between two and three millions.

The strength of our army at this battle, were as follows:

Europeans in battalion, rank and file, 746; of which 250 were King's troops.—Artillery men 71.—European cavalry, 40.—In all, European 857, exclusive of officers.—Sepoys, rank and file, 5,297—Black cavalry 918: In all 7,072.—Train of artillery, 20 field pieces.—European officers killed 2, wounded 7.—Europeans killed 34, wounded 49.—Non-commissioned officers, killed 3, wounded 6.—Europeans killed and wounded 101.—Sepoys killed 205, wounded 414, missing 85.—Black cavalry, killed 45, wounded 24.—killed and wounded 847.—Artillery taken in the field 133 pieces of different sizes, all upon carriages, and most of them English carriages. The enemy was reported to be 60,000; but I am sure, there were not less than 40,000.—I am likewise sure, that there must have been 2,000 of them killed in the field of battle, exclusive of those drowned. And as I had not surgeons sufficient to dress our own wounded, and give them any assistance, I went every day for 5 days successively, to every man of their wounded in the field, and gave rice and water to such as would take it, and which was all the assistance I could give them.—The army remained at Buxar for several days, until hospitals were provided for the



wounded, and to bury the dead.—I then marched the army into Shujah Dowla's country, and sent an express to Calcutta, for further Directions from the Governor and Council.—The Mogul (Shah Allum) wrote me a letter the day after the battle, giving me joy of the victory over the Vizier, who had kept him as a state prisoner, and desiring I would take him under my protection; and acquainting me, that though he was with the Vizier in camp, he had left him the night before the battle.—My answer to this letter, was as nearly as I can remember, that I would immediately send an express to Mr. Vanfittart, the Governor at Calcutta, but that I would not take him under protection until I knew how far such a step might be proper, and for the interest of the Company.—He sent to me, and wrote to me repeatedly before I had an answer from Calcutta, desiring me to come to him, for he had something very particular to communicate to me: I at last sent him word, that I would wait upon him, provided he would not look upon himself as under the English protection; to which he consented.—When I waited upon him, he told me, that if the English took him under protection, he would give them Shujah Dowla's country, that or any thing else that they pleased to demand, and repeated many grievances and hardships that Shujah Dowla laid him under; and said, he was only his state prisoner.—I continued to march the army on towards Banaras; and the Mogul continued to march with his guards, and encamped every night pretty close to our encampment. Before the army arrived at Banaras, I had an answer from the Governor and Council, who consented, that the King should be taken under protection.—Upon the army's arriving at Banaras, Shujah Dowla sent me his minister Bene Bahadre, with overtures of peace, which I refused, because I insisted upon it in the first instance, that he would deliver me up Cossim Ally Kuan and Sumro; the former had ordered so many of the subjects of Great Britain to be massacred, and the latter undertook to put the horrid crime in execution, when no man in the Nabob's army would undertake it but himself.—Sumro was a German, and a general officer; and had been before a serjeant in the French service, deserted from them to us, and from us to Cossim Ally Khan.—He commanded Shujah Dowla's artillery at the battle of Buxar, and had 3 or 400 French deserters from our army under his command.—Bene Bahadre told me, Shujah Dowla never could think of giving up Cossim Ally Khan or Sumro, but if I passed from that demand, I might have any other terms I pleased; he said, Shujah Dowla would give 25 lack of rupees, to defray the expences the Company had been at in the war.—25 lack to the army; and 8 lack for myself.—This he told me in the presence of Captain Stables and Gordon, who were my aid de camps, and both now in England, Mr. Stewart, my secretary, and my interpreter.—My answer was, if he gave me all the lacks in his treasury, I would make no peace with him, until he had delivered me up those murdering rascals, for I never could think that my receiving 11 or 12 lack of rupees, was a sufficient atonement for the blood of those unfortunate gentlemen who were murdered at Patna, nor a sufficient atonement to the weeping parents, friends, and relations, of those unfortunate gentlemen; these were my very words.—Upon this, Bene Bahadre and I parted.—He returned a second time, with assurances from Shujah Dowla, that if I made peace with him, he would put me upon a method of laying hold both of Cossim and Sumro; and made use of all the persuasive arguments he could, to induce me to make peace.—I still insisted upon my first preliminary: Bene Bahadre desired, if that was the case, that I would permit Captain Stables, who spoke the country language, to return with him to the Nabob's camp; that the Nabob wanted to speak with Captain Stables.—I told Captain Stables, that as I was fully determined never to depart from his giving up Cossim Ally Khan, and Sumro in particular, I did not wish or advise him to go, for that they might use him the same way as the other unfortunate gentlemen.—Captain Stables replied, that he would with pleasure risk his own life; could he be the instrument of bringing those two to be made public examples of.—He accordingly went with Bene Bahadre to the Nabob's camp, and when he returned, he told me, that since he found I was fully determined to have Cossim and Sumro, that in regard to Cossim, he would not by any manner of means deliver him up, but let him escape.—But as to Sumro, if I sent 2 or 3 gentlemen from the English camp who knew Sumro, he would ask Sumro to an entertainment; and in presence of those gentlemen, he would order him to be put to death.—He offered Captain Stables a sum of money, to endeavour to prevail upon me to agree to his terms; but as I never would, the next thing to be considered was, the manner of driving Shujah Dowla intirely out of his country, who was then at Lucknow with the remains of his army; and to consider of the manner of settling his country.—I wrote to Calcutta, to the Governor and Council, sent them a letter the King wrote to me much about this time; proposing, that he should have so much of Shujah Dowla's country, and cede the rest to the Company; and request me, that I would make no peace with Shujah Dowla.—I sent this letter to Calcutta, desiring to know the directions of the Governor and Council with regard to this matter; and acquainting them likewise, that I was determined to leave the army so as to return to Calcutta, to embark with the last ship that should sail that season with his Majesty's troops.—The Governor and Council sent a copy of a treaty to be executed by the King, and Mr. Marriot, Mr. Billers, who was chief of Patna, and Mr. Daker, to be present at the executing of this treaty.—The treaty with the King was executed.

As so much time had been taken up by these transactions, and the time drawing near for my quitting the command, Major Carnac was ordered by the Governor and Council to repair immediately to take the command.—I left the army the 6th of January 1765. and met Major Carnac upon his way to take the command; I told him what my plan of operations would be, had I remained in the command; and which were as follows: As I hold it a rule never to be departed from in that country, not to come to a general action with the army, except where every

thing is at stake; I determined, as we were in possession of I believe the greatest part of Shujah Dowla's country, to have remained some time longer in camp, as his army must of course disperse when his money was out; and if I found that would take up too much time, I would march the army towards Lucknar, and if he came to action, to have then risked a battle with him, and taken possession of Lucknar and Illahabad, which was his whole country, with what he had in possession; I told this to Major Carnac, who said, he would follow the same plan.

The Company's governor and council, and all the servants at the settlement of Calcutta or elsewhere, were under no apprehensions from what Shujah Dowla or Cossim Ally Khan, could do after the battle of Buxar, as will appear from several letters wrote me from the presidency, and by their letters home, after the battle of Buxar.—The Company's investments for Europe were carried on that year in the same manner as usual; they had no enemy nearer the settlement of Calcutta than 800 miles, and that enemy at the head of the remains of a conquered army: That was the situation I left the country in; and before I embarked for Europe, and before General Carnac joined the army, Sir Robert Fletcher marched the army, took possession of Illahabad and Lucknow; and Shujah Dowla's army, as I understood, totally dispersed.

If, at the time you found the army in that mutinous disposition, they were regularly paid? They were.

Whether you know of any promise that had been made them of an increase of pay, or of any promise of a present made from the Nabob?

I am sure there was no promise of an increase of pay; nor do I know of any promise of a present; but I heard that Major Adams told them, they should have a present from the Nabob, if they drove the troops out of the country.

What do you apprehend, was the cause of that mutinous disposition?

From the different actions the troops were in with Cossim Ally Khan, and their being able to drive him from post to post, under that gallant officer Major Adams; they thought themselves intitled to benefit by that success, and I suppose (owing to the troops being in the field) there must have been a relaxation of discipline.—These are the motives that I suppose induced them to mutiny, and probably there might have been large promises from the enemy if they would join them.

Of what nation were these Europeans that mutinied, and deserted to the enemy?

Mostly French—and I believe some Germans—don't know whether there were any English.

Whether those Europeans were mixed with the English Companies, or whether they were in a corps by themselves?

They were mixed with the English Companies.—Did not get back any of those deserters except one.

Where do the Indian princes get their artillery and gunpowder?

Their artillery they get from England, Holland, and France.—For while I was in India; there was hardly a ship came there, that did not sell them cannon and small arms.—The gunpowder they make the most of it themselves.—They cast some cannon—but there is no black prince that cast cannon but the King of Travelpore.—Shot they cast in abundance.

What number of Sepoys can be got in the East-Indies?

I believe any number you please.—The cannon and military stores are smuggled into the country, and I believe the Company have made some examples.—I always thought it a very great scandal, that such things should be suffered.—I think such a practice might be easily prevented, as to the English smuggling.

What do you apprehend would be the means of making the Sepoys faithful and good soldiers?

One method is a strict discipline;—another, is having them to act with the Europeans;—another, suffering them their own customs and manners with regard to religion, when it does not interfere with their duty, to be well paid and have good cloathing, and increasing the number of European officers, good care when they are sick, and using them well in every respect while they behave well.

What is your opinion of preserving our conquests in India?

In the first place, always to keep a proper force of Europeans in that country; never suffering the Company's servants to make war against the country powers, until it is evident that they are the first aggressors; and making proper laws in the country, so as that the executive power may be properly executed.

What force of Europeans should be kept in that country, and Bengal particularly?

I think never less than an establishment of 3000 men—and I should rather think, if they could be spared from this country, they ought to be 4000; not that I think 3000 men are sufficient to defend that country against all the country powers who may make war against the English; but my reason for saying, that another 1000 besides the 3000 might be necessary, would be to counter-balance the black troops who must be necessarily employed in that country, and who are capable of being-taught discipline almost equal to the Europeans.

What number of Sepoys is a proper and safe proportion for 3000 Europeans?

About four parts in five, or more.

What do you think might be the supply of recruits necessary to maintain an establishment of 3000 men in that country?

About 500 men yearly in time of peace.

What



What is your opinion of the expediency of employing foreigners in that country, and particularly Germans and Swifs?

That any foreigners whatsoever never ought to be employed by the English in that country.— have already given an example, that when an enemy was in the field they deserted to them; and that they are of a quite different religion, if they are of any at all.—I therefore think they would upon every occasion, desert from us to those of the same religion as themselves; and it has always been found, that they do so.—Another reason is, that as we have but just the number that is absolutely necessary in that country, I don't think they can be depended upon in time of action.

Do you know whether there have been any corps of Swifs or German protestants in India, under their own officers?

I don't know of any such corps.

What is your opinion, if they had corps of Swifs?

I am against corps of foreigners, of Swifs or Germans;—but as to having some mixed, I have no objection to it;—it might do very well.

What is your opinion of employing as private men the Catholicks from Ireland?

I think they might be very well and safely employed.—I am always for having the greatest number of troops from this country.

Whether European cavalry would be necessary?

Certainly of very great use.

What number would you recommend out of these 3000 to be European cavalry?

At least one third.

What proportion of the black troops ought to be cavalry?

If it was meant to have European cavalry, I would have no establishment of black cavalry at all, being of no use in time of peace; and in time of war only of use to keep the line quiet on the march.

Whether it has not been the custom for time immemorial, for Captains of English ships to sell arms and military stores to the natives of India?

The time I was in India, it was a custom; and have heard, it was always the custom.

Whether the French, Dutch, and Danes, and all other nations, do not likewise sell military stores?

Always heard that they did.

Whether you think there is a probability of preventing other nations from doing it?

No.

Whether it might not be a dangerous experiment to train the Sepoys so as to make them equal to Europeans?

It may be a dangerous one, but it will still be a more dangerous one not to do it.

Whether you know or have heard of any other great desertion, except what you have mentioned?

Not from my own experience, but have heard the officers say, that foreigners always would desert.—About a fifth or sixth part of the private men might be foreigners, to be mixed with the other troops.

Was you offered a Jaghire by the King?

The King gave me a Jaghire—I was in possession of it; of £. 12,500 a year for life upon some of the provinces in Bengal, for my services to him and the country.—Upon my receipt of it, I wrote immediately to Mr. Spencer, who was governor at Calcutta, acquainting him with the King's having given me a Jaghire.—I received his answer, after I had quitted the command of the army,—Mr. Spencer acquainted me, that my receiving such a Jaghire was so much contrary to the interest of the Company, that they never would suffer me to hold it; that I might remember the Company's having gone to law with Lord Clive about his Jaghire; and requested, that I would deliver it up to the Nabob when I saw him, who would not only behave handsomely upon the occasion, but that the Company would never see me the sufferer from such an act, after the services I had done them.—From that moment, I resolved to deliver it up to the Nabob when I saw him, and upon my arrival at Muxadavad, at his palace, I waited on the Nabob, who was then ill; I told him, that I had got a Jaghire from the King, but as I was about to leave the country, I would leave it with him.—This was in the presence of Mr. Middleton, resident at the Durbar, Captains Gordon and Stables:—The Nabob upon receiving the Jaghire, smiled, and said, this is a piece of generosity I am little accustomed to, but if I live, you shall not be the sufferer; and desired his minister Nundcomar, to desire the interpreter to acquaint me, that he begged my acceptance of two lack of rupees, which would be at Calcutta much about the time that I arrived there.—A few days after my arrival at Calcutta, I received a letter from the Nabob's son, acquainting me with his father's death, requesting my interest for him to succeed his father as Subah, and acquainting me, that he knew the whole transaction of the Jaghire, and the promises his father made me, and assuring me, that he would make them good; and in this situation I left my jaghire and my lacks.—I had a letter from Mr. Spencer since I came to England, acquainting me, that he had acquainted my Lord Clive, of the demands I had upon the government; that his Lordship promised him, if there was so much remaining of the Nabob's outstanding debts, he would order the payment of the two lack of rupees to my attorney.—I am very happy from his Lordship's eminent services to this country and the Company, that he has a more responsible fund for the payment of his Jaghire; at the same time, I cannot help regretting,  
that

that his Lordship did not think my two years rent deserved a better fund than the Nabob's outstanding debt.—Let my small services be rewarded as they may; let individuals think of them as they please; I hope facts will come out before this Committee is at an end, to shew them and the world that this country has been served; that this East India Company has been saved by more than one or two men; many brave and gallant men have done honour to their King, have done service to this country, and have saved the East India Company; and some of them have lost their lives in the cause.—I never have received any part of the two lack, nor any present from the East India Company.

Whether at the time the Mogul granted the Jaghire, the Nabob paid any revenues or acknowledgements to the Mogul?

He did not, nor did he pay any of the royal revenues from Bengal, which was stipulated to have been paid to the Mogul, either by the Nabob or the Company, I don't know which.

Whether this is not the first time that you have mentioned the circumstance of Mr. Spencer's letter?

It is the first time, and probably will be the last time; and I should not have mentioned it now if it had not happened to have come in as I thought properly, in answer to a question that was asked me; and because when Lord Clive was upon the spot, from his not having ordered the payment of it, I thought his Lordship did not think I deserved it, and I gave him no trouble about it, and I knew it was not in my Lord Clive's power to do it when he came home.

Whether you think it would have been proper for Lord Clive to have ordered the Nabob to pay that money?

Had I been in his Lordship's situation, and he in mine, I certainly would have ordered the Nabob to pay it.

Did you ever hear that Lord Clive ordered the Nabob to pay such a thing to any man living?

No.

Did you ever hear of any money that was offered to Mr. Spencer, if he would continue Nundcomer about the person of the Nabob?

When I came down to Calcutta, Mr. Spencer told me, that he was offered several lack of rupees (about 9, 10, or 11 lack, can't say exactly) to support Nundcomar, which he refused.

Whether you know of any orders sent by the Directors abroad, to put the 2 lack promised you by the Nabob, in a course of payment?

To the best of my remembrance, I never had any public intimation from the Court of Directors, that they had sent orders to that purpose, but some of the Directors told me privately, that the Nabob was to be put under stoppages of so much yearly for the payment of the donation to the navy, the restitution, and the 2 lack which he promised to pay me, and that is all I know of the matter.

Did you make any application to the Mogul for your Jaghire?

No—nor no person for me.

Sir George Colebrooke (chairman of the East India Company) informed the Committee, that orders was sent out last March or April twelve months, to reduce the income of the Nabob to 16 lack of rupees during his minority, and to apply the surplus of his revenue to the payment of the restitution, and to Colonel Monro's 2 lack of rupees.

Do you believe that money will be paid?

I have no doubt about it.

[43] paragraph general letter to Bengal, 10 April, 1771, read]

Colonel Monro,

Had you an offer of the Dewanny from the Company?

Yes.—The King, when I first saw him, offered me the Dewanny.—He told me he had offered it before.—I believe he offered it to Sir Eyre Cooté after the Mogul's father's death.—He offered it before that to Major Carnac, as I am informed; and Mr. Vansittart, before I joined the army, assured me that he could have had the Dewanny, but did not know how far he could be justified in such an act, or how far it might tend to the interest of the Company.—My reasons for not accepting the offer were, that I formed no plans of any kind, but that of extricating the Company from the danger that threatened them.

The Governor and Council were, or ought to be, the judges what was, or was not, for the interest of the Company.—I was, or ought to be, the proper judge what was for the honour of his Majesty's troops to be concerned in; and as Meer Jaffier had been but just placed upon the Musnud, for the second time, and as the Company's affairs did not require deposing him, nor his own conduct deserve it at that time; I thought it would neither be for the credit of their troops, or the honour of the commanding officer, to adopt such a measure.—So much was this my opinion, so well did I know Mr. Vansittart's sentiments upon that subject, before I joined the army, that I do not remember I ever said any thing to him about it.—These were my reasons for not accepting the King's offer.

Whether the Mogul could have effectually granted the Dewanny to the Company without the Nabob's consent?

I think the Mogul could and would have done any thing at that time that I desired him, without the consent of the Nabob, and the Company would have reaped any benefit from that grant of the King's that they pleased, because ever since Cossim Ally Khan had been drove out of the country, the Company themselves have been the Nabob, there has been only a nominal Nabob.



After the battle of Buxar, did you receive any letter from the Governor and Council, acknowledging the merit of your services upon that occasion?

I have received several.—I imagine that one I received immediately after the battle is before the Committee.

Did you receive any letter from the Court of Directors here?

No, I did not—but the chairman and deputy chairman came to me, at my return, to make such acknowledgement.

Did you make any application to the Directors at your return, upon the subject of the Jaghire and 2 lack?

Yes.

What answer had you?

I had no public answer.

[Letter from president, &c. of Fort William, to Major Munro, 6 November 1764, read.]

Whether for giving up the Jaghire of £. 12,500 a year, and for the services performed to the Company, you have ever received from the Company any reward whatsoever?

None of any kind whatever.

Whether you did not understand from Mr. Spencer (the President at Calcutta) that you should have amends made you by the Company for giving up the Jaghire?

I do confess that I did; and I also say, that could I have conceived that the Company would have served me so ungratefully in many respects, since my arrival from India, I never would have given up my Jaghire.

Whether after the battle of Buxar, you received any private donations from any of the Eastern Princes?

Upon the army encamping at Banaras, the officer who commanded the detachment in the town, wrote me a card, acquainting me that a Rajah had something very particular to communicate to me, and if I granted his request, he would give me 4 lack of rupees, and a handsome present to the officer.—The request he made me was to dispossess Rajah Bulwand Sing, who was Zemindar, from the collection of the country.—I told him I would not; I was desired to make no alteration of any kind.—About the time I was quitting the army, Bulwand Sing hearing I had rejected this offer, came to me, and told me that he was sensible of my favours to him, and begged my acceptance of 80,000 rupees, which is £. 10,000.—and except that, from the day I commanded the army, which was near five years, further than the common customary compliments, which are of small amount, and which I made in my turn to others; I solemnly declare, I never received a single rupee by way of present, either in money or jewels.—While I had the command of that army, I refused the offers of above £. 300,000 at different times, for making alterations in the offices of the government, I recollect that at my leaving the country, the Nabob sent £. 3000 for me, and £. 3000 among the officers of my family, which are the usual presents to the commanding officer.

How long was you in Bengal?

From May 1764 to the end of February or beginning of March 1765.

When did the spirit of mutiny first shew itself in the army?

Before I came to the command.

Did you levy any contribution at Banaras, or elsewhere?

I never did lay the Company under any contributions of any kind; the merchants of Banaras gave 4 lack of rupees to the army, for protection to themselves and their effects.—I immediately acquainted the Governor and Council with it, to have their sanction for the army to receive it— which is upon the Company's records; and they gave their consent.

Was that the only place where any such contribution was given?

The only one in my time.

What proportion had you of the 4 lack, as commander in chief?

An eighth part.

Mr. Strachey.

Whether you ever heard Lord Clive say, that Mr. Spencer had applied to his Lordship to apply to the Nabob for payment of the 2 lack of rupees, promised to Colonel Munro?

Never did—and I think that had Mr. Spencer mentioned that circumstance to Lord Clive, it was most probable that his Lordship would have mentioned it to me, who was his secretary, and constantly with him.

General Carnac.

The same question?

I never did; and I had not a doubt till this day, but that the Nabob had made Colonel Munro such an acknowledgement as his services deserved.

Colonel Munro.

Is not Banaras one of the richest cities in India?

Yes.

What is the rate of interest at Banaras?

Can't tell, but thinks it lower there than any where else.

How long was you in quelling the mutiny, and restoring the army to a proper discipline?

From the beginning of June to some time in July, when I made the example I have before mentioned.

The papers read in the course of the above evidence are annexed in the appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 14.

Your

Your Committee, in reading over the report, judged it necessary to read further papers relating to Lord Olive's Jaghire and presents, which, together with his Lordship's explanation of the latter, are added in the appendix, N<sup>o</sup> 15.

A P P E N D I X.

N<sup>o</sup> 1.

List of Charters, or Letters Patents, granted to the East-India Company; read.

43d Eliz. A charter, or letters patent, of a special incorporation of merchants, by the name of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, with divers privileges to them and their successors, for 15 years from Christmas last.

7th James, 31st May. A charter, or letters patent of incorporation, to the said governor and company, with divers privileges to them and their successors for ever.

8th James. A charter, or letters patent, of privilege, that neither the said governor and company, nor their goods and merchandizes, shall be hereafter sued, vexed, seized, arrested, molested, or disquieted, in respect of their trading; and divers other privileges.

20th James. A charter, or letters patent, of privilege, for the said governor and company, to chastise and correct all English persons residing in the East-Indies, and committing any misdemeanor, either with martial law, or otherwise.

22d James. A charter, or letters patent, of a pardon to the said governor and company, for certain offences, and a grant unto them of such sums of money, and other goods and merchandizes, as did belong to the King.

2d Car. I. A charter, or letters patent, to the said governor and company, empowering them to erect mills and houses for making into gunpowder all such salt-petre as they shall import.

12th Car. II. 11th January. A charter, or letters patent, of licence, for the said governor and company to enter upon, take, and possess, the island of Roone alias Pula Roone, and to regain the same from the Netherland East-India company, and to plant, husband, manage, retain, and keep the same.

13th Car. II. A charter or letters patent, to the governor and company aforesaid, of divers privileges to them and their successors.

20th Car. II. A charter, or letters patent, of discharge to the said governor and company, for selling two East-India prizes, and for the monies raised thereby.

20th Car. II. A charter, or letters patent, of grant to the said governor and company, of all that island and port of Bombay, to them, and their successors.

24th Car. II. A charter, or letters patent, of release to the said governor and company, of several covenants heretofore made between them and the commissioners of the navy, touching some ships sent to the East-Indies.

25th Car. II. A charter, or letters patent, of confirmation, to the said governor and company, of articles concerning the sale of four Dutch prizes.

25th Car. II. A charter, or letters patent, of grant to the said governor and company, of all that the island of Saint Helena, to them, and their successors.

26th Car. II. A charter, or letters patent, of a discharge to the said governor and company, for monies made by the sale of four Dutch prizes.

28th Car. II. 5th October. A charter, or letters patent, to the said governor and company, of confirmation of their privileges.

35th Car. II. 1st August. A charter, or letters patent, authorizing the Commissioners of the Admiralty, to grant and give out commissions to such as the said governor and company should name and recommend, to aid and assist them against the King of Bantum.

35th Car. II. 9th August. A charter, or letters patent, of privileges, for the said governor and company, rendering their charter of 3d April, 13th of his reign, more effectual and complete.

35th Car. II. 14th September. A charter, or letters patent, of a warrant, to the Commissioners of the Admiralty, to assist the said governor and company against the King of Bantum.

1st James II. A charter, or letters patent, of proclamation, restraining all his Majesty's subjects, but the said governor and company, and their agents, from trading to the East-Indies.

2d James II. A charter, or letters patent, of confirmation, to the said governor and company, of their former charters and privileges.

5th William III. 7th October. A charter, or letters patent, of confirmation, to the said governor and company, of their privileges.

5th William III. A charter, or letters patent, of discharge, to the said governor and company, for the 10th part of prizes taken by them, and due to his Majesty, &c.

5th William III. A charter, or letters patent, prescribing orders and directions, for the said governor and company.

6th William III. A charter, or letters patent, prescribing orders and directions, for the said governor and company.



- 10th William III. A charter, or letters patent, declaring what number of votes each member of the said company shall have, which is according to his or her proportion of stock.
- 10th William III. A charter, or letters patent, of incorporation, empowering certain persons to trade to the East-Indies, by the name of the general society, entitled to the advantages given by an act of parliament, for raising £.2,000,000. for the service of the Crown.
- 10th William III. A charter, or letters patent, of incorporation of merchants, by the name of the English company, trading to the East-Indies.
- 10th William III. A charter, or letters patent, appointing Hugh Boscawen, and others, to take subscriptions for a general society, to have liberty and power to trade to the East Indies.
- 10th William III. A charter, or letters patent, of the schedule, marked A, containing the draught of a charter for the said general society.
- 10th William III. A charter, or letters patent, of the schedule, marked B, containing the draught of a charter for the aforesaid English Company.
- 1st Anne. A charter, or letters patent, of an indenture tripartite, between the Queen on the first part, the governor and company of merchants of London trading to the East Indies of the second part, and the English Company trading to the East-Indies of the third part; thereby granting the said two companies power to trade with a joint stock, and divers other privileges.
- 4th Anne. A charter, or letters patent, of release, to the governor and company of merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, of all offences and crimes committed contrary to an act of parliament.
- 8th Anne. A charter, or letters patent, of grant, to the English Company, trading to the East-Indies, of all debts and sums of money, due to the governor and company of merchants of London trading into the East-Indies.
- 8th Anne. A charter, or letters patent, of acceptance of a surrender made by the governor and company of merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, of their charters, &c.
- 8th Anne. A charter, or letters patent, of grant, to Sir Jonathan Andrews, and others, of all debts, &c. due to the aforesaid governor and company, before the surrender of their charters: A schedule of which debts is mentioned in an indenture, dated 21st March last between the said governor and company, and her Majesty.
- 13th George I. A charter, or letters patent, of grant, to the united Company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, of incorporation of Mayor and Aldermen at Madras Patnam, at Bombay, and at Calcutta, with divers privileges to them, and their successors.
- 1st George II. A charter, or letters patent, of grant, to the said United Company, of all fines, set upon any persons by virtue of the last recited charter or letters patent.
- 2d George II. A charter, or letters patent, empowering the Commissioners of the Admiralty, at the request of the said United Company, to give ample powers to the commanders of ships belonging to the said Company, to take, seize, and destroy, any foreign ships trading from the Austrian Netherlands to the East-Indies, for 6 years, from the 20th of May last.
- 26th George II. A charter, or letters patent, of grant to the said United Company of incorporation of mayor and aldermen at Madratspatnam, at Bombay, and at Calcutta, with divers privileges to them and their successors.
- 31st George II. A charter, or letters patent, of grant to the said United Company, of plunder and booty.
- 31st George II. A charter, or letters patent, of grant to the said United Company, of plunder and booty.
- 1st George III. A charter, or letters patent, of commission to the said United Company, for the trying of pirates at Fort Saint George.
- 1st George III. A charter, or letters patent, to the said United Company, of a commission, for the trying of pirates at Fort Marlborough.
- 1st George III. A charter, or letters patent, of commission to the said United Company, for trying of pirates at Bombay.
- 1st George III. A charter, or letters patent, of commission to the said United Company, for trying of pirates at Fort William.

#### List of Acts read.

- 9th and 10th Wm. III. An act for raising a sum not exceeding two millions, upon a fund for payment of annuities, after the rate of eight pounds per centum per annum, and for settling the trade to the East-Indies.
- 1st Anne. cap. 12. S. 113. An act for granting an aid to her Majesty, by divers subsidies, and a land tax.
- 6th Anne. cap. 3. An act for better securing the duties of East India goods.
- 6th Anne. cap. 17. An act for assuring to the English Company, trading to the East-Indies, on account of the united stock, a longer time in the fund and trade therein-mentioned; and for raising thereby the sum of twelve hundred thousand pounds for carrying on the war, and other her Majesty's occasions.
- 5th Geo. 1st. cap. 21. An act for the better securing the lawful trade of his Majesty's subjects, to and from the East-Indies; and for the more effectual preventing all his Majesty's subjects trading thither under foreign commissions.

7th Geo. 1st. cap. 5. S. 32 and 33. An act to enable the South Sea Company, to ingraft part of their capital stock and fund into the stock and fund of the Bank of England, and another part thereof into the stock and fund of the East-India Company; and for giving further time for payments to be made by the South Sea Company, to the use of the public.

7 Geo. 1st. cap. 21. An act for the further preventing his Majesty's subjects from trading to the East-Indies under foreign commissions, and for encouraging and further securing the lawful trade thereto, and for further regulating the pilots of Dover, Deal, and the isle of Thanet.

9th Geo. 1st. cap. 26. An act to prevent his Majesty's subjects from subscribing, or being concerned in encouraging or promoting, any subscription for an East-India Company in the Austrian Netherlands; and for the better securing the lawful trade of his Majesty's subjects to and from the East-Indies.

3d Geo. 2d. cap. 14. An act for reducing the annuity or fund of the United East-India Company, and for ascertaining their right of trade to the East-Indies; and the continuance of their corporation for that purpose, upon the terms therein mentioned.

3d Geo. 2d. cap. 20. An act for taking off certain duties on salt, and for making good any deficiencies in the funds that may happen thereby, and for charging the reduced annuity payable to the East-India Company on the aggregate fund, and for relief of Matthew Lyon, executor of Matthew Page, deceased, in respect of the duty for salt lost by the overflowing of the river Mersey, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four.

17th Geo. 2d. cap. 17. An act for granting to his Majesty the surplus or remainder of the monies arisen or to arise by the duties on spirituous liquors, granted by an act of the last session of parliament; and for explaining and amending the said act, in relation to the retailers of such liquors; and for establishing an agreement with the United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies.

27th Geo. 2d. cap. 9. An act for punishing mutiny and desertion of officers and soldiers in the service of the United Company of merchants of England trading to the East-Indies; and for the punishment of offences committed in the East-Indies, or at the island of Saint Helena.

1st Geo. 3d. cap. 14. An act to extend the provisions relating to the holding of courts martial, and to the punishment of offences committed in the East Indies, contained in the act, made in the twenty-seventh year of his late Majesty's reign, intituled, An act for punishing mutiny and desertion of officers and soldiers in the service of the United Company of merchants of England trading to the East-Indies; and for the punishment of offences committed in the East-Indies, or at the Island of Saint Helena, to the said Company's settlement of Fort Marlborough; and to such other principal settlements, wherein the said Company may be hereafter impowered to hold courts of judicature.

7th Geo. 3d. cap. 56. An act for taking off the inland duty of one shilling per pound weight upon all black and single teas consumed in Great-Britain; and for granting a drawback upon the exportation of teas to Ireland and the British dominions in America, for a limited time, upon such indemnification to be made in respect thereof by the East-India Company as is therein mentioned; for permitting the exportation of teas in smaller quantities than one lot to Ireland, or the said dominions in America; and for preventing teas seized and condemned from being consumed in Great-Britain.

7th Geo. 3d. cap. 57. An act for establishing an agreement for the payment of the annual sum of four hundred thousand pounds, for a limited time, by the East India Company, in respect of the territorial acquisitions, and revenues, lately obtained in the East Indies.

9th Geo. 3d. cap. 24. An act for carrying into execution certain proposals made by the East-India Company, for the payment of the annual sum of four hundred thousand pounds, for a limited time, in respect of the territorial acquisitions, and revenues, lately obtained in the East-Indies.

10th Geo. 3d. cap. 47. An act for better regulating persons employed in the service of the East-India Company; and for other purposes therein mentioned.

#### Military officers covenant, from July 1770, to the present time.

Military, 1770.

This indenture made the \_\_\_\_\_ Day of \_\_\_\_\_ in the \_\_\_\_\_ year of the reign of our sovereign Lord George the third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred \_\_\_\_\_ between A. B. of London, Esquire, of the one part, and the United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies, of the other part: Whereas the Court of Directors for the affairs of the said United Company have granted a commission to the said A. B. appointing him Captain of foot in their military forces in the East Indies: Now this indenture witnesseth, and the said A. B. in compliance with a resolution of a general court of the said United Company, and in consideration of what he is, or shall be, entitled to receive from the said Company, in respect of his said service, or in respect of any other military station or employment, or which the said A. B. may hereafter be employed by the said United Company, or their Court of Directors, doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant, promise, and agree to and with the said United Company, that he the said A. B. shall not, nor will at any time or times hereafter during his being employed in the said Company's service, in any station or capacity whatsoever, either by himself or by any other person or persons whomsoever, in trust for him or for his use, directly or indirectly, accept, take, or receive, or

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agree



agree to accept, take, or receive, any gift or grant of lands, or rents for revenues issuing out of lands, or any territorial possession, jurisdiction, dominion, power, or authority whatsoever, from any of the Indian princes, Sovereigns, Subahs, or Nabobs, or any of their ministers, servants, or agents, for any service or services, or upon any account or pretence whatsoever, without the licence or consent of the Court of Directors for the time being of the said United Company, signified under their hands; nor shall, or will, at any time or times hereafter, during his being employed in the said United Company's service, in any station or capacity whatsoever, either by himself or any other person or persons whomsoever, in trust for him, or for his use, directly or indirectly, accept, take, or receive, or agree to accept, take, or receive, any gift, reward, gratuity, allowance, donation, or compensation, in money, effects, jewels, or otherwise howsoever, from any of the Indian Princes, Sovereigns, Subahs, or Nabobs, or any of their ministers, servants, or agents, exceeding the value of four thousand rupees, for any service or services performed, or to be performed, by the said A. B. in India, or upon any other account or pretence whatsoever, without the like licence or consent of the said Court of Directors of the said United Company, signified as aforesaid; nor any such reward, gratuity, allowance, donation, or compensation, exceeding the value of one thousand rupees, and under the value of four thousand rupees, without the licence or consent of the President and Council for the time being of the presidency or settlement where the said A. B. shall be employed; and that he the said A. B. shall and will convey, assign, and make over, to the said United Company, for their sole and proper use and benefit, all and every such gifts or grants of lands, or rents or revenues issuing out of lands, or any such territorial possession, jurisdiction, dominion, power, or authority whatsoever; and also account for, and pay to the said United Company, for their sole and proper use and benefit, all and every such gifts, rewards, gratuities, allowances, donations, or compensations whatsoever, which, contrary to the true intent and meaning of these presents, shall come to the hands, possession, or power of the said A. B. or any other person or persons in trust for him, or for his use as aforesaid; provided always that nothing herein contained shall hinder or prevent, or be deemed, taken, or construed to hinder or prevent the said A. B. from accepting or receiving a share or proportion, in respect of his military post or station, of any gift, gratuity, or donation, in money, or effects, which any Indian Prince, Sovereign, Subah, or Nabob, shall or may in time of extreme danger, necessity, or emergency, give or bestow on any of the military officers or forces of the said United Company, provided such gift, gratuity, or donation, be with the privity and consent of the Governor and Council of the presidency or settlement where the said A. B. shall be employed, and not otherwise; and provided also that the same be not obtained or exacted by compulsion, or by way of bargain or contract for any service or services performed or to be performed; provided also that no Governor or President of any of the said United Company's settlements in India shall, by virtue of his commission from the said United Company, be authorized or intitled to accept or receive any part, share, or proportion, of any such gift, gratuity, or donation, as is mentioned in the proviso herein before contained. And this indenture further witnesseth, and the said A. B. doth hereby covenant, consent, and agree, to and with the said United Company, that in case the said A. B. shall be dismissed the said United Company's military service, by sentence of court martial, or by a resolution or order of the Company's President and Council of such settlement, where the said A. B. shall serve or be, or if the said A. B. shall otherwise legally quit the said Company's military service, that then, and in any or either of the said cases, it shall be lawful to and for the said United Company's said President and Council, at any time after the expiration of six calendar months, next following such dismissal from, or quitting the said Company's military service as aforesaid, to carry and transport the said A. B. at the expence of the said Company to Great Britain, in such ship employed in the said Company's service, as the said President and Council shall for that purpose appoint. And in case the said A. B. shall neglect, or refuse to repair or go on board such ship as aforesaid, by the space of ten days after notice shall be given him so to do, by order of the said President and Council; then, and in such case, it shall be lawful for the said President and Council, and they are hereby fully authorized and empowered to cause the said A. B. to be apprehended and detained, and to put him on board such ship as aforesaid, for the purpose of being carried and transported to Great Britain, so nevertheless, that no unnecessary delay be sought, nor any fit occasion or opportunity lost, in so detaining or putting on board the said A. B. And further, in case of such apprehending, putting on board, and transporting, the said A. B. in manner aforesaid, the said A. B. doth hereby covenant, promise, and agree, to and with the said United Company, that he the said A. B. his executors or administrators, shall not nor will commence, sue, or prosecute, the said United Company, or their Court of Directors, or any of their Presidents and Council, commanders, or officers of any such ships, or any other person employed in any of the matters aforesaid, in or by any action, suit, or other prosecution, civil or criminal, in respect of such apprehending him the said A. B. or of putting him on board and transporting him the said A. B. to Great Britain, in manner aforesaid: And in case any such action, suit, or prosecution, shall be commenced, sued, or prosecuted, for any of the matters aforesaid, the said A. B. doth hereby covenant and agree, to and with the said Company, that the general issue may be pleaded, and this present indenture, or any other special matter, may be given in evidence, by any of the defendants, in any such suit, action, or prosecution, in bar, discharge, and defence thereof, any thing in these presents contained to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding. In witness whereof, to one part of this indenture, the said A. B. hath put his hand and seal; and to the other part thereof the said United Company have caused their common seal to be affixed, the day and year abovescribed.

Sealed and delivered (being first duly stamped) in the presence of

A. B. (L. S.)

Memorandum: Military officers do not give security, for performance of the above covenant.

I acknowledge to have read the within covenant before I executed the same.

Witness,

A. B.

Military officers covenant, from May 1764 to July 1770.

This indenture made the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ in the \_\_\_\_\_ year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord \_\_\_\_\_ by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and \_\_\_\_\_ between A. B. of London, Esquire, of the one part, and the United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, of the other part: Whereas the Court of Directors for the affairs of the said United Company have granted a commission to the said A. B. appointing him Captain of foot in their military forces in the East Indies: Now this indenture witnesseth, and the said A. B. in compliance with a resolution of a general court of the said United Company, and for and in consideration of what he is, or shall be, entitled to receive from the said Company, in respect of his said service, or in respect of any other military station or employment in which the said A. B. may hereafter be employed by the said United Company, or their Court of Directors, doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant, promise, and agree to and with the said United Company, that he the said A. B. shall not, nor will at any time or times hereafter during his being employed in the said Company's service, in any station or capacity whatsoever, either by himself or by any other person or persons whomsoever, in trust for him or for his use, directly or indirectly, accept, take, or receive, or agree to accept, take, or receive, any gift or grant of lands, or rents or revenues issuing out of lands, or any territorial possession, jurisdiction, dominion, power, or authority whatsoever, from any of the Indian Princes, Sovereigns, Subahs, or Nabobs, or any of their ministers, servants, or agents, for any service or services, or upon any account or pretence whatsoever, without the licence or consent of the Court of Directors for the time being of the said United Company, signified under their hands; nor shall or will, at any time or times hereafter, during his being employed in the said United Company's service, in any station or capacity whatsoever, either by himself or any other person or persons whomsoever, in trust for him or for his use, directly or indirectly, accept, take, or receive, or agree to accept, take, or receive, any gift, reward, gratuity, allowance, donation, or compensation, in money, effects, jewels, or otherwise howsoever, from any of the Indian Princes, Sovereigns, Subahs, or Nabobs, or any of their ministers, servants, or agents, exceeding the value of four thousand rupees for any service or services performed or to be performed by the said A. B. in India, or upon any other account or pretence whatsoever, without the like licence or consent of the said Court of Directors of the said United Company, signified as aforesaid; nor any such reward, gratuity, allowance, donation, or compensation, exceeding the value of one thousand rupees, and under the value of four thousand rupees, without the licence or consent of the President and Council for the time being of the presidency or settlement where the said A. B. shall be employed; and that he the said A. B. shall and will convey, assign, and make over, to the said United Company, for their sole and proper use and benefit, all and every such gifts or grants of lands, or rents or revenues, issuing out of lands, or any such territorial possession, jurisdiction, dominion, power, or authority whatsoever; and also account for and pay to the said United Company, for their sole and proper use and benefit, all and every such gifts, rewards, gratuities, allowances, donations, or compensations whatsoever, which, contrary to the true intent and meaning of these presents, shall come to the hands, possession, or power, of the said A. B. or any other person or persons in trust for him, or for his use as aforesaid; provided always that nothing herein contained shall hinder or prevent, or be deemed, taken, or construed, to hinder or prevent, the said A. B. from accepting or receiving a share or proportion, in respect of his military post or station, of any gift, gratuity, or donation, in money, or effects, which any Indian Prince, Sovereign, Subah, or Nabob, shall or may in time of extreme danger, necessity, or emergency, give or bestow on any of the military officers or forces of the said United Company, provided such gift, gratuity, or donation be with the privity and consent of the Governor and Council of the presidency or settlement where the said A. B. shall be employed, and not otherwise; and provided also, that the same be not obtained or exacted by compulsion, or by way of bargain or contract for any service or services performed or to be performed: Provided also, that no Governor or President of any of the United Company's settlements in India shall, by virtue of his commission from the said United Company, be authorized, or intitled to accept or receive any part, share, or proportion, of any such gift, gratuity, or donation, as is mentioned in the proviso herein before contained. In witness whereof, to one part of this indenture the said A. B. hath put his hand and seal, and to the other part thereof the said United Company have caused their common seal to be affixed, the day and year abovewritten.

A. B.

(L. S.)

Sealed and delivered (being first duly stamped) in the presence of

Memorandum: Military officers did not give security for the performance of the above covenant.

I acknowledge to have read the within covenant before I executed the same.

Witness,

A. B.



Writers 2d covenant from May 1764 to the present time.

Civil. N<sup>o</sup> 1000. 1770.

This indenture made the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ in the \_\_\_\_\_ year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord \_\_\_\_\_ by the grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and seventy, between A. B. of London, writer, of the one part, and the United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies, of the other part: Whereas the said A. B. is now employed in the service of the said United Company as one of their writers and covenant servants, at their chief settlement of Fort William and Bengal, in the East-Indies: Now this indenture witnesseth, and the said A. B. in compliance with a resolution of a general court of the said United Company, and for and in consideration of what he is, or shall be, intitled to receive from the said Company, in respect of his said service, or in respect of any other station, capacity, or employment, in which the said A. B. may hereafter be retained or employed by the said United Company, or their Court of Directors, doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant, promise, and agree to and with the said United Company, that he the said A. B. shall not, nor will at any time or times hereafter during his being employed in the said Company's service, in any station or capacity whatsoever, either by himself or by any other person or persons whomsoever, in trust for him, or for his use, directly or indirectly, accept, take, or receive, or agree to accept, take, or receive, any gift or grant of lands, or rents or revenues issuing out of lands, or any territorial possession, jurisdiction, dominion, power, or authority whatsoever, from any of the Indian Princes, Sovereigns, Subahs, or Nabobs, or any of their ministers, servants, or agents, for any service or services, or upon any account or pretence whatsoever, without the licence or content of the Court of Directors for the time being, of the said United Company, signified under their hands; nor shall or will, at any time or times hereafter, during his being employed in the said United Company's service, in any station or capacity whatsoever, either by himself or any other person or persons whomsoever in trust for him, or for his use, directly or indirectly, accept, take, or receive, or agree to accept, take, or receive, any gift, reward, gratuity, allowance, donation, or compensation, in money, effects, jewels, or otherwise howsoever, from any of the Indian Princes, Sovereigns, Subahs, or Nabobs, or any of their ministers, servants, or agents, exceeding the value of four thousand rupees, for any service or services performed, or to be performed, by the said A. B. in India, or upon any other account or pretence whatsoever, without the like licence or consent of the said Court of Directors of the said United Company, signified as aforesaid; nor any such reward, gratuity, allowance, donation, or compensation, exceeding the value of one thousand rupees, and under the value of four thousand rupees, without the licence or consent of the President and Council for the time being, of the presidency or settlement where the said A. B. shall be employed; and that he the said A. B. shall and will convey, assign, and make over, to the said United Company, for their sole and proper use and benefit, all and every such gift or grants of lands, or rents or revenues issuing out of lands, or any such territorial possession, jurisdiction, dominion, power, or authority whatsoever; and also account for and pay to the said United Company, for their sole and proper use and benefit, all and every such gifts, rewards, gratuities, allowances, donations, or compensations, whatsoever, which, contrary to the true intent and meaning of these presents, shall come to the hands, possession, or power, of the said A. B. or any other person or persons in trust for him, or for his use as aforesaid. In witness whereof, to one part of these indentures the said A. B. hath set his hand and seal, and to the other part thereof the said United Company have caused their common seal to be put, the day and year above-written.

A. B. (L. S.)

Sealed and delivered (being first duly stamped) in the presence of

I acknowledge to have read the within covenant, before I executed the same.

Witness,

A. B.

Writers covenant from July 1770, to the present time.

Factors, 1770.

This indenture made the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ in the \_\_\_\_\_ year of our Lord \_\_\_\_\_ and in the \_\_\_\_\_ year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord \_\_\_\_\_ by the Grace of God, of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, between the United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies, of the one part, and A. B. of London, writer, of the other part. Whereas the said United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies, have (upon the special request and entreaty of the said A. B. upon the conditions and agreements herein after contained, on the part of the said A. B. to be performed) received and entertained him the said A. B. into their service, as their writer and covenant servant at their chief settlement of Fort William, in Bengal, in the East Indies, to serve them for the term of five years, and to be employed in all or any of the traffick or merchandizes, businesses, and affairs, in any place or places whatsoever, between the cape of Good Hope, and the Straits of Magellan, as the said Company, or their Court of Directors for the time being, or any thir-

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teen or more of them, or any by them authorised, shall appoint, at and for the wages or sum of five pounds of lawful money of Great-Britain, by the year, to commence from the time of his arrival at Fort William aforesaid. Now this indenture witnesseth, That the said A. B. for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, doth hereby covenant and agree, to and with the said United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies, and their successors, in manner and form following; (that is to say) That he, the said A. B. from the time of his arrival at Fort William aforesaid, for, and during, and unto the full end and expiration of five years, shall, and will, faithfully, honestly, diligently, and carefully, serve the said Company at such place and places, and in all and every such affairs and business whatsoever of the said Company, as the said A. B. shall be employed in: And shall also, from time to time, and at all times, observe, keep, and fulfil, all and every the orders of the said Company, and of the said Court of Directors, made and to be made for the government of their factories and settlements, officers, agents, or servants abroad: And shall and will also observe, keep, and fulfil, all such orders, instructions and directions, which he shall herewith, or hereafter receive under the seal of the said Company, or from the said Court of Directors of the said Company, for the time being, or any thirteen or more of them, or from their President and Council, at the respective settlement where the said A. B. shall reside or be employed, or from any persons authorized thereunto by such Directors; and shall and will, to the utmost of his power and skill, resist and withstand all and every such person or persons, as shall break, or endeavour to break, the said orders, instructions, or directions, or any of them: And the said A. B. doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant and agree, to and with the said United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, that he will not do, attempt, or practise, nor shall wittingly or willingly permit or suffer any other person or persons whatsoever, to do, attempt, or practise, any matter or thing whatsoever, to the hindrance, hurt, prejudice, damage, or defrauding of the said Company or their successors, or of their servants, or any of them, or of the said Company's goods, merchandizes, trade, or traffick, or any of them, or any part thereof; but shall, as much as in him lieth, prevent and defeat the same. And the said A. B. doth hereby, for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant and agree, to and with the said United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, that he the said A. B. shall and will from time to time, and at all times from henceforth, give notice and intelligence, with all convenient speed, unto the said Court of Directors for the time being, of all and every the deceits, wrongs, abuses, breach of orders, inconveniencies, and hindrances, which he the said A. B. shall know, understand, hear, or suspect to be done, practised, offered, or intended against the said Company, or their successors, or their goods or trade, or any of them, or against any person or persons by them, or by the said Court of Directors, employed, or in their service, in any place or places, together with the names of those persons by whom the same shall be so offered, practised, or intended. And the said A. B. doth hereby, for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant, promise, and agree, to and with the said United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies, that he will not engage or employ the stock of the said Company, or any part thereof, or make use of the credit of the said Company, in any other kind, way, or manner, howsoever, than for the affairs of the said Company, and as by the major part of the Court of Directors of the said Company for the time being, under their hands, or under the common seal of the said Company, or by their said President and Council, shall be ordered and directed. And that he the said A. B. shall and will, at all times, keep and conceal the said Company's secrets, and every matter and thing committed to him as such by the said Court of Directors, or their agents, factors, officers, and servants, or any of them. And also, That he the said A. B. shall and will, from time to time, and at all times from henceforth, during his said employment, keep, or cause to be kept, a true and particular journal or day book, of all passages and proceedings relating to the affairs of the said Company, and also books of accounts; in which journal, day-book, and books of accounts, he shall daily, duly, truly, and fully, enter, or cause to be entered, the accounts of all and every particular buying, selling, receipts, payments, barterings, and all other transactions and occurrences relating to his trust, during the time he shall continue in the said United Company's service and employment. And the said A. B. doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant, promise, and agree, to and with the said United Company, that he will not place, or consent to the placing, to the said Company's account, nor otherwise charge the said Company with any more or greater sums than he shall really, and in good faith, pay for all or any goods, merchandizes, or effects, which he shall buy, or cause, procure, or consent to be bought, for, or on account of the said company. And that he the said A. B. shall and will bring to the account of the said company, in the books of the said company, the full rates and prices for which he shall sell, or cause to be sold, any of the said company's goods, merchandizes or effects: And further that he the said A. B. will not directly or indirectly, take, accept, or receive, or agree to take, accept, or receive, any gift, reward, gratuity, allowance, compensation, sum or sums of money whatsoever, from any person or persons, of whom he the said A. B. shall, by himself, or any agent for him, buy or barter any goods, merchandizes, treasure, or effects, for, or upon account of the said company. And further, that he will not take, accept, or receive, or agree to take, accept, or receive, any gift, reward, gratuity, allowance, compensation, sum or sums of money whatsoever, from any person or persons to whom the said A. B. shall, by himself, or any agent for him, sell or barter any goods, merchandizes, treasure, or effects, of or belonging to, or for,



or upon account of, the said company: And moreover, That he the said A. B. his executors or administrators, shall produce and deliver the said books, together with all waste books, pocket-books, diaries, memorials, and other writings and papers whatsoever, wherein he the said A. B. shall make, or cause to be made, any entries, or set down any matter or thing touching or concerning the said company's affairs, or any of them, or any way relating thereunto (although the same may or shall be intermixed with his own, or others, concerns) unto the said Court of Directors of the said company for the time being, or to such person or persons as shall, by letter or order, under the hands of thirteen or more of the said Court of Directors, or under the seal of the said company, be authorized and appointed to demand and receive the same; and shall and will, if required, make oath to the truth of such books, diaries, memorials, writings, and papers, and that the same contain the whole of his transaction, and that they have not been defaced, obliterated, or altered. And further, That he the said A. B. shall and will, well and truly deliver and pay unto the said United Company, or their successors, all and every such monies, goods, merchandizes, and things whatsoever, as by the foot of his account, or otherwise, shall be due from him, or remain in his hands and possession, and for which he ought to be chargeable or answerable in any manner or wise. And also, That he the said A. B. shall and will (before he shall leave the said company's factories or settlements) pay and discharge all and every such sum or sums of money as he shall justly owe, or be indebted to the black merchants or natives of the country, where he the said A. B. shall be, together with such other sums as he shall owe abroad to any other merchants or persons not being subjects of his Majesty the King of Great-Britain, or his successors: And that he the said A. B. shall and will, from time to time, when and as often as he shall be thereunto required by the said company, or their successors, or by the president, agent, or chief, and council, of the place where the said A. B. shall be, remove to any such other factories, as such president, agent, or chief, and council, shall so direct and require. And also, That he the said A. B. shall, at all times, during the time of his service aforesaid, faithfully and diligently demean himself as a good honest and faithful servant towards the said company, and their successors, and those by them authorized. And upon condition, that the said A. B. shall in all things perform his covenants and agreements with the said company herein contained, and to encourage him so to do, it is further covenanted and agreed by and between the said parties to these presents, That it shall and may be lawful, to and for the said A. B. and the said company doth accordingly license the said A. B. during the said five years, commencing as aforesaid, freely to trade and traffick for his own account only, from port to port in India, or elsewhere within the limits aforesaid, but not to go to or from any place without the same, without any lett, hindrance, or interruption, from them the said company, their successors, or assigns, so as the said trade and traffick so to be carried on and driven in India, or elsewhere within the limits aforesaid, or any part thereof, be subject to such rules, regulations, and limitations, as the said Company, or the Court of Directors for the time being of the said company, have already directed, or shall from time to time hereafter direct and appoint, and be not to the hurt or prejudice of the said company and their successors, or of their trade or commerce, and so as whatever is so traded for by the said A. B. by virtue of this agreement, be particularly entered in books of the said company, to be kept for that purpose, in all the factories of the said company respectively in the East-Indies, or elsewhere within the limits aforesaid, where such trade shall be driven: But in case the said A. B. shall waste or make use of the said company's treasure, or shall become indebted to the said company, then, and in such case, it is hereby further covenanted and agreed by and between the said parties to these presents, That he the said A. B. shall not be entitled to any of the payments, advantages, and benefits, hereby otherwise intended him; but contrariwise, for, and towards satisfaction for what shall be due from him to the said company, and for and towards reparation of the damages done to the said company, it shall and may be lawful, to and for any person or persons thereunto authorized and appointed, by writing under the hands of thirteen, or more, of the Court of Directors of the said company for the time being, or under the seal of the said company, and to and for any president, agent, or chief, and council, of any place or factory of or belonging to the said company, to seize, or cause the goods and chattels of him, the said A. B. to be seized and detained until satisfaction is made. And forasmuch as complains have been made to the said United Company, that several of the said Company's Presidents and Chiefs of their factories, and several of such persons as are of their councils in their factories abroad, or some them, as also their factors, agents, and servants, have committed very heinous and grievous offences in such factories of the said Company, and elsewhere in the East Indies, and other places within the said Company's limits of trade, by unjustly menacing, imprisoning, assaulting, abusing, and evil-treating the natives and black merchants, and others, with whom the said Company have had dealings or correspondence, and by such means, and other violences, abuses, and injuries, have extorted and forced great sums of money, and other valuable effects, from such injured persons, who, by reason of the great distance from this kingdom, and the wholesome laws thereof, and by reason that the said Company have not been able to obtain and render satisfaction for such injuries and misdemeanors, are, and have been remediless: Now it is hereby agreed, by and between the said parties to these presents, and the said A. B. doth hereby, for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant and agree, to and with the said United Company, that in case any sum or sums of money, goods, or chattels, whatsoever shall, at any time or times hereafter, be extorted, forced, and taken, by him the said A. B. (either separately, or jointly with others) from any person or persons whatsoever, within the said Company's limits of trade, by the means or use of imprisonments, assaults,

affaults, violences, menaces, or other force or compulsion whatsoever, then, and as often as any such offence or offences shall be committed, it shall and may be lawful to and for every person or persons injured thereby, to make and send over complaints and attestations thereof in writing to the Court of Directors of the said Company for the time being, and that upon the receipt of such complaints and attestations, it shall and may be lawful, to and for the Court of Directors of the said Company, for the time being, to enquire into the truth of the said complaints, by all such ways and means as they shall think just and equitable, and thereupon to hear the matter of the said complaint or complaints, and thereupon finally to judge and determine the same, and to award satisfaction and reparation to be made by the said A. B. to the said Company, for the benefit of such injured persons. And the said A. B. doth hereby, for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant and agree, to and with the said United Company, well and truly to pay to the said Company, at such time or times as shall be limited by the said Court of Directors (or the major part of them) for that purpose, all and every such sum and sums of money as shall be so awarded by the said Court of Directors for the time being, or the major part of them then assembled, to be paid as aforesaid; but in trust nevertheless, and to the intent, that the said Company may and do receive, and pay over, the monies received or recovered by them, to the parties injured or defrauded, which the said Company accordingly hereby agree and covenant to do: And the said A. B. doth furthermore for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant and agree, to and with the said United Company, to pay and satisfy to the said Company, for their own use and benefit, all such damages as they shall have sustained by reason or means of any such offence or offences as aforesaid. And forasmuch as it frequently happens that the President and Council, agent and council, chief and council, and several other subordinate officers of several of the said Company's factories abroad, have, by mutual influences on each other, settled, stated, and adjusted, amongst themselves, their own accounts with the said Company, in order, as far as they could, to bar and preclude the said Company from reviewing, altering, amending, correcting, or contesting, the same: Now it is hereby further declared, that all and every such account and accounts, so at any time stated, ballanced, signed, or adjusted, by, between, or amongst, such Presidents and Councils, or agents and councils, or chiefs and councils, or other subordinate officers, or any of them, and the said A. B. are agreed to be, and shall at all times hereafter be taken and esteemed to be open accounts, formed and prepared only for the inspection, perusal, and approbation or correction, of the said Company, and shall not in any sort or kind, or in any article thereof, bind or conclude the said Company. And the said A. B. doth for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant and agree, to and with the said United Company, that he the said A. B. will not at any time, during his residence in the East Indies, or within the said Company's Limits, directly or indirectly, trade, correspond, traffick, deal with or for, or be in any wise aiding, assisting, or employed as agent, or factor, by, or for any foreign Company trading in or to the East Indies, or any person or persons whatsoever, who do or shall, during the continuance of these presents, traffick, adventure, or trade to, in, or from, the East Indies, or elsewhere, within the limits of the said Company's trade, by, or under, or by virtue of, any foreign commission, licence, or authority whatsoever, nor shall or will, by himself, or in conjunction with any person or persons whatsoever, directly or indirectly carry on, or use, or be concerned in any sort of trade, traffick, or merchandize, either from Europe to the East Indies, or to any place within the said Company's limits, between the Cape of Good Hope, and the straits of Magellan, or from the East Indies, or from any place within the said Company's limits, to Europe, or to or from any place whatsoever, although not within the said Company's limits of trade; save and except, for and on account of the said Company; nor shall carry on, use, or be concerned in, any trade or traffick whatsoever, but such as is expressly allowed by and according to the true intent and meaning of these presents. And that he the said A. B. his executors or administrators, shall and will pay, or cause to be paid, unto the said Company, as and by way of stated damages, double the value of all and every the goods and merchandizes, traded for, bartered by the said A. B. his agent or agents, contrary to the true meaning of these presents: Provided nevertheless, that if the said A. B. shall first voluntarily and freely make a discovery, unto the said Company's Court of Directors, of any trade or traffick carried on by him or his agents, contrary to the true meaning of these presents, and of all and every the persons therein concerned, then, and in such case, the said Company do hereby agree to accept the single value, instead of the double value of the said goods and merchandizes, which shall be traded with, in, for, or bartered or trafficked for, contrary to the true meaning of these presents as aforesaid: And in order to a discovery of, and a satisfaction for, such illicit trade as aforesaid, it is hereby agreed, that it shall and may be lawful, to and for the said United Company, and their successors, to file any bill or bills of complaint or discovery, in his Majesty's High Court of Chancery, or Court of Exchequer, against him the said A. B. his executors and administrators, whereunto the said A. B. doth hereby agree, that neither he, nor they, shall or will demur or plead in bar of the discovery or relief, sought by such bill or bills, that thereby he or they, is, are, may, or shall, become liable to any penalty or forfeiture, by force of any law or statute, bond, covenant, or agreement, or otherwise howsoever, but shall make and put in a full and perfect answer and answers to all the parts thereof, and shall not, in such answer and answers, insist upon any penalties, forfeitures, law, or statute, bond, covenant, or agreement, or allege any matter whatsoever, whereby to prevent, bar, or preclude, the said Company, from the discovery or relief, sought or to be sought by such bill or bills as aforesaid; but then, and in such case, the said United Company do hereby consent to wave and disclaim all, and all manner



of penalties and forfeitures, that shall or may, in any kind or degree whatsoever, accrue or incur to them, upon, or by reason of, any discovery or disclosure arising by the said answer or answers of the said A. B. his executors or administrators: And the said United Company, for themselves and their successors, do agree to accept, and the said A. B. doth, for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, agree to account for, and pay, or cause to be paid to, or to the use of, the said company, or their successors, as, and for a full, stated, and adjusted compensation and satisfaction for the damages sustained by the said company, upon account of the said illicit trade, the sum of fifty pounds for every one hundred pounds value, of all and every the goods and merchandizes traded or trafficked with, or for, contrary to the true intent and meaning hereof, and also of the produce of the said illicit trade. Provided always, and it is hereby expressly covenanted, declared, and agreed, between the parties to these presents, and it is the true intent and meaning thereof, that in case the said A. B. shall make default in any of the covenants herein before contained, or shall embezzle any of the said company's money, goods, or effects, or be guilty of any breach of trust towards the said company, or shall be concerned in buying, bartering, selling, or disposing of any artillery, ordnance, musquets, fire arms, ammunition, or warlike stores, to or for the use of any Prince, Nabob, or country power in India, or of the natives there, without the express licence of the said company, or their Court of Directors for the time being, or a majority of them, or of the said company's president and council, at the respective settlement, where such buying, bartering, or selling shall be; or in case the said A. B. shall, at any time during the continuance of these presents, without the like licence and authority as aforesaid, hold correspondence with any Prince, Nabob, or country power in India, or any of their ministers, or shall supply, lend to, or procure, for the use of any foreign company trading in, or to India, or any person or persons trading under the licence or authority of such foreign company, any money, at respondentia, or any other security, loan, or engagement whatsoever; that then, and in each and every of the said cases, it shall be lawful for the said company, and their said Court of Directors for the time being, or the majority of them, or the president and council at the respective settlement, where the said A. B. shall be resident or employed, and they are hereby respectively declared to have full power and authority for that purpose, to suspend, or wholly dismiss, the said A. B. from the said company's service and employment; the said A. B. having first had notice given him of such his offence or default, and a reasonable time allowed him to make his defence against the same, and having been convicted thereof. And it is hereby further expressly covenanted and agreed, by and between the said company, and the said A. B. that in case of such dismissal as aforesaid, or in case the said A. B. shall, during the continuance of these presents, be minded to quit or resign the said company's service, and such resignation shall be accepted and agreed to, by the said company or their Court of Directors, or their president and council at such settlement, where the said A. B. shall reside or be employed, that then, and in either of the said cases of dismissal from, or voluntary resignation of, the said service, it shall not be lawful for the said A. B. to enter into any new or fresh engagements or concerns whatsoever, in the way of trade or merchandize; but he shall wholly forbear and be prohibited therefrom; but nevertheless, the said A. B. shall in any, or either of the said cases, be at liberty, and have full power and authority to sell and dispose of his merchandizes and effects, which he shall have on hand, or which shall be then fairly and truly belonging to him, and to collect and get in such outstanding debts as shall be then due and owing to him in trade, or otherwise. And for the more effectually carrying the said last mentioned covenant and agreement into execution, it is hereby declared to be the true intent and meaning of these presents; and the said A. B. doth hereby covenant, promise, and agree, to and with the said United Company, that in case of such dismissal from, or quitting and resigning, the said company's service, and employment, he the said A. B. shall and will, within one year after the same shall happen, or by the first passage that can be obtained after the expiration of the said one year, transport himself, together with his family, to Great-Britain, in such ship employed by the said company, as shall be appointed for that purpose, by the said company, or by their Court of Directors, or their president and council as aforesaid; and shall not, nor will upon any account or pretence whatsoever, stay, or continue any longer in the East-Indies: And moreover, in case the said A. B. shall make default in the said last mentioned covenant, the said A. B. doth hereby consent and agree with the said United Company, that from, and immediately after such default, it shall and may be lawful for the said company, or their Court of Directors, or their President and Council at the said settlement where the said A. B. shall reside or be, to cause the said A. B. to be apprehended and detained, and to put him and his family on board any ship employed by the said company, for the purpose of being transported to Great-Britain, so nevertheless that no unnecessary delay be sought, nor any fit occasion or opportunity lost in so doing. And further, in case of such apprehending, putting on board, and transporting, the said A. B. and his family, in manner aforesaid; the said A. B. doth hereby covenant, promise and agree, to and with the said United Company, that he the said A. B. his executors, or administrators, shall not, nor will commence, sue, or prosecute the said company, or their Court of Directors, or any of their presidents and council, commanders or officers of any such ship, or any other person employed in any of the matters aforesaid, in, or by any action, suit, or other prosecution, civil or criminal, in respect to such apprehending and detaining him the said A. B. or of putting on board and transporting him the said A. B. and his family, to Great-Britain, in manner aforesaid; and in case any such action, suit, or prosecution, shall be commenced, sued, or prosecuted for any of the matters aforesaid, the said A. B. doth hereby covenant and agree to and with the said company, that the general

issue may be pleaded, and that this present indenture, or any other special matter, may be given in evidence by any of the defendants in any such suit, action, or prosecution. Provided always and lastly, it is hereby covenanted, concluded, and agreed, by and between the said parties hereto, and it is their true intent and meaning, That if the said A. B. shall continue in the said company's service after the expiration of the said term of five years, that such continuance shall be upon the same terms, conditions, and agreements, as are herein before made and agreed upon, for the said term of five years, save and except, that if the said A. B. shall rise to any superior place or office than what he is hereby employed in or appointed for, that then he the said A. B. performing the covenants aforesaid, shall have and receive such wages as are usually paid to officers in the like advanced station, places, or employments. In witness whereof, the said United Company have to one part of these indentures set their common seal; and the said A. B. hath to the other part of the said indenture set his hand and seal, the day and year first above-written.

A. B. (L. S.)

Sealed and delivered (being stamp'd according to act of parliament) in the presence of Us,

I acknowledge to have read the within covenant before I executed the same.

Witness,

A. B.

Writers covenant from 1756 to July 1770.

1000 factor's covenants. 1770.

This indenture made the thousand seven hundred and sovereign Lord Day of in the year of our Lord one and in the year of the reign of our by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, and so forth, between the United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, of the one part, and A. B. of London, writer, of the other part, Whereas the said United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, have (upon the special request and entreaty of the said A. B. and upon the conditions and agreements herein after contained, on the part of the said A. B. to be performed) received and entertained him the said A. B. into their service, as their writer and covenant servant, at their chief settlement of Fort William in Bengal in the East Indies, to serve them for the term of five years, and to be employed in all or any of the traffick or merchandizes, busineses, and affairs, in any place or places whatsoever, between the Cape of Good Hope, and the Straits of Magellan, as the said Company, or their Court of Directors for the time being, or any thirteen, or more of them, or any by them authorized, shall appoint, at and for the wages or sum of five pounds of lawful money of Great Britain, by the year, to commence from the time of his arrival at Fort William aforesaid. Now this indenture witnesseth, that the said A. B. for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, doth hereby covenant and agree, to and with the said United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, and their successors, in manner and form following, (that is to say) that he the said A. B. from the time of his arrival at Fort William aforesaid, for, and during, and unto the full end and expiration of five years, shall faithfully, honestly, diligently, and carefully, serve the said Company at such place and places, and in all and every such affairs and business whatsoever of the said Company, as the said A. B. shall be employed in; and shall also from time to time, and at all times, observe, keep, and fulfil, all and every the orders of the said Company, and of the said Court of Directors, made and to be made, for the government of their factories and settlements, officers, agents, or servants abroad; and shall and will also observe, keep, and fulfil, all such orders, instructions, and directions, which he shall herewith or hereafter receive under the seal of the said Company, or from the said Court of Directors of the said Company for the time being, or any thirteen or more of them, or from any persons authorized thereunto by such Directors; and shall and will, to the utmost of his power and skill, resist and withstand all and every such person or persons, as shall break, or endeavour to break, the said orders, instructions, or directions, or any of them. And the said A. B. doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators covenant and agree, to and with the said United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, that he will not do, attempt, or practise, nor shall wittingly or willingly permit or suffer any other person or persons whatsoever, to do, attempt, or practise, any matter or thing whatsoever, to the hindrance, hurt, prejudice, damage, or defrauding, of the said Company, or their successors, or of their servants, or any of them, or of the said Company's goods, merchandizes, trade, or traffick, or any of them, or any part thereof; but shall, as much as in him lies, prevent and defeat the same. And the said A. B. doth hereby, for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant and agree to and with the said United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, that he the said A. B. shall and will, from time to time, and at all times from henceforth, give notice and intelligence, with all convenient speed, unto the said Court of Directors for the time being, of all and every the deceits, wrongs, abuses, breach of orders, inconveniences, hindrances, which he the said A. B. shall know, understand, hear, or suspect to be done, practised, offered, or intended, against the said Company, or their successors, or their goods or trade, or any of them, or against any person or persons by them or by the said Court of Directors employed, or in their service, in any place or places, together with the names of those persons by whom the same shall be so offered, practised or intended. And the said A. B. doth hereby, for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant, promise,



wife, and agree, to and with the said United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, that he will not engage or employ, either the stock of the said Company, or any part thereof, or make use of the credit of the said Company, in any kind, or other way and manner howsoever, than for the affairs of the said Company, and as by the major part of the Court of Directors of the said Company for the time being, under their hands, or under the common seal of the said Company, shall be ordered and directed. And the said A. B. doth hereby, for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant, promise, and agree, to and with the said United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, that he the said A. B. shall and will, at all times, keep and conceal the said Company's secrets, and every matter and thing committed to him as such by the said Court of Directors, or their agents, factors, officers, and servants, or any of them. And also, that he the said A. B. shall and will, from time to time, and at all times from henceforth, during his said employment, keep, or cause to be kept, a true and particular journal or day book, of all passages and proceedings relating to the affairs of the said Company, and also books of accounts; in which journal, day book, and books of accounts, he shall daily, duly, truly, and fully, enter or cause to be entered, the accounts of all and every particular buying, selling, receipts, payments, barterings, and other transactions and occurrences relating to his trust, during the time he shall continue in the said United Company's service and employment: And the said A. B. doth hereby, for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant, promise, and agree, to and with the said United Company, that he will not place, or consent to the placing to the said Company's account, nor otherwise charge the said Company with any more or greater sums than he shall really, and in good faith, pay for all or any goods, merchandizes, or effects, which he shall buy, or cause, procure, or consent to be bought, for, or on account of the said Company. And the said A. B. doth hereby, for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant and agree, to and with the said United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, that he shall and will bring to the account of the said Company, in the books of the said Company, the full rates and prices for which he shall sell, or cause to be sold, any of the said Company's goods, merchandizes, or effects. And the said A. B. doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, further covenant and agree, to and with the said United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, that he will not directly or indirectly, take, accept, or receive, or agree to take, accept, or receive, any gift, reward, gratuity, allowance, compensation, sum or sums of money whatsoever, from any person or persons, of whom he the said A. B. shall, by himself, or any agent for him, buy or barter any goods, merchandizes, treasure, or effects, for, or upon account of, the said Company; and further, that he will not take, accept, or receive, or agree to take, accept, or receive, any gift, reward, gratuity, allowance, compensation, sum or sums of money whatsoever, from any person or persons to whom he the said A. B. shall, directly or indirectly, by himself, or agent for him, sell or barter any goods, merchandizes, treasure, or effects, of or belonging to, or for, or upon account of, the said Company. And the said A. B. for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, doth covenant and agree, to and with the said United Company, that he the said A. B. his executors, or administrators, shall produce and deliver the said books, together with all waste books, pocket books, diaries, memorials, and other writings and papers whatsoever, wherein he the said A. B. shall make, or cause to be made, any entries, or set down any matter or thing touching or concerning the said company's affairs, or any of them, or any way relating thereunto (although the same may or shall be intermixed with his own, or others concerns) unto the said Court of Directors, of the said company for the time being, or to such person or persons, as shall by letter or order, under the hands of thirteen, or more, of the said Court of Directors, or under the seal of the said company, be authorized and appointed to demand and receive the same; and shall and will, if required, make oath to the truth of such books, diaries, memorials, writings, and papers, and that the same contain the whole of his transactions, and that they have not been defaced, obliterated, or altered. And further, that he the said A. B. shall and will well and truly deliver and pay unto the said United Company, or their successors, all and every such monies, goods, merchandizes, and things whatsoever, as by the foot of his account, or otherwise, shall be due from him, or remain in his hands and possession, and for which he ought to be chargeable or answerable in any manner or wise: And also, that he the said A. B. shall and will (before he shall leave the said company's factories or settlements) pay and discharge all and every such sum or sums of money, as he shall justly owe or be indebted to any of the black merchants or natives of the country where he the said A. B. shall be, together with such other sums as he shall owe, abroad to any other merchants or persons not being subjects of his Majesty the King of Great-Britain or his successors; and that he the said A. B. shall and will, from time to time, when and as often as he shall be thereunto required by the said Company, or their successors, or by the president, agent, or chief, and council, of the place where the said A. B. shall be, remove to any such other factories, as such president, agent, or chief, and council, shall so direct or require. And also, That he the said A. B. shall, at all times, during the time of his service aforesaid, faithfully and diligently demean himself as a good, honest, and faithful servant towards the said company, and their successors, and those by them authorized, and lovingly and peaceably towards his consorts. And upon condition, that the said A. B. shall in all things perform his covenants and agreements with the said company, and to encourage him so to do, it is further covenanted and agreed, by and between the said parties to these presents, That it shall and may be lawful to and for the said A. B. and the said company doth accordingly license the said A. B. during the said five years commencing as aforesaid, freely

to trade and traffick, for his own account only from port to port in India, or elsewhere, within the limits aforesaid, but not to or from any place without the same, without any lett, hinderance or interruption, from them the said company, their successors or assigns, so as the said trade and traffick, so to be carried to and driven in India or elsewhere, within the limits aforesaid, or any part thereof, be subject to such rules, regulations, and limitations, as the said company, or the Court of Directors for the time being of the said company, have already directed, or shall from time to time hereafter direct and appoint, and be not to the hurt or prejudice of the said company and their successors, or of their trade or commerce; and so as whatever is so traded for by the said A. B. by virtue of this agreement, be particularly entered in books of the said company, to be kept for that purpose in all the factories of the said company respectively in the East-Indies, or elsewhere within the limits aforesaid, where such trade shall be driven: But in case the said A. B. shall waste or make use of the said company's treasure, or shall become indebted to the said company, or shall in any wise make default in performance of the covenants aforesaid, then, and in such case, it is hereby further covenanted and agreed, by and between the said parties to these presents, That he the said A. B. shall not be entitled to any payments, advantages, and benefits, hereby otherwise intended him; but contrariwise, for and towards satisfaction for what shall be due from him to the said company, and for and towards reparation of the damages done to the said company, it shall and may be lawful to and for any person or persons thereunto authorized and appointed, by writing, under the hands of thirteen, or more, of the Court of Directors of the said company for the time being, or under the seal of the said company, and to and for any president, agent, or chief, and council, of any place or factory of or belonging to the said company, to seize, or cause the goods and chattels of him the said A. B. to be seized and detained, until satisfaction is made. And forasmuch as grievous complaints have been made to the said United Company, that several of the said company's presidents and chiefs of their factories, and several of such persons as are of their councils in their factories abroad, or some of them, as also their factors, agents, and servants, have committed very heinous and grievous offences in such factories of the said company, and elsewhere in the East-Indies, and other places within the said company's limits of trade, by unjustly menacing, imprisoning, assaulting, abusing, and evil treating, the natives and black merchants, and others with whom the said company have had dealings or correspondence; and by such means, and other violences, abuses, and injuries, have, as hath been alledged, extorted and forced great sums of money, and other valuable effects, from such injured persons, who by reason of the great distance from this kingdom, and the wholesome laws thereof, and by reason that the said company have not been enabled to obtain and render satisfaction for such injuries and misdemeanors, are, and have been remediless: Now it is hereby agreed by and between the said parties to these presents, and the said A. B. doth hereby, for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant and agree, to and with the said United Company, that in case any sum or sums of money, goods or chattels whatsoever, shall at any time or times hereafter, be extorted, forced, or taken, by him the said A. B. (either separately or jointly with others) from any person or persons whatsoever, within the said company's limits of trade, by the means or use of imprisonments, assaults, violences, menaces, or other force or compulsion whatsoever, then and as often as any such offence or offences shall be committed, it shall and may be lawful, to and for every person or persons injured thereby, to make and send over complaints and attestations thereof in writing, to the Court of Directors of the said company for the time being, and that upon the receipt of such complaints, and attestations, it shall and may be lawful to and for the Court of Directors of the said company for the time being, to enquire into the truth of the said complaints, by all such ways and means as they shall think just and equitable, and thereupon to hear the matter of the said complaint or complaints, and thereupon finally to judge and determine the same, and to award satisfaction and reparation to be made by the said A. B. to the said company, for the benefit of such injured persons. And the said A. B. doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant and agree, to and with the said United Company, well and truly to pay to the said Company, at such time or times as shall be limited by the said Court of Directors (or the major part of them) for that purpose, all and every such sum and sums of money as shall be so awarded by the said Court of Directors for the time being, or the major part of them then assembled, to be paid as aforesaid: But in trust nevertheless, and to the intent, that the said Company may and do render, and pay over, the monies received or recovered by them, to the parties injured or defrauded, which the said Company accordingly hereby agree and covenant to do: And the said A. B. doth furthermore, for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant and agree, to and with the said United Company, to pay and satisfy to the said Company, for their own use and benefit, all such damages as they shall have sustained by reason or means of any such offence or offences as aforesaid, and forasmuch as it frequently happens, that the President and Council, agent and council, chief and council, and several other subordinate officers of several of the said Company's factories abroad, have, by mutual influences on each other, settled, stated, and adjusted amongst themselves, their own accounts with the said Company, in order, as far as they could, to bar and preclude the said Company from reviewing, altering, amending, correcting, or contesting, the same: Now it is hereby further declared, that all and every such account and accounts, so at any time heretofore stated, ballanced, signed, or adjusted, as aforesaid, were ever designed by the said Company to be, and the same, and all and every such account and accounts, so hereafter to be stated, ballanced, signed, or adjusted, by, between, of amongst such Presidents and Councils, or agents and councils, or

chiefs



chiefs and councils, or other subordinate officers, or any of them, are hereby agreed to be, and shall at all times hereafter be taken and esteemed to be, open accounts, formed and prepared only for the inspection, perusal, and approbation, or correction, of the said Company, and shall not in any sort or kind, or in any article thereof, bind or conclude the said Company. And the said A. B. doth, for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant and agree, to and with the said United Company, that he the said A. B. will not at any time, during his residence in the East Indies, or within the said Company's limits, directly or indirectly, by himself, or in conjunction with any person or persons whatsoever, carry or use, or be concerned in any sort of trade, traffick, or merchandize, either from Europe to the East Indies, or to any place within the said Company's limits, between the Cape of Good Hope, and the Straits of Magellan, or from the East Indies, or from any place within the said Company's limits, to Europe, or to or from any place whatsoever, although not within the said Company's limits of trade, save and except, for, and on account of, the said Company, nor shall carry on, use, or be concerned in, any trade or traffick whatsoever, but such as is expressly allowed by and according to the true intent and meaning of these presents. And the said A. B. for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, doth hereby covenant and agree, that he the said A. B. his executors or administrators, shall, and will pay, or cause to be paid, unto the said Company, as and by way of stated damages, double the value of all and every the goods and merchandizes, traded for, bartered, or trafficked with, by the said A. B. his agent or agents, contrary to the true meaning of these presents, and moreover, shall forfeit and lose all and every the benefits and advantages which the said A. B. his executors, administrators, or assigns, would otherwise be entitled unto, from the said Company, and shall also from thenceforth cease to be the said Company's servant or agent: Provided nevertheless, that if the said A. B. shall first voluntarily and freely make a discovery, unto the said Company's Court of Directors, of any trade, or traffick, carried on by him or his agents, contrary to the true meaning of these presents, and of all and every the persons therein concerned, then and in such case the said Company do hereby agree to accept the single value, instead of the double value of the said goods and merchandizes, which shall be traded with, in, for, or bartered or trafficked for, contrary to the true meaning of these presents, as afore said: And in order to a discovery of, and a satisfaction for, such illicit trade as afore said, it is hereby agreed, that it shall and may be lawful, to and for the said United Company, and their successors, to file any bill or bills of complaint or discovery, in his Majesty's high court of Chancery or court of Exchequer, against him the said A. B. his executors and administrators, whereunto the said A. B. doth hereby agree, that neither he, nor they, shall or will demur or plead in bar of the discovery or relief, sought by such bill or bills, that thereby he or they, is, are, may, or shall become liable to any penalty or forfeiture, by force of any law or statute, bond, covenant, or agreement, or otherwise howsoever, but shall make and put in a full and perfect answer and answers to all the parts thereof, and shall not, in such answer and answers, insist upon any penalty, forfeiture, law, or statute, bond, covenant, or agreement, or alledge any matter whatsoever, whereby to prevent, bar, or preclude the said Company, from the discovery or relief, sought, or to be sought, by such bill or bills as afore said; but then, and in such case, the said United Company do hereby consent to wave and disclaim all and all manner of penalties and forfeitures, that shall or may, in any kind or degree whatsoever, accrue or incur to them, upon, or by reason of, any discovery or disclosure arising from the said answer or answers, of the said A. B. his executors or administrators; and the said United Company, for themselves and their successors, do agree to accept, and the said A. B. doth for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, agree to account for, and pay or cause to be paid to, or to the use of, the said Company, or their successors, as and for a full, stated, and adjusted compensation and satisfaction for the damages sustained by the said Company, upon account of the said illicit trade, the sum of fifty pounds for every one hundred pounds value, and all and every the goods and merchandizes traded or trafficked with, or for, contrary to the true intent and meaning hereof, and also of the produce of the said illicit trade. Provided always and lastly, it is hereby covenanted, concluded, and agreed, by and between the said parties hereto, and it is their true intent and meaning, that if the said A. B. shall continue in the said Company's service after the expiration of the said term of five years, that such continuance shall be upon the same terms, conditions, and agreements, as are herein before made and agreed upon, for the said term of five years, save and except, that if the said A. B. shall rise to any superior place or office than what he is hereby employed in or appointed for, that then he the said A. B. performing the covenants afore said, shall have and receive such wages as are usually paid to officers in the like advanced stations, places, or employments. In witness whereof, the said United Company have to one part of these indentures set their common seal; and the said A. B. hath to the other part of the said indentures set his hand and seal, the day and year first above written.

A. B. (L. S.)

Sealed and delivered (being stamp'd  
according to act of parliament)  
in the presence of us

I do acknowledge to have read the within covenant before I executed the same.

Witness,

A. B.

Amount

Amount of the securities taken from the respective ranks of the East India Company's Civil servants.

A Governor	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	£. 10,000
Counsellor	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	4,000
Senior merchant	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	3,000
Junior merchant	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	2,000
Factor	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	1,000
Writer	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	500

Mem<sup>o</sup>. military officers do not give security for the performance of their covenants.

Copies of the separate commissions of commander in chief of the military forces of the East India Company, at their different presidencies, and of such commission of commander in chief as may have comprehended all their forces in India.

The United Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies:

To Major General Stringer Lawrence, send greeting.

We, the said united Company, reposing especial trust and confidence in you Major General Stringer Lawrence, do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be commander in chief of all our military forces in the East Indies, under our respective presidencies; that is to say, our presidency of Fort St George, on the coast of Choromandel, and the several settlements and places subordinate to the said presidency, whenever and as often as you shall be present and reside at the said presidency, settlements, or places, and during such time or times only; our presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and the several settlements and places subordinate thereto, whenever and as often as you shall be present and reside at the said presidency, settlements, or places, and during such time or times only; our presidency at Bombay, and the several settlements and places subordinate thereto, whenever and as often as you shall be present and reside at the said presidency, settlements, or places, and during such time or times only; our presidency of Fort Marlborough, and the several settlements and places subordinate thereto, whenever and as often as you shall be present, or reside at the said presidency, settlements, or places, and during such time or times only. And you Major General Stringer Lawrence are, to the utmost of your skill and power, to do and perform all such offices and services as appertain to the post of commander in chief of all our military forces in the East Indies as aforesaid, subject however to all such rules, orders, and instructions, as you shall at any time receive from the Court of Directors of the said United Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, in writing, or under the hands of thirteen or more of them, or from the said Company's Presidents and Councils of Fort Saint George, Fort William, Bombay, or Fort Marlborough, respectively, whenever you shall be present at such respective presidency, or any of the settlements or places subordinate thereto, according to the rules and discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust we hereby repose in you: And we do hereby strictly require, charge, and command, all commission officers, non commission officers, soldiers, and others, belonging to our military forces at the several places before mentioned, to yield you, as commander in chief, during your residence at such places as aforesaid, due obedience accordingly. In witness, &c.

Dated the 11th March 1761.

The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

To Joseph Smith, Esquire, Greeting.

We, the said United Company, reposing especial trust and confidence in your courage, and experience in military affairs, do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you, to be a Brigadier General in our service, and do give and grant you full power and authority, to take your rank as Brigadier General.

You are therefore to take upon you the said charge and command of Brigadier General as aforesaid, and carefully and diligently to discharge the said trust of Brigadier General, by doing all things thereunto belonging: And we do hereby command all our officers and soldiers, to obey you as Brigadier General. And you are to observe and follow all such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from us, our Governor and Council of Fort Saint George, or any other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust hereby reposed in you; or failing therein, our said Governor and Council are empowered by us to vacate and annul these presents: Given under our common seal, this third day of November, in the ninth year of the reign of his most excellent Majesty, our Sovereign Lord George the third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and so forth; and in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty eight.

By order of the Court of Directors of the said United Company.

P. Michell, Secretary.

The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

To Major General Eyre Coote, Greeting.

We, the said United Company, reposing especial trust and confidence in you Major General Eyre Coote, do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be commander in chief of all our  
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military



military forces in the East Indies, and you are to the utmost of your skill and power, to do and perform all such offices and services as appertain to the post of commander in chief of all our military forces in the East Indies as aforesaid, subject however to all such rules, orders, and instructions, as you shall at any time receive from the Court of Directors of the said United Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, in writing or under the hands of thirteen or more of them, or from the commissioners appointed to superintend their affairs in India, or from the said Company's Presidents and Councils of Fort Saint George, Fort William, Bombay, or Fort Marlborough, respectively, whenever you shall be present at such respective presidency, or any of the settlements or places subordinate thereto, according to the rules and discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust we hereby repose in you: And we do hereby strictly require, charge, and command, all commission officers, non commission officers, soldiers, and others belonging to our military forces, at the several places before mentioned, to yield you as their commander in chief, during your residence at such places as aforesaid, due obedience accordingly. In witness whereof, the said United Company have caused their common seal to be affixed in London, this 22d day of December, in the tenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the faith; and in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine.

(L. S.)

By order of the Court of Directors of the said United Company.

Peter Michell, Secretary.

The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies.  
To Eyre Coote, Esquire, Lieutenant Colonel in his Majesty's service, and Commandant of the Eighty-fourth regiment of foot, greeting.

We, the said United Company, do by these presents constitute and appoint you Eyre Coote, Esquire, to be commander in chief of all our military forces, at our presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and the several places and settlements subordinate thereto; you are therefore to the utmost of your skill and power, to do and perform all such offices and services, as appertain to the post of commander in chief of all our military forces in Bengal, as aforesaid, subject however to all such rules, orders, and instructions, which you shall at any time receive from the Court of Directors of the said United Company of merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, for the time being, or from our governor and council of Fort William aforesaid, for the time being: And we do hereby strictly require, charge, and command, all commission officers, non-commission officers, soldiers, and others, belonging to our military forces in Bengal aforesaid, to yield you, as their commander in chief as aforesaid, due obedience accordingly. In witness whereof, we have caused our common seal to be affixed to these presents, the 14th day of March, in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, and in the thirty-second year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second, by the grace of God, of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth.

(L. S.)

Signed by Order of the Court of Directors of the said Company.

Rob<sup>t</sup>. James, Secretary.

The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies.

To Sir Robert Barker, Knight, greeting.

We, the said United Company, reposing especial trust and confidence in your courage and experience in military affairs, do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be a Brigadier General in our service, and do give and grant you full power and authority to take your rank as Brigadier General; you are therefore to take upon you the said charge and command of Brigadier General as aforesaid, and carefully and diligently to discharge the said trust of Brigadier General by doing all things thereunto belonging: And we do hereby command all our officers and soldiers to obey you as Brigadier General; and you are to observe and follow all such orders and directions, as you shall from time to time receive from us, our Governor and Council of Fort William, or any other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust hereby reposed in you; or failing therein, our said Governor and Council are empowered by us to vacate and annul these presents. Given under our common seal this 23d day of March, in the Tenth year of the reign of his most excellent Majesty, our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and so forth; and in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and seventy.

L. S.

By Order of the Court of Directors of the said United Company.

P. Michell, Secretary.

The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies,  
To David Wedderburn, Esquire, greeting.

We, the said United Company, reposing especial trust and confidence in your courage and experience in military affairs, do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be a Brigadier General in our service, and do give and grant you full power and authority to take your rank as Brigadier General; you are therefore to take upon you the said charge and command of Brigadier General as aforesaid, and carefully and diligently to discharge the said trust of Brigadier General, by doing all things thereunto belonging: And we do hereby command all our officers and soldiers to obey you as Brigadier General; and you are to observe and follow all such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from us, our Governor and Council of Bombay, or any other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust hereby reposed in you; or failing therein, our said Governor and Council are empowered by us, to vacate and annul these presents. Given under our common seal this Twenty-eighth day of March, in the Tenth year of the reign of his most excellent Majesty, our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and so forth; and in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and seventy.

(L. S.)

By Order of the Court of Directors of the said United Company.

P. Michell, Secretary.

Copies of the commissions from the East-India Company, appointing a President or Governor at each of their respective presidencies, and the Council; issued by the said Company since the year 1756.

The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies.

To all, to whom these presents shall come, send greeting.

Know ye, That the said United Company, reposing especial trust and confidence in the fidelity, prudence, justice, and circumspection, of Robert Palk, Esquire, have made, constituted, and ordained, and by these presents do make, constitute, and ordain, the said Robert Palk, to be President and Governor of and for all our affairs on the coast of Choromandel and Orixá, and of the Chingee and Moratta countries; and also to be our Commander in chief of our Fort Saint George, and Town of Madraspatnam, and all the territories thereunto belonging, and of all and singular the forts, factories, and settlements, territories, countries, and jurisdictions thereof, and of all the forces which now are, or hereafter may or shall be employed, for the service of the said United Company, in the said forts, towns, and places; and to execute all and every the powers and authorities thereunto appertaining, by order and direction of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being, and to continue in the exercise of the same, during our and their pleasure, and until the contrary thereof shall be signified under the seal of the said United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies, or under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said Company for the time being: And to the end that the said Robert Palk may be better enabled to order and manage all the affairs of us the said Company; we do by these presents constitute and ordain Major General Stringer Lawrence, to be, and continue, second of our Council of Fort Saint George, and not at any time to rise to a superior rank therein, Charles Bouchier, Esq; to be third, Brigadier General John Cailaud, to be fourth, of our said Council, and not to rise at any time to a superior rank, than third of the said Council; and that his said succession as third do take place only on the death or absence of the said Major General Stringer Lawrence; Mr. Dawsonne Drake, fifth; Mr. John Pybus, sixth; Mr. Richard Fairfield, seventh; Mr. Samuel Ardley, eighth; Mr. Charles Turner, ninth; Mr. John Smith, tenth; Mr. John Lewin Smith, eleventh; Mr. John Call, twelfth; and Mr. George Stratton, thirteenth and last, of our said Council of Fort Saint George, for governing and managing all the said company's affairs, upon the coast of Choromandel, Orixá, Chingee, and Moratta countries, and governing the said Fort Saint George, and city of Madraspatnam, and all other our forts, factories, and settlements, within any of the said territories: And we do hereby give and grant unto our said President and Governor, Robert Palk, and to our Council aforesaid, or the major part of them (the whole Council being duly summoned) full power and authority from time to time to rule and govern all and every our factors, or servants, under the said presidency, and all the soldiers and inhabitants of our said Fort Saint George, and city of Madraspatnam, and elsewhere, within the places aforesaid, to administer lawful oaths, as occasion shall require; and to do and perform all such other acts and things, and to use and exercise all such other powers and authorities, as the said President and Governor, and his Council, in their several and respective places, where the said United Company have or shall have factors, or any places of trade, are authorized to do according to such instructions and directions, as he the said Robert Palk, our President and Governor, and Council, aforesaid, shall from time to time receive under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being: And we, the said United Company, do hereby order and require all our factors, servants, officers, and soldiers, within the limits of the said presidency, and all the people and inhabitants of our said Fort Saint George, and city of Madraspatnam, or any other our forts, places, or colonies, within the said presidency, to conform, submit, and yield due  
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obedience, unto the said Robert Palk, our President and Governor, and his Council accordingly. And forasmuch as it is altogether necessary, that in case of the death or removal of the said Robert Palk, our presidency should be provided for the defence and government thereof; we do therefore, by these presents, ordain and appoint, that in such case, the said Charles Bouchier shall immediately be, and succeed in the place and charge of, President and Governor of Fort Saint George aforesaid; and in case of his death or removal, the next civil servant in degree of Council below the said Charles Bouchier and Brigadier General John Caillaud, to succeed in the said presidency and government, in as full and ample manner, and with as large and ample power, privileges, and authorities, as are hereby granted unto the said Robert Palk, until our further pleasure be known therein: And we do hereby revoke, repeal, annul, and make void, every former commission or commissions, given or granted by us; whereby any other person or persons was and were constituted and ordained President and Governor, and any other persons therein named were constituted and ordained to be of the council of Fort Saint George, aforesaid: In witness whereof, we, the said United Company, have caused our common seal to be affixed to these presents, the fourth day of January, in the Fifth year of the reign of his most excellent Majesty George the Third, by the grace of God, of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty-five.

(L. S.)

Signed by Order of the Court of Directors of the said United Company.

Robt. James, Secretary.

Extract of the Company's general letter to Fort Saint George, dated the 4th January, 1765.

Having thought proper to make out a commission under the seal of the Company, whereby the Governor and Council for all the Company's affairs at the presidency of Fort Saint George, named in our letters of the 31st December, 1760, and 13th March following, are confirmed, and others appointed, as mentioned in the said commission:—We send the same by the ship Albion, and an attested copy thereof by the Royal Captain.

By the said commission, the under-named persons are confirmed in, and appointed to, the following stations in the Company's service at our presidency of Fort Saint George; viz.

Robert Palk, Esquire, President and Governor.

Major General Stringer Lawrence to be second in council, and not at any time to rise to a superior rank therein.

Charles Bouchier, Esquire, to be third in council, and to succeed to the government in case of a vacancy therein by the decease or otherwise of Mr. Palk.

Brigadier General John Caillaud, to be fourth in council, and not to rise at any time to a superior rank therein than third; and his said succession as third to take place only in case of the death or absence of General Lawrence.

Mr. Dawsonne Drake, Fifth in Council.

Mr. John Pybus, Sixth.

Mr. Richard Fairfield, Seventh.

Mr. Samuel Ardley, Eighth.

Mr. Charles Turner, Ninth.

Mr. John Smith, Tenth.

Mr. John Lewin Smith, Eleventh.

Mr. John Call, Twelfth.

Mr. George Stratton, Thirteenth.

Major General Lawrence and Brigadier General Caillaud are to be of council only as described in the before-mentioned commission and the preceding paragraph; it being our meaning and directions, that agreeable to our former orders, neither of those gentlemen should succeed to the government, as that post is always to be filled by one of our civil servants; and consequently, in case of a vacancy therein, by the death or otherwise, of Messrs. Palk and Bouchier, the next civil servant in the Council below the last named gentleman, and General Caillaud, is to succeed thereto, until our further pleasure is signified.

In case of the death or coming away of General Lawrence and General Caillaud, you will observe by our letter of the 21st November last, no other military officer or officers are to have a seat or voice at the Board without our express leave; which directions are to be strictly observed.

The United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies: To all to whom these presents shall come, send greeting: know ye, that the said United Company, reposing especial trust and confidence in the fidelity, prudence, justice, and circumspection, of Charles Bouchier, Esquire, have made, constituted, and ordained, and by these presents do make, constitute, and ordain, the said Charles Bouchier, to be President and Governor of and for all our affairs on the coast of Choromandel and Orixá, and of the Chingee and Moratta countries; and also to be our commander in chief of our Fort Saint George and town of Madraspatnam, and all the territories thereunto belonging, and of all and singular, the forts, factories, settlements, territories, countries, and jurisdictions thereof; and of all the forces which now are, or hereafter may or shall be, employed for the service of the said United Company in the said forts, towns, and

and places, and to execute all and every the powers and authorities thereunto appertaining, by order and direction of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being, and to continue in the exercise of the same during our and their pleasure, and until the contrary thereof shall be signified under the seal of the said United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, or under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said Company for the time being: And to the end that the said Charles Bouchier may be better enabled to order and manage all the affairs of us the said Company, we do by these presents constitute and ordain Josias du Pré, Esquire, to be second of our Council of Fort Saint George, next after our President Charles Bouchier, Mr. John Call to be third of our said Council, Mr. Dawson Drake to be fourth, and not to rise to a superior rank therein, Mr. Alexander Wynch to be fifth, Mr. John Andrews to be sixth, Mr. John Pybus to be Seventh, Mr. Samuel Ardley to be eighth, Mr. John Smith to be ninth, Mr. John Lewin Smith to be tenth, Mr. George Stratton to be eleventh, Mr. George Dawson to be twelfth, Mr. James Bouchier to be thirteenth, Mr. Henry Brooke to be fourteenth, and Mr. George Mackay to be fifteenth, and last, of our said Council of Fort Saint George, and not at any time to rise to an higher rank therein, for governing and managing all the said Company's affairs upon the coast of Choromandel, Orixa, Chingee, and Moratta countries, and governing the said Fort Saint George and city of Madraspatnam, and all other our forts, factories, and settlements within any of the said factories: And we do hereby give and grant unto our said President and Governor, Charles Bouchier, and to our Council aforesaid, or the major part of them (the whole Council being duly summoned) full power and authority, from time to time, to rule and govern all and every our factors and servants under the said presidency, and all the soldiers and inhabitants of our said Fort Saint George and city of Madraspatnam and elsewhere, within the places aforesaid, to administer lawful oaths as occasion shall require, and to do and perform all such other acts and things, and to use and exercise all such other powers and authorities as the said President and Governor and his Council, in their several and respective places, where the said United Company have, or shall have factories, or any places of trade, are authorized to do, according to such instructions and directions as he the said Charles Bouchier our President and Governor and Council aforesaid, shall from time to time receive, under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being: And we the said united Company do hereby order and require all our factors, servants, officers, and soldiers, within the limits of the said presidency, and all the people and inhabitants of our said Fort Saint George, and city of Madraspatnam, or any other our forts, places, or colonies, within the said presidency, to conform, submit, and yield due obedience unto the said Charles Bouchier, our President and Governor, and his Council accordingly: And soasmuch as it is altogether necessary, that in case of the death or removal of the said Charles Bouchier, our presidency should be provided for the defence and government thereof; we do therefore by these presents ordain and appoint, that in such case, the said Josias Du Pré shall immediately be, and succeed in the place and charge of President and Governor of Fort Saint George aforesaid; and in case of his death or removal, the next civil servant in degree of Council below the said Josias Du Pré do succeed in the said presidency and government, in as full and ample manner, and with as large and ample power, privileges, and authorities, as are hereby granted unto the said Charles Bouchier, until our further pleasure be known therein; and we do hereby revoke, repeal, annul, and make void, every former commission or commissions, given and granted by us, whereby any other person or persons was and were constituted and ordained President and Governor, and any other persons therein named were constituted and ordained to be of the Council at Fort Saint George aforesaid. In witness whereof, we the said United Company have caused our common seal to be affixed to these presents, the twelfth day of January, in the eighth year of the reign of his most excellent Majesty George the third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty eight.

(L. S.)

Signed by order of the Court of Directors of the said United Company.

Rob<sup>t</sup>. James, Secretary.

Extract of the Company's general letter to Fort Saint George, dated the 12th of January 1768.

By the ship Queen we transmit you a commission, under the seal of the Company, appointing the President and Governor, and the rest of the Council for the presidency of Fort Saint George, in the order and in the manner before described and directed; and you will receive an attested copy thereof by the ship Dutton.

The United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies: To all to whom these presents shall come, send greeting. Know ye, that the said United Company, reposing especial trust and confidence in the fidelity, prudence, justice, and circumspection, of Josias Du Pré, Esquire, have made, constituted, and ordained, and by these presents do make, constitute, and ordain, the said Josias Du Pré upon and from the last day of January which shall be in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and seventy, to be President and Governor of, and for, all our affairs on the coasts of Choromandel and Orixa, and of the Chingee and Moratta countries; and also to be our commander in chief of our Fort Saint George and town of Madraspatnam, and all the territories thereunto belonging, and of all and singular the forts, factories, and settlements, territories, countries, and jurisdictions thereof, and of all the

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forces



forces which now are, or hereafter may or shall be, employed for the service of the said United Company, in the said forts, towns, and places; and to execute all and every the powers and authorities thereunto appertaining, by order and direction of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being, and to continue in the exercise of the same during our and their pleasure, and until the contrary thereof shall be signified under the seal of the said United Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, or under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said Company, for the time being: And to the end that he the said Josias Du Pré may be better enabled to order and manage all the affairs of us the said Company; we do, by these presents, constitute and ordain Warren Hastings, Esquire, to be second of our Council of Fort Saint George, next after our said President Josias Du Pré, Mr. John Call to be third of our said Council, Mr. Alexander Wynch to be fourth, Mr. John Andrews to be fifth, Mr. Samuel Ardley to be sixth, Mr. John Smith to be seventh, Mr. John Lewin Smith to be eighth, Mr. George Stratton to be ninth, Mr. George Dawson to be tenth, Mr. James Bouchier to be eleventh, Mr. Henry Brooke to be twelfth, Mr. Richard Brickenden to be thirteenth, Mr. John Whitehill to be fourteenth, Mr. George Dolben to be fifteenth, and Mr. George Mackay to be sixteenth, and last, of our said Council of Fort Saint George, and not at any time to rise to a higher rank therein, for governing and managing all the said Company's affairs upon the coasts of Choromandel and Orissa, and the Chingee and Moratta countries, and governing the said Fort Saint George and city of Madraspatnam, and all other our forts, factories, and settlements, within any of the said territories: And we do hereby give and grant unto our said President and Governor Josias du Pré, and to our Council afore-named, or the major part of them (the whole Council being duly summoned) full power and authority, from time to time, to rule and govern all and every our factors and servants under the said presidency, and all the soldiers and inhabitants of our said Fort Saint George and city of Madraspatnam, and elsewhere, within the places aforesaid, to administer lawful oaths as occasion shall require, and to do and perform all such other acts and things, and to use and exercise all such other powers and authorities, as the said President and Governor, and his Council in their several and respective places where the said United Company have, or shall have, factors, or any places of trade, are authorized to do, according to such instructions and directions, as he the said Josias du Pré, our President and Governor, and Council aforesaid, shall from time to time receive under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being: And we the said United Company do hereby order and require all our factors, servants, officers, and soldiers, within the limits of the said presidency, and all the people and inhabitants of our said Fort Saint George and city of Madraspatnam, or any other our forts, places, or colonies, within the said presidency, to conform, submit, and yield due obedience unto the said Josias Du Pré, our President and Governor, and his Council accordingly: And inasmuch as it is altogether necessary, that in case of the death or removal of the said Josias Du Pré, our presidency should be provided for the defence and government thereof; we do therefore by these presents ordain and appoint, that in such case the said Warren Hastings shall immediately be and succeed in the place and charge of President and Governor of Fort Saint George aforesaid; and in case of his death or removal, the next civil servant in degree of Council below the said Warren Hastings do succeed in the said presidency and government in as full and ample manner, and with as large and ample power, privileges, and authorities, as are hereby granted unto the said Josias du Pré, until our further pleasure be known therein: And we do hereby revoke, repeal, annul, and make void, every former commission or commissions, given and granted by us, whereby any other person or persons was and were constituted and ordained President and Governor, and any other persons therein named were constituted and ordained to be of the Council at Fort Saint George aforesaid. In witness whereof, we the said United Company have caused our common seal to be affixed to these presents, the seventeenth day of March, in the Ninth year of the reign of his most excellent Majesty George the Third, by the grace of God of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine.

(I. S.)

Signed by Order of the Court of Directors of the said United Company.

P. Michell, Secretary.

Extract of the Company's letter to Fort Saint George, dated the 17th March 1769.

Mr. Bouchier being directed to resign the government on the 31st January 1770, and Josias Du Pré, Esquire, being appointed by the 16th paragraph of our letter of the 12th January 1768, to succeed as President and Governor of Fort Saint George, he is on the said 31st day of January 1770 to take upon himself the administration thereof accordingly; and we expect, from his zeal and abilities in the discharge of the duties of that important station, he will merit this signal mark of our favour.

And we further order and direct, that our Council at Fort Saint George do consist of the following gentlemen, viz.

Josias Du Pré, Esquire, President and Governor.

Mr. Warren Hastings—To be second in Council, and succeed to the government, in case of a vacancy by the decease or otherwise of Mr. Du Pré.

Mr.

Mr. John Call,	Third.
Mr. Alexander Wynch,	Fourth.
Mr. John Andrews,	Fifth.
Mr. Samuel Ardley,	Sixth.
Mr. John Smith,	Seventh.
Mr. John Lewin Smith,	Eighth.
Mr. George Stratton,	Ninth.
Mr. George Dawson,	Tenth.
Mr. James Bouchier,	Eleventh.
Mr. Henry Brooke,	Twelfth.
Mr. Richard Brickenden,	Thirteenth.
Mr. John Whitehill,	Fourteenth.
Mr. George Dolben,	Fifteenth.
Mr. George Mackay,	Sixteenth, and last of Council; and at no time to rise to an higher rank therein than last.

And we inclose a commission accordingly, under the Company's seal, in the Packet, by the ship Duke of Grafton, and an attested copy thereof will be forwarded in the Duke of Kingston.

To the honourable Charles Bouchier, Esquire, President and Governor of Fort Saint George, Josias Du Pré, Esquire, Warren Hastings, Esquire, Brigadier General Joseph Smith, and Alexander Wynch, Esquire.

1. The tenor of our letters to the separate department since the negotiations were commenced with N zam Ally for the Circars, will explain to you the sense we have entertained of the deviations that have been made from our former, more contracted, but, as we trust, more permanent, system, of confining our influence and possessions within the boundaries of the Carnatic; it is to retreat back within those limits, and for other purposes, which we shall hereafter express, that we hereby appoint you a select committee, and entrust to your discretion and abilities, the conduct of our political affairs.

2. The preservation of our present influence, in the Bengal provinces, is the great object of our attention; all political connections in the rest of India, are only important, as they may affect us there.

3. Every accession of influence, or possession elsewhere, which, by dividing our troops, may prevent the exertion of our whole force, in case we should be attacked in that quarter, is hazarding a substance for a shadow; and on this principle we shall never think Bengal secure while there is an English soldier in the Mysore country. We esteem your coast only as a barrier to our Bengal possessions; and the depression of the French power in the Carnatic, and their exclusion from the Circars, are the two objects to which all your politics should tend.

4. Judge then our anxiety at seeing a system adopted so repugnant to our views as that of supporting Mahomed Ally in the Mysore country. We repeat we shall not think ourselves secure while we have a soldier or Sepoy in that country, nor till we see it given to some power who may preserve it as a barrier against the Morattas, and who may be an useful ally should we ever have occasion to call in the assistance of a country power: These are our views; but not being able to form even a probable conjecture of what may happen from the time of your last advices to the time that this shall reach your hands, it is impossible for us to say, how our views are to be accomplish'd; we trust entirely to your judgement, so to conduct these delicate affairs as shall the least expose us to the imputation of violated faith.

5. Were Mahomed Ally only to be managed, the conduct of the Rajah of Tanjore leaves an opening to satisfy him at his expence, in the manner we shall point out in the subsequent part of this letter; but you may possibly find yourselves embarrassed with various engagements entered into with the Morattas, or with the dispossessed Princes of those countries which have been conquered by Hyder Ally, or with any other country powers, with whom the task may be more difficult, and for which we can give no positive directions.—Whenever the great purpose of retiring again within the boundaries of the Carnatic (having first secured a proper barrier) is obtained, the defence thereof, and the reduction of the vast forces now kept up by the Company and the Nabob, must be strictly attended to; but still it will be necessary to explain ourselves with respect to the Rajah of Tanjore.

6. We have expressed our sense of the Rajah of Tanjore's conduct in our letter to the separate department, but have reserved our intentions with respect to that Rajah, to be executed by you.

7. It appears most unreasonable to us, that the Rajah of Tanjore should hold possession of the most fruitful part of the country, which can alone supply our armies with subsistence, and not contribute to the defence of the Carnatic.—We observe the Nabob makes very earnest representations to you on this subject in his letter, entered in the book of country correspondence, wherein he takes notice that the Zemindars of the Carnatic have been supported, and their countries preserved to them, by the operations of our forces employed in his cause, and that nothing was more notorious than that three former Princes of the Carnatic had received from the Tanjore Rajah 70, 80, nay even 100 lacks of rupees at a time; that to the preceding Nizam he had paid a contribution of 50 lacks, and the present, if he had met with success against our army,

would



would not have been content with less than a crore of rupees from this Rajah: How just does it then appear that he should be made to bear some part of the expence of these measures, to which he owes his security, and the peace of his country.—We therefore enjoin you to give the Nabob such support in his pretensions on the Rajah of Tanjore, as may be effectual; and if the Rajah refuses to contribute a just proportion to the expence of the war, you are then to pursue such measures as the Nabob may think consistent with the justice and dignity of his government.

8. Whatever sums may in consequence of the above orders be obtained from the Rajah of Tanjore, we expect shall be applied to the discharge of the Nabob's debt to the Company; and if more than sufficient for that purpose, to the discharge of his debt to individuals.

9. In our letter to the separate department, under this date, we have testified our great surprize at the reports that are circulated by the amount of the Nabob's debt to individuals, being more than 20 lacks of pagodas, and that the Governor and Council act as trustees for the recovery of the same, and as such are in possession of the collection of the revenues of great part of the Carnatic.

10. Ignorant as we are of the rise of this debt, and the truth of these reports, we cannot but be suspicious that the interest of the Company is much wronged thereby.

11. We are alarmed lest this debt to individuals should have been the real motive for the aggrandizement of Mahomed Ally, and that we are plunged into a war, to put him in possession of the Myfore revenues, for the discharge of the debt.—Nor are we without apprehensions that the revenues collected by the Nabob in the Carnatic, and the new conquests, may be applied to the discharge of this debt, instead of being applied to the support of the war.

12. If the report of the trust vested in the Governor and Council is true, we cannot consider it in any other light than a total inversion of the nature of our service.—It is avowing private interest diametrically opposite to the Company's, and in a case where they must continually come in competition—charged on our part with the recovery of a debt due from the Nabob, for supporting him in a war during almost twenty years, how can our servants, consistent with their duty and fidelity, neglect the discharge of so great a public trust, or suffer any interest of their own to come in competition with it; or how can they dare to employ the forces, influence, and authority of the Company, in collecting the revenues of the Nabob, mortgaged to themselves?—The honour and dignity of the Company is so materially affected by those proceedings, that we expect you to impress our servants with the due sense of the distinction, which arises between private and public interest, so diametrically opposite in this instance, and how incompatible their conduct is with the character of faithful servants to the Company; and therefore the first step you are to take is to demand from them a renunciation of all the power and authority given them by the Nabob, for the collection of any part of his revenue, for his debts to individuals; for we cannot suffer the idea of such a right to be entertained, either by the Nabob, or by our servants, in exclusion of ourselves.

13. Having done this, you are then to demand from the Nabob, an account of all his debts to the servants of the Company or inhabitants, arising under our protection.—You are to examine them separately, and see that they are charged with no higher interest than after the rate of 10 per cent. from the day of the receipt of our orders on that subject, under date of the 17th May 1766, Par<sup>a</sup>. 33.

14. Having adjusted these accounts, you are to let the Nabob know, his first obligation is to discharge his debt due to the Company. You are therefore to offer him your assistance, and if necessary, even insist in the strongest manner on his entering into the detail of his revenues, and to point out to you what further resources he has for the discharge of his debts, and to make the liquidation thereof a matter of public discussion between you and him, and give the sanction of the Company's authority to the measures to be taken for the discharge of his debt to individuals, without which he can never be a useful ally.

15. You are to be very minute in representing to us whatever can give any light into the rise and progress of this uncommon debt, and the measures you adopt for procuring the discharge of it.

16. We have expressed our sentiments in our letter to the separate department on the great and almost unnecessary force kept up by the Nabob, but we rely on you for pursuing the proper measures to enforce the reduction of them to a number more suitable to the state of the Nabob's finances: When we permitted an increase of the Sepoy establishment in 1765, it was with a view to reduce the numbers of his undisciplined rabble, instead of which they have been encreasing to a degree as would almost incline us to think he meant in future to rely on them for the defence of the Carnatic; the folly of this must be strongly represented to him, and you must inculcate to him that he cannot strengthen himself by any mode so effectual as the re-establishing his finances. Remind him of the long war we have sustained in the defence of the Carnatic; that the time may come when such another effort may be required against the same powerful enemy; that he is always to bear this in his mind as a possible event, and be preparing against it; and that no preparation will be so effectual as a full treasury; and till that is accomplished, he must confine all his ambition to the putting the Carnatic into a proper state of defence, by keeping up the fortifications, and having his magazines well stored.

17. Our letter to the separate department by this consequence will sufficiently explain to you our sentiments with respect to the mode adopted of late years, for contracting for supplies to the army; and you are therefore hereby most positively ordered to examine and correct all abuses that

that may appear to you to have been committed in this respect, and revert to our former orders on this subject.

18. There is nothing which affects the welfare of the Company more than an impartial administration of justice towards their servants; and we find ourselves extremely perplexed what opinion to form on the censures passed by the Governor and Council against Messrs. Dowsett and Cuming, on account of the doubts that arise from the character of Veerago, the principal evidence, and the contradictions in the several evidences, but more especially from that given in upon oath by Cundapah relative to Mr. Dowsett, subsequent to the decision of the Governor and Council on the cases of Messrs. Dowsett and Cuming, and which evidence of Cundapan will very materially affect that given against them.—This has induced us to suspend our judgment; and we refer it to your decision, and recommend it to you, to go attentively through the former trial, to consider the weight due to the evidence given by Cundapah, and any new lights that may since be received if Nartoo is found; and should they be found guilty of the charge laid against them, our order is, that they be dismissed our service, and sent home by the first conveyance; and on the other hand, should you deem them worthy of being restored, we empower you so to do, and to let their salary and allowances from the Company be continued to them from the time they were withheld.—However, whether they are restored or not, you are to see that the several sums are refunded, which the Company have been defrauded of, by the carrying on of the works at Cuddalore during the time that Messrs. Dowsett and Cuming were paymasters there.—And if in the course of your investigating these affairs, it may appear to you that any of the natives have been guilty of fraudulent practices, you are to withdraw our protection from those who are so unworthy of it, and banish them from our bounds.

London, the 17th March 1769.

We are your loving friends,

Charles Chambers,	H Crabb Boulton,
Ja. Cockburn,	G. Colebrooke,
Jn <sup>o</sup> Woodhouse,	J. Purling,
Ben. Booth,	Fre <sup>k</sup> Pigou,
J. Creswicke,	E. H. Cruttenden,
Peter Du Cane, Junior,	W <sup>m</sup> James,
William Snell,	Daniel Wier,
John Harrison,	Edw <sup>d</sup> Wheeler,
Luke Scrafton,	J. Hurlock,
Rob. Jones,	J. Pardoe,

The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies,

To all to whom these presents shall come, send greeting.

Know ye, That we the said United Company, reposing especial trust and confidence in the fidelity, prudence, justice, and circumspection, of Roger Drake, Junior, Esquire, have made, constituted, and ordained, and by these presents do make, constitute, and ordain, the said Roger Drake, to be President and Governor, of and for all the said Company's affairs in the Bay of Bengal, and other the places and provinces thereunto belonging in the East Indies; and also to be our Governor and Commander in chief of our Fort William, in the Bay of Bengal, and all the Towns and territories thereunto belonging, and of all and singular the forts, factories, and settlements, territories, countries, and jurisdictions thereof, and of all the forces which now are, or hereafter may or shall be, employed for the service of the said United Company, in the said forts, towns, and places, and to execute all and every the powers and authorities thereunto appertaining, by order and direction of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being, and to continue in the exercise of the same during our and their pleasure, and until the contrary thereof shall be signified under the seal of the said United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies, or under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said Company for the time being: And, to the end the said Roger Drake may be better enabled to order and manage all the affairs of us the said United Company, we do by these presents constitute and ordain William Watts, Esquire, to be second of our Council of Fort William, next after our said President Roger Drake, Major James Kilpatrick to be and continue third of our said Council, and not to rise to a superior rank therein, Mr. Charles Manningham to be fourth, Mr. Richard Beecher to be fifth, Mr. Paul Richard Parkes to be sixth, Mr. William Frankland to be seventh, Mr. Matthew Collet to be eighth, Mr. John Zephaniah Holwell to be ninth, Mr. William Mackett to be tenth, Mr. Edward Eyre to be eleventh, and Mr. Nicholas Clerembault, to be twelfth, and last, of the said Council of Fort William, for governing and managing all the said Company's affairs in Bengal, and the places and provinces thereunto belonging as aforesaid: And we do hereby give and grant unto our said President and Governor, Roger Drake, Esquire, and to our Council aforesaid, or the major part of them (the whole Council being duly summoned) full power and authority, from time to time, to rule and govern all and every our factors and servants under the said presidency, and all the soldiers and inhabitants of our said Fort William, and all the towns and territories thereunto belonging, to administer lawful oaths as occasion shall require, and to do and perform all such other acts and things, and to use and exercise all such other powers and authorities, as the said President and Governor, and his Council, in their several and respective places where the said United Company have, or shall have, factors or any places of trade, are authorized to do, according to such instructions and directions as the said Roger Drake, our President and Governor, and Council



aforesaid, shall from time to time receive under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being : And we the said United Company do hereby order and require all our factors, servants, officers, and soldiers, within the limits of the said presidency, and all the people and inhabitants of the said Fort William, and all the towns and territories thereunto belonging, to conform, submit, and yield due obedience unto him the said Roger Drake, our President and Governor, and his Council, accordingly.—And forasmuch as it is altogether necessary, that in case of the death or removal of the said Roger Drake, our presidency should be provided for the defence and government thereof; we do therefore by these presents, ordain and appoint, that in such case the said William Watts, Esquire, shall immediately be and succeed in the place and charge of President and Governor of Fort William aforesaid; and in case of his death or removal, the next in degree of council below the said Major James Kilpatrick shall succeed in the said presidency and government, in as full and ample manner, and with as large and ample powers, privileges, and authorities, as are hereby granted unto the said Roger Drake, until our further pleasure be known therein : And we do hereby revoke, repeal, annul, and make void, every former commission and commissions, given and granted by us, whereby any other person or persons was and were constituted and ordained President and Governor, and any other persons therein named were constituted and ordained, to be of the Council at Fort William aforesaid. In witness whereof, we the said United Company have caused our common seal to be affixed to these presents, the eleventh day of February, in the Twenty-ninth year of the reign of his most excellent Majesty George the Second, by the grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty-six.

(L. S.)

Signed by order of the Court of Directors of the said United Company.

Rob<sup>t</sup>. James, Secretary.

Extract of the Company's general letter to Bengal, dated the 11th February 1756.

You will receive by the ship Chesterfield, a commission under the seal of the Company, whereby the undernamed persons are constituted and appointed to preside over and manage all the Company's affairs at Fort William in Bengal, and all the several dependencies thereunto belonging; viz.

Roger Drake, Esquire, President and Governor.

William Watts, Esquire, Second of Council, and to succeed as President and Governor, in case of the death or removal of Mr. Drake.

James Kilpatrick, Esquire, as Major and third of Council, and to remain so without rising to a superior rank therein.

Mr. Charles Manningham, Fourth in Council.

Mr. Richard Becher, Fifth.

Mr. Paul Richard Pearkes, Sixth.

Mr. William Frankland, Seventh.

Mr. Matthew Collet, Eighth.

Mr. John Zephaniah Holwell, Ninth.

Mr. William Mackett, Tenth.

Mr. Edward Eyre, Eleventh.

Mr. Nicholas Clerembault, Twelfth.

Memorandum: The rest of the commissions and instructions, relating to the presidency of Fort William, will appear by the following letters, which are entered in the books of letters to that presidency, now before the Committee.

General letter 3d August 1757—Par<sup>as</sup> 5 and 7.11th Novem<sup>r</sup> — — 46.

8th March 1768 — 4 and 6.

23d D<sup>o</sup> — — 1.

11th April — — 1.

13th March 1761 — 65.

9th Feb<sup>r</sup> 1764.

9th May — — 28.

1st June — — 19. 67. 68. 69.

17th May 1766 — 40.

12th Jan<sup>r</sup> 1768 — 7. 9. 10.15th Septem<sup>r</sup> 1769 — 3.

The United Company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies: To all to whom these presents shall come, send greeting. Know ye, that we, the said United Company, reposing especial trust and confidence in the fidelity, prudence, justice, and circumspection, of Charles Crommelin, Esquire, have made, constituted, and ordained, and by these presents do make, constitute, and ordain, the said Charles Crommelin, Esquire, upon, and from the last day of February, which shall be in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty, to be President, of and for all our affairs at Bombay, and in Surat, Cambay, and Persia, and at Tellicherry, Anjengo, and all our settlements on the Malabar coast, and elsewhere in the East Indies, under the direction of the late President and Council; and also to be our commander in chief and Governor of our castle and island of Bombay, and of the several forts thereon, and of

our

Our forts of Tellicherry and Arjengo, and of all and singular other the forts, territories, and jurisdictions belonging thereunto, and of all the forces which now are, or hereafter may or shall be, employed for the service of the said United Company in the said forts, towns, and places, or sent from thence by land or sea, and to execute all and every the powers and authorities thereunto appertaining, by order and direction of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being, and to continue in the exercise of the same during our and their pleasure, and until the contrary thereof shall be signified under the seal of the said United Company, or under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said Company for the time being: And, to the end the said Charles Crommelin may be better enabled to order and manage all the affairs of the said Company, we do by these presents constitute and ordain Mr. George Scott to be second of our Council of Bombay, next after our said President Charles Crommelin; Mr. Thomas Byfield, third; Mr. Thomas Hodges, fourth; Mr. Alexander Douglass, fifth; Mr. Brabazon Ellis, sixth; Mr. William Hornby, seventh; Mr. William Andrew Price, eighth; Mr. John Spencer, ninth; Captain Samuel Hough, tenth; Mr. Thomas Whitehill, eleventh; and Mr. Charles Waters, twelfth, and last, of our said council of Bombay, for governing and managing of all the said Company's affairs at Bombay and other the places aforesaid, and governing the said castle and island of Bombay, and all other our forts, factories, and settlements, within any the territories aforesaid: And we do hereby give and grant unto our said President, Charles Crommelin, Esquire, and to our Council aforesaid, or the major part of them, whereof our said President to be always one (the whole Council being duly summoned) full power and authority, from time to time to rule and govern all and every our factors and servants under the said presidency, and all the soldiers and inhabitants of our said castle and island of Bombay, and elsewhere within the places aforesaid, to administer lawful oaths as occasion shall require, and to do and perform all such other acts and things, and to use and exercise all such other powers and authorities as the said President and his Council in their several and respective places, where the said United Company have, or shall have factors, or any places of trade, are authorized to do, according to such instructions and directions, as they the said Charles Crommelin our President and Council aforesaid, shall from time to time receive under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being:—And we the said United Company do hereby order and require all our factors, servants, officers, and soldiers, within the limits of the said presidency, and all the people and inhabitants of our said island and castle of Bombay, or any other our forts, places, or colonies, within the said presidency, to conform, submit, and yield due obedience unto the said Charles Crommelin our President and Governor and his Council, accordingly: And forasmuch as it is altogether necessary, that in case of the death or removal of the said Charles Crommelin, our presidency should be provided for the defence and government thereof, we do therefore by these presents, ordain and appoint, that in such case the said Mr. Thomas Hodges shall immediately be and succeed in the place and charge of President and Governor of Bombay aforesaid, in as full and ample manner, and with as large and ample powers and authorities, as are hereby granted unto the said Charles Crommelin, until our, or the Court of Directors for the time being, as aforesaid, their further pleasure be known therein. In witness whereof we the said United Company have caused our common seal to be affixed to these presents, this twenty-fifth day of April, in the thirty-second year of the reign of his most excellent Majesty George the Second, by the grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and so forth; and in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine.

Signed by Order of the Court of Directors of the said United Company.

(L. S.)

Robt. James, Secretary.

Extract of the general letter to Bombay, dated the 25th April, 1759.

We shall now proceed to regulate and fix your establishment: We accordingly direct and appoint Charles Crommelin, Esquire, to be President and Governor of our Island of Bombay, and that he take the chair on the last day of February 1760, or sooner if Governor Bouchier shall chuse to resign; and in case of the death or absence of Mr. Crommelin, we appoint Thomas Hodges, Esquire, to be Governor of Bombay: and on the death or absence of Mr. Hodges, it is our pleasure, that those of council next below Mr. Hodges succeed to the government in turn, as we shall rank them; all those in council standing above Mr. Hodges are barred from the succession: And we do hereby appoint the following persons to be our Governor and Council for the management of our affairs under your presidency.

Charles Crommelin, Esquire,	President and Governor, to take the chair on the last day of February, 1760, or sooner if Mr. Bouchier should resign.
George Scott,	Second of council; to rise no higher.
Thomas Byfield,	Third.
Thomas Hodges,	Fourth; to succeed as President and Governor, in case of the death or absence of Mr. Crommelin.
Alexander Douglas,	Fifth.
Brabazon Ellis,	Sixth.
William Hornby,	Seventh.
William Andrew Price,	Eighth.
John Spencer,	Ninth.

Samuel



Samuel Hough,	Tenth.
Thomas Whitehill,	Eleventh.
Charles Waters,	Twelfth.

A commission, agreeable to this appointment, is sent in the Packet, by the ship Harcourt.

The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies.

To all to whom these presents shall come, send greeting.

Know ye, that we the said United Company, reposing especial trust and confidence in the fidelity, prudence, justice, and circumspection, of John Spencer, Esquire, have made, constituted, and ordained, and by these presents do make, constitute, and ordain, the said John Spencer, Esquire, upon and from the last day of January, which shall be in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven, to be President of and for all our affairs at Bombay, and in Surat, Cambay, and Persia, and at Tellicherry, Anjengo, and all our settlements on the Malabar coast, and elsewhere, in the East Indies, now under the direction of Charles Crommelin, Esquire, President, and the Council of Bombay aforesaid: and also to be our commander in chief, and governor of our castle and Island of Bombay, and of the several forts thereon, and our forts of Tellicherry and Anjengo, and of all and singular other the forts, territories, and jurisdictions, belonging thereunto, and of all the forces which now are or hereafter may or shall be, employed for the said United Company, in the said forts, towns, and places, or sent from thence by land or sea, and to execute all and every the powers and authorities thereunto appertaining, by order and direction of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being, and to continue in the said exercise of the same during our and their pleasure, and until the contrary thereof shall be signifi-d under the seal of the said United Company, or under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said United Company, for the time being: And to the end the said John Spencer may be better enabled to order and manage all the affairs of the said Company, we do by these presents constitute and ordain Mr. Thomas Byfeld to be second of our council of Bombay, next after our said President John Spencer; Mr. Thomas Hodges, third; Mr. William Hornby, fourth; Mr. William Andrew Price, fifth; Mr. Thomas Whitehill, sixth; Mr. Charles Waters, seventh; Mr. Peter Elwin Wrench, eighth; Mr. Samuel Court, ninth; Mr. Daniel Draper, tenth; Mr. James Ryley, eleventh; Mr. Henry Moore, twelfth; and Mr. Rawson Hart Boddam, thirteenth, and last, of our said council of Bombay, for governing and managing of all the said company's affairs at Bombay, and other the places aforesaid, and governing the said castle and island of Bombay, and all other our forts, factories, and settlements, within any of the territories aforesaid: And we do hereby give and grant unto our said President, John Spencer, Esquire, and to our Council aforesaid, or the major part of them, whereof our said President to be always one (the whole council being duly summoned) full power and authority, from time to time, to rule and govern all and every our factors and servants under the said presidency, and all the soldiers and inhabitants of our said castle and island of Bombay, or elsewhere, or within the places aforesaid, to administer lawful oaths, as occasion shall require, and to do and perform all such other acts and things, and to use and exercise all such other powers and authorities, as the said president and his council in their several and respective places, where the said United Company, have, or shall have, factors, or any places of trade, are authorized to do, according to such instructions and directions as they the said John Spencer, President and Council aforesaid, shall, from time to time, receive, under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being; and we the said United Company do hereby order and require all our factors, servants, officers, and soldiers, within the limits of the said presidency, and all the people and inhabitants of our said island and castle of Bombay, or any other our forts, places, or colonies, within the said presidency, to conform, submit, and yield due obedience unto the said John Spencer, our President and Governor, and his Council, accordingly: And forasmuch as it is altogether necessary, that in case of the death or removal of the said John Spencer, our presidency should be provided for the defence and government thereof, we do therefore by these presents ordain and appoint, that in such case the said Mr. Thomas Hodges shall immediately be and succeed in the place and charge of President and Governor of Bombay, and its dependencies aforesaid, in as full and ample manner, and with as large and ample powers and authorities, as are hereby granted unto the said John Spencer, until our or the Court of Directors for the time being as aforesaid, their further pleasure be known therein. In witness whereof we the said United Company have caused our common seal to be affixed to these presents, this twelfth day of March, in the sixth year of the reign of his most excellent Majesty George the third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty six.

(L. S.)

Signed by Order of the Court of Directors of the said United Company.

Rob<sup>t</sup>. James, Secretary.

Extract of the General Letter to Bombay, dated the 12th March 1766.

Having ordered and directed Mr. Crommelin to resign the government on the 31st of January 1767, Mr. John Spencer being appointed by our letters of the 1st June 1764, and the 22d March 1765, to succeed thereto, he is accordingly, on the said 31st day of January 1767, to take charge of the government as President and Governor of Bombay; and we hope he will, by

his

his fidelity, diligence, strict observance of our orders, and constant application in the said station, render himself worthy of this signal mark of our favour.

And we do hereby order and direct, that our Council at Bombay do consist of the following persons; viz.

John Spencer, Esquire,	President and Governor.
Mr. Thomas Byfeld,	Second.
Mr. Thomas Hodges,	Third.
Mr. William Hornby,	Fourth.
Mr. William Andrew Price,	Fifth.
Mr. Thomas Whitehill,	Sixth.
Mr. Charles Waters,	Seventh.
Mr. Peter Elwin Wrench,	Eighth.
Mr. Samuel Court,	Ninth.
Mr. Daniel Draper,	Tenth.
Mr. James Ryley,	Eleventh.
Mr. Henry Moore,	Twelfth.
Mr. Rawson Hart Boddam,	Thirteenth.

We accordingly send, by the ship Nottingham, a commission under the Company's seal, confirming the said appointment.

The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies.

To all, to whom these presents shall come, send greeting.

Know ye, That the said United Company, reposing especial trust and confidence in the fidelity, prudence, justice, and circumspection, of Thomas Hodges, Esquire, have made, constituted, and ordained, and by these presents do make, constitute, and ordain, the said Thomas Hodges to be President of and for all our affairs at Bombay, and in Surat, Cambay, and Persia, and at Telli-cherry, Anjengo, and all our settlements on the Malabar coast, and elsewhere, in the East Indies, under the direction of the late President and Council; and also to be our commander in chief, and Governor of our castle and island of Bombay, and of the several forts thereon, and of our forts of Tellicherry and Anjengo, and of all and singular other the forts, territories, and jurisdictions, belonging thereunto, and of all the forces which now are, or hereafter may or shall be, employed, for the service of the said United Company, in the said forts, towns, and places, or sent from thence by land or sea, and to execute all and every the powers and authorities thereunto appertaining, by order and direction of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being, and to continue in the exercise of the same, during our and their pleasure, and until the contrary thereof shall be signified under the seal of the said United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East-Indies, or under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said Company for the time being: And to the end that the said Thomas Hodges, may be better enabled to order and manage all the affairs of the said Company, we do by these presents constitute and ordain Mr. William Hornby to be second of our Council of Bombay, next after our said President Thomas Hodges, Mr. William Andrew Price to be third, Mr. Thomas Whitehill to be fourth, Mr. Peter Elwin Wrench to be fifth, Mr. Samuel Court to be sixth, Mr. Daniel Draper to be seventh, Mr. James Ryley to be eighth, Mr. Henry Moore to be ninth, Mr. Rawson Hart Boddam to be tenth, Mr. Benjamin Jarvis to be eleventh, Mr. Thomas Mostyn to be twelfth, and Mr. Nathaniel Stackhouse to be thirteenth and last, of our said Council of Bombay, for governing and managing all the said company's affairs at Bombay, and other the places aforesaid, and governing the said castle and island of Bombay, and all other our forts, factories, and settlements, within any the territories and places aforesaid: And we do hereby give and grant unto our said President, Thomas Hodges, Esquire, and to our Council aforesaid, or the major part of them, whereof our said President to be always one (the whole Council being duly summoned) full power and authority from time to time to rule and govern all and every our factors, and servants, under the said presidency, and all the soldiers and inhabitants of our said castle and island of Bombay, and elsewhere, within the places aforesaid, to administer lawful oaths, as occasion shall require; and to do and perform all such other acts and things, and to use and exercise all such other powers and authorities, as the said President and his Council, in their several and respective places, where the said United Company have or shall have factors, or any places of trade, are authorized to do according to such instructions and directions, as he the said Thomas Hodges, our President and Council, aforesaid, shall from time to time receive under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being. And we the said United Company do hereby order and require, all our factors, servants, officers, and soldiers, within the limits of the said presidency, and all the people and inhabitants of our said island and castle of Bombay, or any other our forts, places, or colonies, within the said presidency, to conform, submit, and yield due obedience unto the said Thomas Hodges, our President and Governor, and his Council accordingly. And forasmuch as it is altogether necessary, that in case of the death or removal of the said Thomas Hodges, our presidency should be provided for the defence and government thereof; we do therefore by these presents, ordain and appoint, that in such case, the said William Hornby shall immediately be, and succeed in the place and charge of, President and Governor of Bombay aforesaid, in as full and ample manner, and with as large and ample powers, privileges, and authorities, as are hereby granted unto the said Thomas Hodges, until our, or the Court of Directors for the time being



as aforesaid, their further pleasure be known therein. In witness whereof, we the said United Company have caused our common seal to be affixed to these presents, the eighteenth day of March, in the eighth year of the reign of his most excellent Majesty George the third, by the grace of God, King, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty eight.

(L. S.)

Signed by order of the Court of Directors of the said United Company.

Robt. James, Secretary.

Extract of the Company's General Letter to Bombay, dated 18th March 1768.

Thomas Hodges, Esq; having succeeded to the chair at your presidency, agreeable to our orders of the 17th May 1766, you will receive by the ship Royal Captain, now under dispatch for Bombay, a commission under the Company's seal, constituting him President and Governor, and the following persons of Council, for managing our affairs at Bombay, viz.

Thomas Hodges, Esquire.	President and Governor.
Mr. William Hornby,	Second
Mr. William Andrew Price,	Third.
Mr. Thomas Whitehill,	Fourth.
Mr. Peter Elwin Wrench,	Fifth
Mr. Samuel Court,	Sixth.
Mr. Daniel Draper,	Seventh.
Mr. James Ryley,	Eighth.
Mr. Henry Moore,	Ninth.
Mr. Rawson Hart Boddom,	Tenth.
Mr. Benjamin Jervis,	Eleventh.
Mr. Thomas Mostyn,	Twelfth.
Mr. Nathaniel Stackhouse,	Thirteenth.

The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

To all to whom these presents shall come, send greeting.

Know ye, that we, the said United Company, reposing especial trust and confidence in the fidelity, prudence, justice, and circumspection, of Roger Carter, Esquire, have made, constituted, and ordained, and by these presents do make, constitute, and ordain the said Roger Carter to be President and Governor, of and for all our affairs on the island of Sumatra, in the East Indies, and also to be our commander in chief of our Fort Marlborough at Bencoolen, on the said island, and all the territories, thereunto belonging, and of all and singular the towns, forts, factories, and settlements, territories, countries, and jurisdictions thereof, and of all others which now are, or hereafter shall or may become subordinate thereto or dependant thereon, or shall or may be acquired, and annexed to the said presidency, although not situate on the said island of Sumatra, and of all the forces which now are, or hereafter may or shall be, employed for the service of the said United Company in the said forts, towns, places, and acquisitions; giving and hereby granting to the said Roger Carter, full power and authority to execute all and every the powers and authorities appertaining to the said offices or places of President and Governor, and commander in chief as aforesaid, in as full and ample manner, and with the like powers and authorities, as all or any of our Presidents and Governors, and commanders in chief of any other of our forts, factories, places, and settlements, in the East Indies aforesaid, are empowered by us to do, by and according to such orders and directions, as have been, from time to time, established by the Court of Directors of the said United Company, for the government and conduct of their affairs on the said island of Sumatra, or as he the said Roger Carter shall now, or at any time hereafter receive, under the seal of the said United Company, or under the hands of the Court of Directors of the said Company for the time being: or any thirteen or more of them, and to continue in the exercise of the same, during our and their pleasure, and until the contrary thereof shall be signified under the seal of the said United Company, or under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said Company for the time being. And, to the end that the said Roger Carter, Esquire, may be better enabled to order and manage all the affairs of us the said Company, as our President and Governor as aforesaid, we do by these presents constitute and ordain Richard Wyatt, Esquire, to be second of our Council at Fort Marlborough aforesaid, next after our said President Roger Carter; Mr. Joseph Darvall to be third; Mr. William Norris to be fourth; Mr. Richard Preston to be fifth; Mr. Robert Hay to be sixth; Mr. Alexander Hall to be seventh; Mr. Henry Idell to be eighth; and Mr. Christopher Watson to be ninth, and last, of our said Council at Fort Marlborough, for managing and governing all the said Company's affairs upon the said island of Sumatra, the said Fort Marlborough and town of Bencoolen, and all other our forts, factories, and settlements, on the island aforesaid, and which now are, or shall or may hereafter become dependant thereon and subordinate thereto, although not situated on the said island. And we do hereby give and grant unto our said President and Governor, Roger Carter, and to our Council aforesaid, or the major part of them, (the whole Council being duly summoned) full power and authority, from time to time to rule and govern all and every our factors and servants, under the said presidency, and all the soldiers and inhabitants of our said Fort Marlborough and town of Bencoolen, and elsewhere, within the places aforesaid, to administer lawful oaths as occasion shall require, and to do and perform all such other acts and things, and to use and exercise all such

such

such other powers and authorities as any of the said United Company's Presidents and Governors and their Councils in their severall and respective places, where the said United Company have, or shall have factors, or any places of trade, are authorized to do, according to such orders and instructions as he, the said Roger Carter, our President and Governor, and Council aforesaid, shall from time to time receive under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being:—And we the said United Company do hereby order and require all our factors, servants, officers, and soldiers, within the limits of the said presidency, and all the people and inhabitants of our said Fort Marlborough and town of Bencoolen, or any other our forts, places, or colonies, within the said presidency; to conform, submit, and yield due obedience unto the said Roger Carter our President and Governor and his Council, accordingly. In witness whereof, the said United Company have caused their common seal to be affixed to these presents, this fourth day of February, in the first year of the reign of his most excellent Majesty George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and so forth; and in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty-one.

(L. S.)

Signed by Order of the Court of Directors of the said United Company.

Robt. James, Secretary.

Extract of the Company's general letter to Fort Marlborough, dated 4 February 1761.

91. As Fort Marlborough is now become an independant settlement; our affairs are to be conducted by a Governor, or President and Council, in the same manner, and with the like powers and authorities, as our other presidencies. We have accordingly constituted and appointed the following gentlemen to be our said Governor, or President, and Council; and herewith you will receive a commission, under the Company's seal, for the said purpose; viz.

Roger Carter to be	Governor and President.
Mr. Richard Wyatt,	Second in Council.
Mr. Joseph Darvall,	Third.
Mr. William Norris,	Fourth.
Mr. Richard Preston,	Fifth.
Mr. Robert Hay,	Sixth.
Mr. Alexander Hall,	Seventh.
Mr. Henry Idell,	Eighth.
Mr. Christopher Watson,	Ninth and last.

The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies.

To all to whom these presents shall come, send greeting.

Know ye, that we the said United Company, reposing especial trust and confidence in the fidelity, prudence, justice, and circumspection, of Richard Wyatt, Esquire, have made, constituted, and ordained, and by these presents do make, constitute, and ordain, the said Richard Wyatt to be President and Governor of and for all our affairs on the island of Sumatra in the East-Indies, and also to be our commander in chief of our Fort Marlborough, at Bencoolen, on the said island, and all the territories thereunto belonging, and of all and singular the towns, forts, factories, and settlements, territories, countries, and jurisdictions thereof, and of all others which now are, or hereafter shall or may become subordinate thereto, or dependant thereon, or shall or may be acquired and annexed to the said presidency, although not situated on the said island of Sumatra, and of all the forces which now are, or hereafter may or shall be, employed for the service of the said United Company, in the said forts, towns, places, and acquisitions, from and after the day that Roger Carter, Esquire, now in charge of our said government and presidency, is ordered and directed in the general letter to the presidency aforesaid, under the hands of the major part of the present Court of Directors of the said Company, bearing even date with these presents, to resign and yield up the said government and presidency as aforesaid to Richard Wyatt, Esquire; giving, and hereby granting, to the said Richard Wyatt, full power and authority to execute all and every the powers and authorities appertaining to the said offices or places of President and Governor, and Commander in chief as aforesaid, in as full and ample manner, and with the like powers and authorities, as all, or any of our Presidents and Governors, and Commanders in chief of any other of our forts, factories, places, and settlements, in the East Indies aforesaid, are empowered by us to do, by and according to such orders and directions, as have been, from time to time, established by the Court of Directors of the said United Company, for the government and conduct of their affairs on the said island of Sumatra; or as he, the said Richard Wyatt, shall now, or at any time hereafter, receive under the seal of the said United Company, or under the hands of the Court of Directors of the said Company, for the time being, or any thirteen or more of them, and to continue in the exercise of the same during our and their pleasure, and until the contrary thereof shall be signified under the seal of the said United Company, or under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said Company, for the time being: And to the end the said Richard Wyatt, Esquire, may be better enabled to order and manage all the affairs of us the said Company, as our said President and Governor as aforesaid, we do by these presents constitute and ordain Joseph Darvall, Esquire, to be second of our Council at Fort Marlborough aforesaid, next to, and immediately after, our said President Richard Wyatt, Mr. Robert Hay to be third; Mr. George Scott to be fourth;

Mr.



Mr. Robert Nairne to be fifth; Mr. John Herbert to be sixth; Mr. Hew Stewart to be seventh; Mr. John Gould to be eighth, and Mr. Stokeham Donston to be ninth, and last, of our said Council at Fort Marlborough, for managing and governing all the said company's affairs upon the said island of Sumatra, the said Fort Marlborough, and Town of Bencoolen, and all other our forts, factories, and settlements, on the island aforesaid; and which now are, or shall or may hereafter become dependant thereon, and subordinate thereto, although not situated on the said island. And we do hereby give and grant unto our said President and Governor, Richard Wyatt, and to our Council aforesaid, or to the major part of them (the whole council being duly summoned) full power and authority, from time to time, to rule and govern all and every our factors and servants under the said presidency, and all the soldiers and inhabitants of our said Fort Marlborough, and Town of Bencoolen, and elsewhere, within the places aforesaid, to administer lawful oaths, as occasion shall require, and to do and perform all such other acts and things, and to use and exercise all such other powers and authorities, as any of the said United Company's Presidents and Governors, and their Councils, in their several and respective places, where the said United Company, have, or shall have, factors, or any places of trade, are authorized to do, according to such orders and instructions, as he the said Richard Wyatt, our President and Governor, and Council aforesaid, shall, from time to time, receive, under the hands of thirteen or more of the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being. And we, the said United Company, do hereby order and require all our factors, servants, officers, and soldiers, within the limits of the said presidency, and all the people and inhabitants of our said Fort Marlborough, and Town of Bencoolen, or any other our forts, places, or colonies, within the said presidency, to conform, submit, and yield due obedience unto the said Richard Wyatt, our President and Governor, and his Council accordingly: And forasmuch as it is altogether necessary, that in case of the death or removal of the said Richard Wyatt, our presidency should be provided for the better defence and government thereof, we do therefore by these presents ordain and appoint, that in such case the said Joseph Darvall, Esquire, shall immediately be and succeed in the place and charge of President and Governor of Fort Marlborough, aforesaid, in as full and ample manner, and with as large and ample powers and authorities, as are hereby granted unto the said Richard Wyatt, until our or the Court of Directors for the time being as aforesaid, their further pleasure be known therein. In witness whereof, we the said United Company have caused our common seal to be affixed to these presents, this eleventh day of January, in the sixth year of the reign of his most excellent Majesty George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and so forth, and in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty six.

(L. S.)

Signed by Order of the Court of Directors of the said United Company.

Rob<sup>t</sup>. James, Secretary.

Extract of the Company's general letter to Fort Marlborough, dated the 15th January, 1766.

Having made out a commission under the Company's seal, bearing date the same day with this letter, confirming the appointment of Richard Wyatt, Esquire, to be President and Governor, and the other persons to be Counsellors in the order they are named; we send the same by the Havannah, and an attested copy thereof by the Hawke.

## A P P E N D I X.

N<sup>o</sup> 2.

List of copies of the several treaties and grants from the country powers to the East-India Company, respecting their presidency at Fort William in Bengal, from the year 1756 to 1766, both years inclusive; which are in possession of the house.

- N<sup>o</sup> 1. Treaty executed by the Nabob Serajah Dowla, and agreements of the President and Select Committee, and Colonel Clive on the part of the Company, in February, 1757.
2. Perwannahs from Nabob Serajah Dowla, for erecting a mint, and for the currency of business, and copy of his Dustuck, dated in March 1757.
3. Treaty between Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan and the Company, in June 1757.
4. General Sunnud from the Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan, for currency of the Company's business, and relating to the Mint, dated 15th July 1757.
5. Perwannah from Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan, for currency of gold and silver coined in the Company's Mint at Calcutta, dated the 28th of July 1757.
6. Perwannah from Jaffier Ally Khan, relating to the Zemindarry of the lands, South of Calcutta, granted to the Company by the treaty with the said Nabob, dated in December 1757.
7. Perwannah from Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan, granting to the Company the sole purchase of the salt-petre, produced in the province of Bahar, dated in March 1758.
8. Sunnud from the Dewan of the Subah of Bengal, for the Zemindarry of the lands granted to the Company by Meer Jaffier Ally Khan, dated in December 1758.
9. Sunnud from the Dewan of Bengal, granting the free tenure of Calcutta, &c. to the Company, dated in December 1758.
10. Treaty between Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Ally Khan, and the Company, dated 27th September 1760.

11. Sunnuds

11. Sunnuds from Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Khan, granting to the Company the lands of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Ilamabad, also the Chunam produced at Silhet; for three years, dated in October 1760.

12. Treaty between the Company and Nabob Meer Jaffier Ally Khan, and articles demanded by the Nabob, and agreed to by the Governor and Council, dated 10th July 1763.

13. Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan's note, for payment of five lacks per month, for expences of the Company's troops, during the war with Shujah ul Dowla, dated 16th December 1764.

14. Proposals made by the King Shah Aalum to Major Munro, and articles proposed by the Governor and Council to be executed by the King; also Firmaun from the King granting the Gauzee poor country to the Company; the letter dated the 29th of December 1764.

15. Treaty between the Company and Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla, in February 1765.

16. General Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, granting to the Company the Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, dated 12th August 1765.

17. Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, granting the Dewanny of Bengal to the Company, dated 12th August 1765.

18. Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, granting the Dewanny of Bahar to the Company, dated 12th August 1765.

19. Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, granting the Dewanny of Orixia to the Company, dated 12th August 1765.

20. Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, confirming to the Company the Chucklees of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, and the 24 Purgunnahs of Calcutta, &c. before ceded to them by the Nabobs Jaffier Ally Khan and Cossim Ally Khan, dated 12th August 1765.

21. Treaty between Nabob Shuja ul Dowla, Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla and the Company, dated 16th August 1765.

22. Agreement between the King Shah Aalum and the Company, relating to the tribute to be paid to him from the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, dated 19th August 1765.

23. Agreements between the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla, and the Company, relating to the allowance to be paid him for the support of the Nizamut.

#### Grants relating to Lord Clive's Munsub and Jaghire.

N<sup>o</sup> 1. Sunnud from the King Aulum Geer; appointing Colonel Clive a Munsubdar, dated about December 1757.

2. Nabob Meer Jaffier Ally Khan's Perwannah for the payment of Colonel Clive's jaghire, dated in July 1757.

3. Sunnud from the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla, for the reversion in perpetuity of Lord Clive's jaghire to the Company, dated 23d June 1765.

4. Firmaun from the King Shah Aalum, confirming the reversion in perpetuity of Lord Clive's jaghire to the Company.

The royal Phirmaund granted by his Majesty's Fuzzuckseer; under his seal, and the Vizier's Syad Abidulla Caun.

To all Governors, Officers, Jaggeerdars, Phousdars, Cohedars, Chokeys, Hororeys, Jemidars, and all who bear posts under the King at present, or shall hereafter, in the Subahs of Bengal, Orassa, Hughly, and elsewhere within these limits, being in hopes of the royal favour; Know, for in this joyful time, when all is prosperous, and victories daily happen, that Mr. John Serman and Coja Seerhaud, Gomastahs, for the honourable East-India Company, have petitioned to my high throne of justice, that agreeable to Shaw Jahans (whom God has taken to himself, and given a place in heaven) Nushan and the former Sunnods, the English company may carry on their commerce, throughout the whole country, exempt from duties (except Surat) in lieu of which, three thousand rupees is annually paid a pishcash into the treasury at Hughly; therefore we are in hopes according to these former sunnods, we shall be favoured and granted a Phurmaund.

I now direct and command, that whatever goods or other things the Gomastahs may (throughout my dominions) either bring or carry away, by land or by water, have free egress and regress, exempt from any duties; and in the same manner they may buy or sell at their own liberty; in which consideration, the three thousand rupees is to be annually paid a pishcash and no more; and further command, That, if in any place, any of the company's goods should be stole, you are to make strict search after them, that they be restored, and the thieves taken and brought to justice, and at whatever place the Company have where they buy and sell, in what is right, you are to assist them and not let them be abused; as also, from any merchant, weaver, or others, a just ballance is due, you are, agreeable to justice, to see paid, so that no injustice is done to any of the company's Gomastahs, and on any boat, either their own or hired, there is to be no customs demanded on them.

And it is petitioned, that the Subahs petty Duans demand the sight of the original sunnod, as also one under the Nabob's seal, and another under his Duan's seal: The carrying the original one way where is troublesome; therefore, are in hopes that a copy under the Cazee's seal shall be regarded, and the original one not insisted on, and likewise no occasion to shew the Nabob's and Duan's at all: Calcutta, which is the company's factory, it is requested, that Soota Loota and Govindpore, (in the country of Amceerabad, in the province of Bengal) which places the company formerly bought of Jenimedar, the revenues 1195.6 are annually paid, and furthermore



thirty-eight towns, whose annual revenues are 8121.8 rupees which lie near Calcutta, we humbly beg you will grant us the Jemmidarry off, the above rents shall be duly paid.

His royal pleasure, which is always hand in hand with justice, commands, That a copy of the original sunnod, under the high Preefat Delly's seal shall be regarded: The towns bought formerly I acquiesce to the thirty towns, I give you the Jemmidarry off likewise, but you must buy them and satisfy the owner, the Duan Suba will not impede you.

And it is petitioned, that ever since the reign of Auringzebe (whom God has placed in heaven) our Cherapatam rupees in all the provinces pass for less than value notwithstanding the silver is the same as the Surat rupees, in which we are great sufferers; therefore beg you will order, if the silver be equal with the Surat, that they shall not pass for less than value: And it is further petitioned, if any of the Company's debtor or Gomastahs clope, that they be seized and return to the chief, and that Phowdarry customs and all others, which have been forbid, be not taken as our Gomastah and Imahs are greatly distressed by them, they being demanded.

It is peremptorily commanded, that from this 5 son for year, if the Cherapatam rupees be equal with the Surat, that they do not pass for less than value; and if any debtor or gomastah clope, that they be taken and delivered to their chief.

It is further petitioned, that the Company, having factories in Bengal, Orassa, and willing to make some in other places, are in hopes, that in whatever other places we think convenient, that forty Begahs of land will be granted for that use; likewise as sometimes our ships by storms and hard weather, are drove ashore and stranded, the government in those places by force seize and plunder the goods, and in other places a quarter is demanded; and further petition the island of Bombay, a Company's settlement, where the Portuguese coin is current, if approved and an order given, we will coin sicca rupees there as we do at Cherapatam.

It is commanded, as land was before given to make factories, that it shall be now given to make them in other places; and as the English are people that have made dwellings in my country, and trade in my cities where I am, and have formerly received Sunnods to free them from all duties and customs; therefore you must, in case of any of their ships being cast away, or by mistake go to your port, protect them, and take care of their goods; and likewise that Sicca rupees be coined at Bombay, and pass current as Siccas do.

Agreeable to all that I have ordered, commanded, and wrote in this phurmaund, must be punctually complied with and not deviated from, nor demand a new Sunnod every year, but regard this.

Dated the 27th of Mohurum, 5 son of year of his reign.

Copies of Phirmauns, Hufbullhookums, &c. 1717.

N<sup>o</sup> 1. Copy of a Hufbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk \*) prime minister; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, general of the horse, friend full of truth; as followeth:

To all Mutsuddys in government, that are at present, or hereafter may come throughout all the provinces of the conquered empire; know yee, that at this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenson, for and in behalf of the English Company, have, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his imperial Majesty; setting forth, that in several parts the Company have factories, where Englishmen reside, buying and selling, and there are some places and aurengs likewise where English men can't be sent; for which reason they make agreements, and send their money by the hands of the merchants of this country, to buy goods for them: They hope that orders may be given to the King's Mutsuddys (officers) that whosoever so going and coming with the Dulfic of the chief of their factory, be not hindered and molested. It is commanded, that a list be taken from under the seal of the chief of the factory, and according to which, that you give sunnods under your own seal, for which reason this Hufbullhookum is issued out, that you do, pursuant to the great command, take a list from under the seal of the chief of the factory; and according to which, give Sunnods under your own seals. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the moon, Zeelhedge, the 5th year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 2. Copy of a Hufbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth; as followeth:

To all Mutsuddys in government, that at present are, or hereafter may come throughout all the provinces of the conquered empire; know yee, that at this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenson for and in behalf of the English Company, have, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his imperial Majesty; setting forth, that in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oudeisa, the Company have factories, and that in other provinces they may likewise have liberty to settle other factories; they hope, that in whatsoever place they have a mind to settle a factory, they may have 40 Begahs of ground given them for the same. It is ordered that they have according to custom of their factories in other subahs; and they have obtained a gracious phirmaun, for which reason this Hufbullhookum is issued out, that you do, pursuant to the great command, let them in any place settle new factories according to the custom of their other factories. Regard this well. Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5th year of his Majesty's reign.

\* The Pole Star of the Empire.

N<sup>o</sup> 3. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth; as followeth:

To all Mutfuddys in government, that at present are, or hereafter may come throughout all ports and provinces of the conquered empire; Know yee, that at this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenfon, for and in behalf of the English Company, have, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his imperial Majesty; setting forth, that in any port and subahship, the Company's gomastahs going backwards and forwards by land and water to buy and sell, if any thing should be stole, which God forbid, they hope for strict orders to be given you, that you take care that the Zemeendars, &c. of the place where such goods are stolen, do thoroughly assist in getting them again; and that the goods be returned to the right owner, and due punishment be inflicted on the robbers. It is accordingly commanded, for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued out, that you do, pursuant to the great command, if in any place, any thing should be stolen, thoroughly assist in getting it again, and return it to the right owners; and let due punishment be inflicted on the rogues. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedje, the 5th year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 4. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, true to his friends; as followeth:

To all Mutfuddys in government, that at present are, or hereafter may come throughout all the provinces of the conquered empire; Know yee, That at this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenfon, for and in behalf of the English Company, have, through intercessions of the High Ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty, setting forth, That the rupees coined in Madras's mint receive some discount before received into the King's treasuries of all Subahships, although they are of the same fineness and goodness with Surat, whereby they are great losers; they hope orders may be given, in case they are made the same as those at Surat and other places, that there be no discount on them, and that they be received current as all other siccas are. It is commanded, that from the 5th year of his Majesty's reign, in case they are made the same fineness and goodness with Surat siccas, that there be no discount on them; they have obtained a gracious Phirmaun, for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued out, that you do, pursuant to the great command, from the 5th year of his Majesty's reign, in case Madras's Siccas are of the same fineness and goodness with Surat Siccas, receive them without any discount. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedje, the 5th year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 5. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, true to his friends; as followeth:

To all Mutfuddys in government, that at present are, or hereafter may come throughout all the Provinces of the Empire; Know yee, That at this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenfon, for, and in behalf of the English Company, have, through the intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty; setting forth, That in all provinces, the Petty Duans, &c. demand sight of the original sunnods and perwannas, under the seals of the Duans and Subahs; and that the original sunnods can't, without a great deal of difficulty, be produced in every Subahship; they hope that a gracious order may be issued out, commanding that a copy from under the seal of the Cauzee may suffice, and no demands made for the original sunnods and perwannas, under the seals of the Duans and Subas. It is accordingly ordered, that a copy, from under the seal of the chief Cauzee be regarded; and they have obtained a gracious Phirmaun, for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued out; that you, pursuant to the great command, have due regard to the copies of sunnods relating to these people, under the seal of the chief Cauzee. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedje, the 5th year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 6. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, faithful friend; as followeth:

To all Mutfuddys in government, that at present are, or hereafter may come throughout all ports and provinces of the conquered Empire; Know yee, that at this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenfon, for and in behalf of the English Company, have, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty; setting forth, that in many places the Company's gomastahs and dealers are much troubled for Phirmauth, &c. other impositions laid on them; they hope orders may be given, commanding that for Phirmauth, Phowidarry, Zemeendarry, and all manner of impositions, they be unmolested; it is commanded that all manner of impositions be universally forgiven; and they have obtained a gracious Phirmaun, for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued out, and that you do, pursuant to the great command, not molest and trouble the said nation for any manner of impositions, for that is forgiven; that they may go on in their business with cheerfulness and satisfaction. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of moon Zeelhedje, the 5th year of his Majesty's reign.



N<sup>o</sup> 7. Copy of a Hufbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister ; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun ; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth ; as followeth :

To all Mutfuddys in government, that at present are, or hereafter may come at the port of Surat, in the province of Bengal, and all other provinces throughout the whole Empire ; Know yee, That at this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenson, for, and in behalf of the English Company, have, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty ; setting forth, that the island of Bombay, in the sea, in the said island, European siccas are current ; they hope, from his Majesty's favour, that they may have there, as at Madrafs, the imperial stamp on the siccas coined there. It is commanded, that concerning the currency of them you be wrote to, for which this Hufbullhookum is issued out ; that you, conformable to the great command, settle the currency of the rupees coined on that island with the imperial stamp as all other siccas are. Regard this well.—Written the 9<sup>th</sup> of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5<sup>th</sup> year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 8. Copy of a Hufbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister ; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun ; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth ; as followeth :

May the honourable Hyder Cooli Caun be always in safety.

At this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenson, for, and in behalf of the English Company, have, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty ; setting forth, that the English had a house in Surat for a factory, which is now gone to ruin ; that they are incapable of repairing it, till such time his Majesty is pleased to give it them ; they hope that that house may be granted them, and without the city four hundred begaes of ground, whereon they may make a house and garden ; and they will duly pay the rent of said ground into the treasury. It is ordered, that they have the old house to repair according to the Hindostan architecture, but not to make bulwarks, or any thing resembling fortification, and not to make any thing more than there is already to it : That in case they do as aforesaid, let them receive no obstruction. The ground without the city, towards Norboda Gate, in the town of Bomkey, being taken in at the walling of the city round, instead of which ground, that they buy 150 begaes of ground towards Autua, for which this Hufbullhookum is issued out ; that, conformable to the great command, you let them have the house to repair and live in on the terms aforesaid, and 150 begaes of ground for a house and garden, which they buying, let them have according to ancient custom, and receive no molestation. Regard this well. Written the 9<sup>th</sup> of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5<sup>th</sup> year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 9. Copy of a Hufbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister ; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Cawn ; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth ; as followeth

May the honourable Hyder Cooli Cawn be always in safety.

At this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenson, for, and in behalf of the English Company, have through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty ; setting forth, that the Company are custom free throughout the whole empire, excepting at the port of Surat, and at the said port, in the reign of Sha Jahaun, they paid 2 per cent. custom ; in the time of Aurengzeb 3  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; and in the reign of Sha Alam 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. was and is at present paid, upon account of abuses and injustice of the Mutfuddys there ; they have been for these three years forced to withdraw their factory from that place ; they hope, according to custom of other provinces, and at the port of Hugely, they may at the port of Surat pay a yearly pishcash of ten thousand rupees in lieu of custom. It is accordingly commanded, and they have obtained a gracious Phirmaun, for which reason this Hufbullhookum is issued out ; that you do, conformable to the great command, receive a pishcash of ten thousand rupees annually, instead of custom, at the port of Surat ; and that they be custom free, and called upon for no other account whatsoever. Regard this well.—Written the 9<sup>th</sup> of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5<sup>th</sup> year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 10. Another Hufbullhookum, the same as above, word for word, directed to all Mutfuddys, that at present are, or hereafter may come in the province of Ahomed Abaud, at the port of Surat Royat Butzouch, &c. in the province aforesaid.

N<sup>o</sup> 11. Copy of a Hufbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister ; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun : the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth ; as followeth :

To all Mutfuddys, that at present are, or hereafter may come at the fortunate port of Surat ; Know yee, at this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenson, for and in behalf of the English Company, have, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty ; setting forth, that the English had a house in Surat, for a factory, which is now gone to ruin ; that they are incapable of repairing it till such time as his Majesty is pleased to give it them : They hope that that house may be granted them, and without the city 400 Begaes of ground, whereon they may make a house and garden ; and they will duly pay the rent of the said ground into the treasury. It is commanded, that they have the old house to repair

repair according to the Hindostan architecture, but not to make bullworks or any thing resembling fortification, and not to make any thing more than there is already to it: That in case they do as aforesaid, let them receive no obstructions. The ground without the city, towards Nurboda Gate, in the town of Boomkey, being taken in at the walling of the city round; instead of which ground, that they buy 150 Bagaes of ground towards Autua, for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued out; that conformable to the great command, you let them have the house to repair on the terms as aforesaid, and 150 Bagaes of ground for a house and garden, which they buying, let them have according to ancient custom, and receive no molestation. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the Moon Zeelhedge, the 5th year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 12. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth; as followeth:

To all Mutsuddys in government, that are at present, or hereafter may come in Bengal, at Curreemabaud; Know yee, That at this instant Mr. John Coja Surhaud and Mr. Steven-ton, for and in behalf of the English Company, have, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty; setting forth, that formerly in the mints of Rajamall and Dacca, the Company's gold and silver were coined. It is now some time since, that at Curreemabaud (Muxoodavad) the mint has been settled; they hope, according to former custom, to have the privilege of coining the Company's money there, and that the mint Mutsuddys make no unaccustomed demands; and that in the season, when other merchants money are coined, they may have three days in the week for coining of the Company's money. It is commanded, that you accordingly settle; for which reason this Husbullhookum is wrote; that you do, according to former custom, settle the coining of the Company's gold and silver in the mint of Curreemabaud, and in the season when other merchants goods is coined, if it be not against the King's interest, let them have three days in the week. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5th year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 13. Copy of a Husbullhookum under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister, the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth, as followeth:

To all Mutsuddys in government, that at present are, or hereafter may come in the province of Bengal, at the port of Hugely, in the provinces of Behar and Oudeisa; Know yee, that at this time Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Steven-son, for, and in behalf of the English Company, have, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty; setting forth, that throughout the whole empire the Company are custom free, excepting at the port of Surat; and that according to Sultan Azzeim Sha Behauder, his and former sunnods they pay a pishcash of R<sup>s</sup> 3000 yearly, in lieu of custom at the port of Hugely: They hope, from the Imperial favour, to obtain a gracious sunnod according to the tenor of former sunnods. It is accordingly ordered, and they have obtained a gracious Pnirmaun; for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued out, that you do know, pursuant to the great command, this nation is free from all custom, and that you do let them go on in their mercantile affairs without molestation, and receive a pishcash of R<sup>s</sup> 3000 annually at Hugely, in lieu of custom. Regard this well. Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5 year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 14. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth, as followeth:

May the honourable Acram Caun live in safety.

At this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Steven-son, for and in behalf of the English Company, have, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty; setting forth, That in the mints at Rajamall and Dacca, the Company's gold and silver were coined; it is now some time since that at Curreemabaud (Muxoodavad) the mint has been settled; they hope, according to former custom, to have the privilege of coining the Company's money there; and that the mint Mutsuddys do not make any unaccustomed demands, only taking the mint charges as customary; and that in the season when other merchants money are coined, they may have three days in the week for the coining of the Company's money. It is commanded that you accordingly settle; for which reason this Husbullhookum is wrote; that you do according to former custom settle the coining of the Company's gold and silver, in the mint at Curreemabaud; and in the season of coining of other merchants money, if it be not against the King's interest, let them have three days in the week. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5th year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 15. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth; as followeth:

To all Mutsuddys in government, that are at present, or hereafter may come at Azzeemabaud (Patna) in the province of Behar; Know yee, at this time Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Steven-son, for and in behalf of the English Company, have, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty; setting forth,



That at the place aforesaid it is some time since the English factory has been in a hired house ; they hope for the house of Meeruzzuffer, which being confiscated to the King, may be granted for their residence. It is commanded that you be wrote to, if the said house is confiscated, that you let them have it for their residence ; they are not, at the repairing of it, to build bull-works, or any thing like fortifications, for that is forbidden by his Majesty ; for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued out ; that you do act pursuant to the great command. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5th year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 16. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister ; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun ; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth ; as followeth :

To all Mutsuddys in government, that are at present, or hereafter may come at the port of Chittigoam, at the port of Gangam, &c. Ports in all provinces throughout the whole Empire ; Know yee, at this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenson, have, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty ; setting forth, That it sometimes happens English ships meeting with storms, are forced into ports, and drove ashore and wrecked ; the Governors of those ports, unjustly, in some places, seize on all the goods, and in other places demand a quarter part salvage ; they hope for orders to be given, commanding you to forbear molesting and doing them injustice upon any account whatsoever ; but, on the contrary, to assist and help them as much as you can. It is commanded, that these people having their factories in several ports of the Empire, and commerce to the place of the royal residence ; and having, by particular kingly favours, obtained Phirmauns custom free ; that in the salving of their goods and in shewing them favour, there be duly and particular care taken ; for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued out ; that you, pursuant to the great command, do not molest and unjustly seize on their goods ; but on the contrary, assist and shew them favour. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5th year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 17. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister ; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun ; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth ; as followeth :

May the honourable Saduttulla Caun live in safety.

At this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenson, for and in behalf of the English Company, hath, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty ; setting forth, That the Zemeendars at the port of Cuddalore, in the war of Chingee, did send powder, &c. to the assistance of the rebels, for which reason, at that instant, pursuant to Aurengzeb's orders, they bought Cuddalore, &c. other towns, by which means the passages to the rebels might be stopt ; at present several rebellious Zemeendars molest and give them much trouble there ; they hope orders may be given you, commanding that you assist them, that they may be able to punish such rebels. It is according commanded ; for which reason this is wrote, conformable to the great command, that you act pursuant to the great command, when these people endeavours to punish such rebels, to help and give them your duly assistance. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5th year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 18. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister ; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun ; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth ; as followeth :

May the honourable Saduttalla Caun live in safety.

At this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenson, for and in behalf of the English Company, hath, through intercession of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty ; setting forth, That throughout the whole Empire, the Company are custom free at Chinapatam (Madras) in the province of Hyderabad, from the very first settling a factory there, pay annually into the treasury the sum Pag<sup>s</sup> 1200 ; they hope it may be continued according to ancient usage. It is found by the King's books that at Chinapatam they do pay the aforesaid sum into the treasury. It is commanded, that it be there according to ancient custom ; and they have obtained a gracious Phirmaun ; for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued ; that you, pursuant to the great command, do know that these people are custom free, and not upon any account whatsoever molest them, and receive at Chinapatam into the treasury the sum 1200 Pag<sup>s</sup> according to former custom. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5th year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 19. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister ; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun : the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth ; as followeth :

To all Mutsuddys in government, that are at present, or hereafter may come in the province of Hyderabad ; Know yee, that at this time Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenson, for and in behalf of the English Company, hath, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty ; setting forth, That the Zemeendars, at the port of Cuddalore in the war of Chingee, did send powder, &c. to the assistance of the rebels ; for which reason, at that instant, pursuant to Aurengzeb's orders, they bought Cuddalore,

lore, &c. other towns, by which means the passages to the rebels might be stop't; at present, several Zemeendars molest and give them much trouble there; they hope orders may be given you, commanding that you assist them, that they may be able to punish such rebels. It is accordingly commanded; for which reason this is wrote, conformable to the great command, that you act pursuant to the great command; when these people endeavours to punish such rebels, to help and give them your duly assistance. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5th year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 20. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth; as followeth:

May the honourable Anverrudet Caun live in safety.

At this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenson, for and in behalf of the English Company, hath through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty; setting forth, that the island of Divii in the sea, near the port of Metchlipatam, in possession of Aberam Palligar, a rebell, said rebell never paying the rent of said island, which amounts to Pag<sup>s</sup> 7000 per annum; in case the renting of it be granted the Company, they will settle a factory, and inhabit, to the great improvement of it; by which means merchants will be encouraged to go backwards and forwards to Metchlipatam. It is accordingly granted; for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued out, that you do, pursuant to the great command, let the Company have the renting of said island, and receive annually into the treasury the accustomed rent. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5 year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 21. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth; as followeth:

To all Mutsuddys in government, that at present are, or hereafter may come in the province of Hyder Abaud: Know yee, that at this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenson, for and in behalf of the English Company, hath, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty; setting forth, that at the port of Vizagapatam the Company have a factory for Vizagapatam, and 4 other towns near the factory, they pay annually the accustomed rent of R<sup>s</sup> 4862 into the treasury of Sicca Cool Perwana and Woodzunda, two towns, which pay rupees 900 yearly rent, being too far from the factory, they desire may be returned. It is commanded, that of the 5 towns, those two which they desire to relinquish be taken back; and that the other three remain in their possession as formerly; they have obtained a gracious phirmaun; for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued out; that you do, pursuant to the great command, let three of the five towns remain in their hands, and receive the accustomed rent from them; and the other two, which amounts to R<sup>s</sup> 900. take back into the cullia. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5 year of his Majesty's reign

N<sup>o</sup> 22. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth; as followeth:

To all Mutsuddys in government, that are at present, or hereafter may come in the province of Hyder Abaud; know yee, that at this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenson, for and in behalf of the English Company, hath, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty; setting forth, that at the time of the war of Chingee, for assisting the King's camp with cannon and provisions, as a reward for which service, Aurengzeb gave the English Company a present of five towns, Trivatore, &c. which remained in their possession for a long time. It is now the third year since the King's Mutsuddys there has seized on them: That they assisted against the competitor Jahaundar Sha, and acted in Hugly pursuant to orders, in helping Zeaude Caun with powder, lead, &c.; they hope they may be re-granted them. It is commanded that they be, according as in the days of Aurengzeb; for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued out; that you do let the said towns remain in the Company's possession as in the days of Aurengzeb. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5 year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 23. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth; as followeth:

To all Mutsuddys in government, that are at present, or hereafter may come in the province of Hyder Abaud, at the port of Metchlipatam in the said province; know yee, by these presents, that Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenson, for and in behalf of the English Company, hath, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty; setting forth, that the island of Divii, in the sea, near the abovesaid port, in possession of Aberam Pulligar, a rebell, said rebell never paying the rent of said island, which amounts to Pa<sup>s</sup> 7000. per annum. In case the renting of it be granted the Company, they will settle a factory, and inhabit there, to the great improvement of it; whereby merchants will be encouraged



to go backwards and forwards to Metchlipatam. It is commanded accordingly; for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued out; that you do, pursuant to the great command, let the Company have the renting of said island, and receive annually the accustomed rent in the treasury. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5 year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 24. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, friend full of truth; as followeth:  
May the honourable Saduttulla Caun live in safety.

At this instant Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenson, for and in behalf of the English Company, hath, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty; setting forth, That at the war of Chingee, for affilling the King's camp with cannon and provisions, as a reward for which service, Aurengzeb gave the Company a present of five towns, Trivatore, &c. which remained in their possession for a long time; that it is now the third year since the King's Mutsuddys have seized on them; and they assisted against the competitor Jahaundar Sha, and acted in Hugly pursuant to orders, in helping Zeaudecaun with powder, lead, &c. they hope they may be re-granted them. It is commanded that they be according as in the days of Aurengzeb; for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued out; that you do let the said towns remain in the Company's possession, as in the days of Arengzeb. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5 year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 25. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, general of the horse, friend full of truth; as followeth:

To all Mutsuddys that are at present, or hereafter may come in the province of Hyderabad; Know ye, by these presents, that Mr. John Surman Coja Surhaud and Mr. Stevenson, for and in behalf of the English Company, hath, through intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty; setting forth, that throughout the empire, the Company are custom free at Chinapatam (Madra's) in the province of Hyderabad from the very first, and settling a factory there, pay annually into the treasury the sums Pa<sup>s</sup> 1200; they hope it may be continued as formerly. It is found by the King's books, that at Chinapatam they do punctually pay the aforesaid sum into the treasury. It is commanded, that it be there according to ancient custom, and they have obtained a gracious Phirmaun; for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued out; that you, pursuant to the great command, do know that these people are custom free, and not upon any account whatsoever molest them; and receive at Chinapatam, into the treasury, the sum Pa<sup>s</sup> 1200 according to former custom. Regard this well.—Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5 year of his Majesty's reign.

A letter from Coja Surhaud, at Dilly, to the honourable Robert Hedges, Esquire, President and Governor of Fort William. Received March 1717.

I now send inclosed copies of three phirmauns come out, signed by the king; also copies of thirty husbullhookums; by perusing of which you will observe the posture of our negotiation, and that all the Company's business is effected: That I have performed what business of the Company was incumbent on me; which is plainly demonstrated by the copies herewith sent. What more shall occur, I shall advise of by another Coffid, and send second copies of all the inclosed papers. There is two perwannas, one to be directed to the Duan of Hyderabad, concerning Divii island, and the other relating to Vizagapatam, to be directed to the Mutsuddys of Sicca Cool, which are not yet wrote, because their names are not yet known; but to-morrow or next day their names will be known, when the perwannas will be wrote; and likewise what is to be wrote on the back of two other perwannas. 28 Maharan, the 5 year.

A letter from Coja Surhaud to the honourable Robert Hedges, Esquire, President and Governor of Fort William. Received the 26th March, 1717.

Under the 28th of the moon Maharum, the 5 year of his Majesty's reign, inclosed I send foul copies of three phirmauns and 30 perwannas, which at that time were not quite compleated; since which the three phirmauns are wrote over fair, sealed and signed by the King, and only waits for the Vizier's affixing his seal on them to compleat them, which I hope in God will be in less than ten days time, when shall get attested copies under the Cauzee's seal, and forward them to you, till then rest with satisfaction; 25 perwannas being finished; inclosed comes copies of them under the Cauzee's seal, which I hope will come safe to you; the remainder 7 perwannas are in the hands of Ray Bullihund Duan Choofa, which I hope in God in . . . days more will also be finished. I have acted in the Company's affairs with my utmost care and diligence, and have performed more than were incumbent on me. Those persons who talked and wrote about me are frustrated in their notions concerning me, which I hope, when it pleases God that I arrive with you, to give a clear demonstration of.

Bengall, Behar, and Oudeifa (Orixa) Phirmaun.

To all Governors and their Assistants, Intelligencers, Jageerdars, Phowdars, Collectors, Guardians of the ways, keepers of passages, and Zemeendars, that are at present, or hereafter may

may come in the provinces of Bengall, Behar, and Oudeisa (Orixa) at the port of Hugly, &c. ports in the provinces aforesaid; by these presents, Know yee, from the favour of the Imperial Majesty, That at this time of conquest, and in this flourishing reign, Mr. John Surman and Coja Surhaud, gomastahs (factors) of the English Company, hath humbly presented their petition; setting forth, that according to Sultan Azzem Sha Behauder, his and former sunnods, they are free of customs, throughout the whole conquered Empire, the port of Surat excepted; and that they do annually pay into the treasury, at the port of Hugly, a pishcath of three thousand rupees in lieu of customs, they hope that according to the tenor of former sunnods, they may be favoured with a gracious phirmaun confirming them. Commanded and ordered, That all their mercantile affairs, together with their gomastahs (factors) have free liberty in all Subahships to pass and repass to and fro, either by land or water, in any port or district, throughout the several provinces aforesaid, and know they are custom free, that they have full power and liberty to buy and sell, at their will and pleasure, and that there yearly be received into the treasury a pishcath of three thousand rupees, as have been customary heretofore; that, if in any place, or at any time, robberies are committed on their goods, they be assisted in the getting of them again; that the robbers be brought to justice, and the goods delivered to the proprietors of them, in whatsoever place they have a mind to settle a factory, fairly to buy and sell goods in, they have liberty, and be assisted; that on whomsoever merchants, weavers, &c. they have any demands on whatsoever account, let them be aided, and their debtors brought to come to a true and fair account, and be made to give their gomastahs (factors) their right and just demands; that no person be suffered to injure and molest their gomastahs (factors) wrongfully and unjustly; and for customs on hired boats (Cutbarrah) &c. belonging to them, that they be not in any manner molested or obstructed. They further petition, that if the Petty Duans of Subahships demand sight of the original sunnods and perwannas, under the seals of the Duans and Subas, the original sunnods cannot possibly be produced in any place without a great deal of difficulty, they desire that a copy, from under the seal of the chief Cauzee, be sufficient sight of the original sunnods not being demanded, nor they forced to take sunnods and perwannas under the Duan and Suba, their seals; that the renting of Calcutta, Sootuluta, and Govindpore, in the Purgana of Ameirabaud, &c. in Bengal, were formerly granted them, and bought by consent from the Zemeendars of them, and are now in Company's possession, for which they yearly pay the sum R<sup>s</sup> 1195. 6<sup>s</sup>; that thirty-eight towns more, amounting to R<sup>s</sup> 8121. 8. adjoining to the aforesaid towns, which they hope the renting of may be granted and added to the others they are already possessed of; that they pay annually the same amount of them; commanded the copy under the seal of the chief Cauzee be regarded; that the old towns formerly bought by them, remain in their hands as heretofore; and that they have the renting of the adjacent towns petitioned for, which they are to buy from the respective owners of them, and that the Duan Suba give permission: They still petition, That from the reign of Aurengzeb, Madras coin were received into the treasuries of Subahships for under value, and are still; notwithstanding they are full as valuable as Surat rupees are, whereby they are great losers; they hope the Imperial order may be given for them to be received into the treasuries as Surat rupees are, in case they are as good; that any person, being servant to the Company, eloping from them, from whom debts and accounts are due, they desire, that whosoever so deserts, be delivered back to the chief of their factory; that their gomastahs and servants are molested and troubled for Phowdserry (abvabmunnua), &c. Impositions which they request they may be exempted from. Commanded and ordered, that from the 5th year of this blessed reign, if Madras rupees are made the same goodness with Surat siccas, there be no discount on them; That whosoever of the Company's servants, being debtors, desert them, seize them, and deliver them to the chief of their factory; that they be not molested for Phirmaunhs (abvabmunnua), &c. impositions. They petition, That in Bengal, Behar, and Oudeisa (Orixa) the Company have factories, and that in other places they likewise design to settle factories; they accordingly desire, that in any place where they have a mind to settle factories, they may have forty begaes of ground given for the same; that it often happens ships at sea meet with tempestuous winds, and are forced into ports, and are sometimes drove ashore and wrecked, the Governors of ports injuriously seize on the cargoes of them, and in some places demand a quarter part salvage; that on the island of Bombay, belonging to the English, European siccas are current; they request, that, according to the custom of Madras, they may at Bombay coin siccas. Commanded and ordered, that according to custom of their factories in other Subahships, execute these people, having their factories in several parts of the kingdom, and commerce to the place of the royal residence, and have obtained very favourable Phirmauns custom free; let there be particular care taken, that there be duly assistance given them about goods and wrecks, on all occasions, on the island of Bombay; let there be the glorious stamp on the siccas coined there, passing them current, as all other siccas throughout the whole Empire. To all these tender punctual obedience, observing and acting pursuant to the tenor of this gracious Phirmaun, and not contrary in any respect whatsoever, nor demand yearly new sunnods. Regard this particularly well.—Written the 27th of the moon Mohunum, in the 5th year of this glorious and ever happy reign.

Hyderabad (Madras) Phirmaun.

To all Governots, and their Alistants, Intelligencers, Jageerdars, Phowdsars, Collectors, and Zemeendars, that are at present, or hereafter may come, in the province of Hyderabad. Know yee, by these presents, from the favour of the Imperial throne, and that at this time of



conquest, and in this flourishing reign, Mr. John Surman, and Coja Surhaud, Gomashtas (factors) of the English Company, hath humbly presented their petition; setting forth, that throughout the ports of Hyderabad, the Company are custom free, and at (Madras) Chinapatam, they pay Pag<sup>s</sup> 1200 annually in the treasury; they desire a gracious Phirmaun, that it may be at that port as customary heretofore; and it accordingly appears, by the King's books, that they do punctually pay the abovesaid sum, at Chinapatam, into the treasury. Commanded and ordered, that it be according to ancient custom: Their Gomashtas (factors) going backwards and forwards with their goods and necessaries, throughout all the ports of all Subahships, either by land or water, know, they are custom free; buying and selling, at their will and pleasure, let them receive no obstructions; that Pag<sup>s</sup> 1200 at Chinapatam, be received as customary heretofore, and that they be called upon for no other account whatsoever; if at any time, and in any place, it should happen any thing belonging to the English be stole, thoroughly assist in the recovering of it, punishing the robbers according to justice, return the goods to the right owners of them. In whatsoever place they have a mind to settle factory to buy and sell goods, in that they have free liberty, and be assisted upon all fair and just accounts. On whoever merchants, &c. they have any demands, upon whatsoever account, they be assisted, and their debtors be brought to come to a true and fair account; and that they be made to give their Gomashtas their just demands, not suffering any person to molest or hurt their Gomashtas wrongfully. They further petition, that at the war of Chingee, for assisting in sending cannon and provisions, &c. to the King's camp, as a reward for their service, Aurengzeb gave the Company five towns, Trivatore, &c. which remained in their possession for a long time; that it is now three years since the King's Mutsoodys (officers) there has seized on them. In this glorious reign, that they assisted against the Pretender Jahun Dar Sha, in acting in Hugly pursuant to the Imperial orders, in helping Zeaudecaun with lead, powder, &c. and using their utmost endeavours, they hope they may be returned to their possessions as formerly. Commanded and ordered, that as in the time of Aurengzeb, possession be given them. They also petition, that the Company have a settlement at the port of Vizagapatam, for which and four towns more, near their factory, they pay annually K<sup>s</sup> 4862. into the treasury of Sicca Cool, according to former rights, and among the towns aforesaid, Purwana and Wooda Punda, two villages, which pay R<sup>s</sup> 900. yearly rent, being too far from the factory, they desire may be returned. Commanded and ordered, that of the five towns, those which they desire to relinquish be taken back, and that the other three remain in their possession as heretofore. They likewise petition, that the petty duans of subahships demand sight of the original sunnods and perwannahs, under the seals of the Duans and Subas; that the original sunnods cannot possible be produced in every place without a great deal of difficulty; they humbly request, that a copy from under the seal of the Cauzee be sufficient, and no demands made for sight of the original sunnods, nor the Duan and Suba insist, and give another thereby; that in the island of Bombay, belonging to the English, European siccas are current; they hope from the Imperial favour, that, according to the custom of Chinapatam, there be coined, at Bombay, siccas; that servants belonging to the Company, becoming debtors, deserting from them, desire that they who deserts, be returned back to the chief of their factory; that the Gomashtas, and dealers of the Company, are much troubled for Phowdaries (abvabmumna) &c. impositions which they request may be repealed. Commanded and ordered, that a copy from under the seal of the chief Cauzee be sufficient; that on the island of Bombay, siccas coined according to those of the empire pass current throughout the whole empire, as all other siccas do; that whatsoever of the Company's servants, being debtors, want to elope, seize them and deliver them back to the chief of their factory, and for that which is forbidden, phowdary (abvabmumna) they be not molested. They petition, that Chinapatam siccas are received into treasuries of all Subahships with some discount on them, notwithstanding they are the same silver as those coined at the port of Surat, by which they sustain great loss; they hope, if in case they are of the same goodness as those of Surat, orders may be given, that they be received into the treasuries as Surat, &c. siccas are; that in Bengal, Bahar, Oudeisa, at Madras, Vizagapatam, &c. the Company have factories; and that in other places they may likewise settle factories; they hope, that in whatever place they do settle a factory, they may have forty begaes of ground given them for the same; that ships at sea happening to meet with tempestuous winds, are sometimes obliged to run ashore, and are wrecked, the Governors of ports unjustly seize on the cargoes of them, and in some places demand a quarter part salvage. Commanded and ordered, That from the 5th year of this glorious reign, if Madras siccas are made the same fineness and goodness with Surat siccas, there be no discount on them; that they have according to custom of their factories, in other Subahships. These people, having their factories in several ports of the kingdom, and commerce to the place of the royal residence, and have obtained favourable Phirmauns, custom free; take particular care, that there be due assistance given them about goods and wrecks. On all occasions render punctual obedience to all these orders contained in this gracious Phirmaun, forbearing to act contrary, and not demand annually new Sunnods. Regard this particularly well. Written the 2d of the moon Jaffar, in the 5 year of this gracious reign.

Ahomed Abaud (Surat) Phirmaun.

To all Governors and their Assistants, Intelligencers; to all Jageerdars, Phowdars, Collectors, Guardians of the ways, Keepers of passages, and Zemeendars, that are at present, or hereafter may come in the province of Ahomed Abaud, at the fortunate port of Surat, at Coyett, Be in hopes of the Imperial favour, and know yee, by these presents, that at this time of conquest,

and



and in this victorious reign, Mr. John Surman and Coja Surhaud, Gomastahs (Factors) of the English, hath presented their petition; setting forth, That on the goods of Englishmen, customs throughout the whole conquered Empire, excepting at the port of Surat, are pardoned at the said port; in the reign of Sha Jahaun they paid 2 per cent. custom, and in the time of Aurengzeb  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. custom was settled, being excused in all other places; and in the reign of Sha Aalum  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. custom was, and is at present, paid there, by reason of the oppression of the Mutfuddys there, they have been forced, for these three years, to withdraw their factory from that place. In the provinces of Behar and Oudeisa, their nation pay no custom at the port of Hugly; in the subahship of Bengal they annually pay a pishcass of three thousand rupees, in lieu of custom; they hope to enjoy the privilege according to the custom of other ports, at the port of Surat, and pay a yearly pishcass instead of custom; they are willing and have agreed to pay annually a pishcass of ten thousand rupees. Commanded and ordered, That since they assent to pay a yearly pishcass of ten thousand rupees at the port of Surat, receive it, and let them be called upon for no other account whatsoever; their Gomastahs (Factors) going backwards and forwards with their goods and necessaries throughout all the ports of this subahship, either by land or water, Know, they are custom free, buying and selling at their will and pleasure, let them receive no obstructions. If at any time, and in any place, it should happen that any goods belonging to them should be lost, thoroughly assist in the getting of them, punishing the rogues according to justice, and the goods return to the right owners of them; in whatsoever place they have a mind to settle a factory, to buy and sell goods, in that they have free liberty, and be assisted upon all fair and just accounts. On whoever merchants and others they have any demands, upon whatsoever account, they be assisted, and their debtors be brought to come to a true and fair account, and be made to give the English their just demands, not suffering any person to molest and injure their Gomastahs wrongfully. They further petition, that the Petty Duans of subahships, demand sight of their original sunnods and perwannas, under the seals of the Duans and Subas; that the original sunnods cannot possibly be produced in every place without a great deal of difficulty; they request, that a copy from under the seal of the Cauzee be sufficient, and no demands made for sight of the original sunnod; nor the Duans and Subahs insist to give another thereby; that in the island of Bombay, belonging to the English, European coin are current; they hope from the imperial favour, that according to the custom of Madras, there may be coined at Bombay, siccas; that servants belonging to the Company, becoming debtors, deserting from them, desire that they who so deserts, be returned back to the chief of their factory; that the Gomastahs and dealers of the Company are much troubled for Phowdarry (abvabmumna), &c. Impositions which they request may be repealed. Commanded and ordered, that a copy, under the chief Cauzee's seal be sufficient; that on the island of Bombay siccas coined, according to those of this kingdom, pass current throughout the whole Empire, as all other siccas do; that whoever of the Company's servants, becoming debtors, want to elope, seize them and deliver them back to the chief of their factory; and for that which is forbidden (abvabmumna) Phowdarry, &c. they be not molested. They also petition, that in Bengal, Behar, and Oudeisa, the Company have factories; and that in other places they likewise design to settle factories; they hope that in any place where they settle a factory, 40 begaes of ground may be given them for the same; ships at sea happening to meet with tempestuous winds, are sometimes obliged to run ashore and are wrecked, the Governors of ports injuriously seize on the goods of them, demanding in some places a quarter part salvage. Commanded and ordered, that they have according to custom of their factories in other Subahships; these people having their factories in several ports of the kingdom, and commerce to the place of the royal residence, and have obtained favourable Phirmauns custom free; take particular care, that there be due assistance given them concerning goods and wrecks on all occasions. To all these orders render obedience, forbearing to act contrary to this gracious phirmaun, nor every year demand new sunnods. Regard this particularly well.—Written the 4th of the moon Suffar, in the 5th year of this gracious reign.

A letter from Coja Surhaud, dated the third of the moon Jamadul Ovul; the 6 year of his Majesty's reign, to the honourable Robert Hedges, Esquire, President, &c. Council.  
Received 7th April, 1717.

The 28th of the moon Mohurram, I sent you by my own Cossids foul copies of three phirmauns, and 30 perwannas, which was not then attested by the Cauzee; and under date of the 23d of the moon Rubbeillovull, copies of three phirmauns, which only wanted the Vizier's seal to be affixed on them, to have perfected them without the Cauzee's seal; and also copies of 25 perwannas, completed and assisted by the Cauzee, were inclosed and forwarded to you by my own Cossids.

The 3 phirmauns having the Vizier's seal put on them, has entirely perfected them. I have just now received them, copies whereof, under the Cauzee of this place, his seal, are this instant forwarded to you, which I trust will come safe to your hands, and I congratulate the Company on this occasion. Thanks be to God, the Company's business is all quite finished according to their desire.

The great care and trouble which I have taken in this negotiation to fulfill my promise to you is inexpressible; from the time of Tamerlane to this instant, no nation have been able to procure such a Phirmaun; three or four times more than what you desired are obtained; what you promised for my gratuity, if you should give me three or four times as much more, it would not re-

compence



compence my service and care. Now yee may greatly rejoice, since you have every thing to your content; and when I arrive with you, glad me that I may forget the great fatigue and trouble which I have undergone in this negotiation. The Dutch, and many embassies which went before, have spent each from 15 to 25 lack of rupees, and not one amongst them all have procured the tenth part of what I have. I have acted in this affair with the utmost care and industry, and have done what I knew through means of my consorts here. I have cost near a lack of rupees; and all the benefits which has been done by those people, I have bore with patience, because the Company's affairs else would have been ruined. By God's blessing, all our business is happily ended, and I hope, God willing, in 15 days more, to obtain leave, and be on my way towards you; rest with satisfaction, and after my arrival, what more I have to relate will be made known to you; some unfair dealings, which have been done within these three years, contrary to our promise, which are not requisite that I write you now, but when I come with you I must inform you.

N<sup>o</sup> 26. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister; the Lord high treasury Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, faithful friend; as followeth:

May the honourable Asker Caun be always in safety.

At this instant, Mr. John Surman, Coja Surhaud, and Mr. Stevenson, for and in behalf of the English Company, hath, through the intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty; setting forth, that at Azzeemabaud (Patna) in the province of Behar, it is sometime since the English factory has been in a hired house; they hope for the house of Meer-muzzuffer, which is confiscated to the King, to be granted for their residence. It is commanded that you be writ to, if that house be confiscated, that you let them have it to live in; but at the time of repairing it they are not to build bullworks, or any thing like fortifications, for that is forbidden by the King; for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued out; that you do act pursuant to the great command. Regard this well.—Written on the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5 year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 27. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, faithful friend; as followeth:

To all Mutsuddys (officers) in government, that at present are, and hereafter shall come throughout the provinces of the conquered empire. Know yee, by these presents, that at this time, Mr. John Surman, Coja Surhaud, and Mr. Stevenson, for and in behalf of the English Company, hath, through the intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty; requesting, that a gracious order may be given you, commanding, that in case any of the Company's servants become debtors, and elope from them, that you seize and deliver them back to the chief of the factory. It is accordingly commanded; for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued out; that you do, pursuant to the great command, in case any of the Company's servants become debtors, and desert, seize and deliver them back to the chief of the factory. Regard this punctually. Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge, the 5 year of his Majesty's reign.

N<sup>o</sup> 28. Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of the (Cootbullmoolk) prime minister; the Lord high treasurer Syad Abidulla Caun; the valiant, the victorious in battle, General of the horse, true to his friends; as followeth:

To all Mutsuddys (officers) in government, that at present are, or hereafter shall be, in the province of Bengall; Know yee, by these presents, that at this time Mr. John Surman, Coja Surhaud, and Mr. Stevenson, for and in behalf of the English Company, hath through the intercessions of the high ministers, presented their petition to his Imperial Majesty; setting forth, that in the town of Calcutta, in the Purgunna of Ameirabaud, in the province aforesaid, the English have their factory, the farming of Calcutta, &c. Three towns they have had for a long time, the rent of which annually being R<sup>s</sup> 1195. is duly paid by them; thirty-eight towns more, adjacent to the aforesaid towns, the rent of which amounting to R<sup>s</sup> 8121. 8<sup>d</sup>, they hope to have the farming of them, and they will annually pay the rent thereof according to the statutes in the King's books; they likewise desire to have Calcutta called after his Majesty's great name; and the other towns to be taken from their several purgunnys, and united into one purgunna. It is commanded that the farming of the towns bought formerly remain in their possession as heretofore, and that they have the liberty of farming the other towns petitioned for; if, according to former customs, they buy them by the assent of the respective owners of them, then you are to give permission; for which reason this Husbullhookum is issued out; that you let them have the farming of the former villages and the present, pursuant to the great command, according to the list on the back of this, and take the yearly rent of them into the treasury. Regard this punctually.—Written the 9th of the moon Zeelhedge the 5th year of his Majesty's glorious and ever happy reign.

List on the back, of villages in the Purgana of Calcutta, &c. in the subaship of Bengal, according to the petition of John Surman, Cojah Surhaud, and Mr. Stevenson, the renting of which being granted to the English Company, and the towns which they formerly

formerly bought remaining according to ancient custom: The other villages petitioned for, if by the assent of the owners they do buy them according to ancient custom, give permission, and settle. The whole amount, is R<sup>s</sup> 9316. 14. 3. according to the above named their petition; viz.

In the Purganna, or division of Calcutta — — R <sup>s</sup> 2151 13 3	In the Purganna, or division of Manpore — — 223 7 6
In the Purganna, or division of Ameirabad — — 1810 9 6	In the Purganna, or division of Nudee — — 172 13 6
In the Purganna, or division of Burro — — 869 15 3	In the Purganna, or division of Picaun — — 4078 3 3
	41 Towns

Note, That the account of these towns are not at court; therefore according to the account of the Suba Books, more or less, settle.

According to former custom, the towns of Calcutta, &c. three towns R<sup>s</sup> 1195. 6; viz.

In the Purganna of Ameir Abaud Calcutta, &c. R<sup>s</sup> 970. 8.; viz. De Calcutta R 468. 9. Sootalutta R<sup>s</sup> 500. 15. Govindpore R<sup>s</sup> 224. 14. In the Purganna of Picaun.

The present R<sup>s</sup> 8121. 8. 3.; viz.

In the Purganna, or division of Calcutta — — R <sup>s</sup> 2151 13 3	In the Purganna, or division of Nudde — — 172 13 6
In the Purganna, or division of Ameirabad — — 840 1 6	In the Purganna, or division of Manpore — — 223 7 6
In the Purganna, or division of Burro — — 869 15 3	In the Purganna, or division of Picaun — — 3863 5 3

The particular account of the villages petitioned for at present, according to the list under the seals of the aforementioned persons, amounting to R<sup>s</sup> 8121. 8. 3. towns 38; viz.

Duconneedaun R <sup>s</sup> 426. 9 <sup>a</sup> ; viz.	In the Purganna of Picaun — 166 1 9
In the Purganna of Calcutta — R <sup>s</sup> 38 8 6	In the Purganna of Calcutta — 62 11 0
In the Purganna of Picaun — 12 — 3	Sunda R <sup>s</sup> 648. 9. 3. viz.
In the Purganna of Ameirabad — 376 — -	In the Purganna of Calcutta — 62 — 3
Beegee R <sup>s</sup> 283. 13. 6.; viz.	In the Purganna of Picaun — 586 9 -
In the Purganna of Calcutta — 22 6 3	Dulunda R <sup>s</sup> 306. 7. 6.; viz.
In the Purganna of Ameirabaud — 45 15 3	In the Purganna of Calcutta — 111 6 6
In the Purganna of Nudes — 1 14 -	D <sup>o</sup> — D <sup>o</sup> Picaun — 195 1 -
In the Purganna of Picaun — 213 10 -	Tupfanda R <sup>s</sup> 290. 10. 9.; viz.
Baudfutteempore R <sup>s</sup> 127. 2. 6.; viz.	In the Purganna of Calcutta — 73 8 -
In the Purganna of Calcutta — 11 7 3	D <sup>o</sup> — D <sup>o</sup> Picaun — 217 2 9
In the Purganna of Ameirabad — 20 8 -	Mullea Bulcha R <sup>s</sup> 206. 14. 6; viz.
In the Purganna of Picaun — 95 3 6	In the Purganna of Calcutta — 31 11 -
Sulca R <sup>s</sup> 277. 11. 3.; viz.	In the Purganna of Picaun — 175 3 6
In the Purganna of Burro — 61 11 -	Currangee R <sup>s</sup> 89 11. 6.; viz.
In the Purganna of Picaun — 216 — 3	In the Purganna of Calcutta — 14 13 6
Hautoo R <sup>s</sup> 383. 2. 9.; viz.	D <sup>o</sup> — D <sup>o</sup> Picaun — 74 14 -
In the Purganna of Burro — 237 5 6	Cullemba R <sup>s</sup> 383 8.; viz.
In the Purganna of Picaun — 145 13 3	In the Purganna of Calcutta — 270 3 3
Cunde R <sup>s</sup> 138. 5. 3.; viz.	D <sup>o</sup> — D <sup>o</sup> Picaun — 113 4 9
In the Purganna of Calcutta — 8 7 -	Cundullpaudee R <sup>s</sup> 101. 13. 6.; viz.
In the Purganna of Burro — 129 14 3	In the Purganna of Calcutta — 31 9 3
Ranikissenpore R <sup>s</sup> 169. 14. 9.; viz.	D <sup>o</sup> — D <sup>o</sup> Picaun — 70 4 3
In the Purganna of Burro — 89 3 9	Amulla R <sup>s</sup> 229. 2. 6; viz.
In the Purganna of Picaun — 80 11 -	In the Purganna of Calcutta — 61 9 9
Nauta R <sup>s</sup> 580. 14. 9.; viz.	D <sup>o</sup> — D <sup>o</sup> Picaun — 167 8 9
In the Purganna of Burro — 351 13 -	Duccaneepakpadee, in the Purganna
In the Purganna of Picaun — 229 1 9	Ameirabad — — 145 2 3
Billgajaw R <sup>s</sup> 318 <sup>a</sup> . 9 <sup>a</sup> ;	Hogulcundee, in the Purganna of Pi-
In the Purganna of Picaun — 13 10 -	caun — — 137 11 3
In the Purganna of Calcutta — 304 6 9	Semlee, in the Purganna of Manpore 81 15 6
Oldadondee R <sup>s</sup> 314. 14.; viz.	Muccaunda, in D <sup>o</sup> — D <sup>o</sup> 118 12 9
In the Purganna of Calcutta — 194 1 6	Chapada, in the Purganna of Calcutta 63 10 9
In the Purganna of Picaun — 120 12 9	Baugharee, in D <sup>o</sup> — D <sup>o</sup> 49 8 9
Congarracofla R <sup>s</sup> 408. 6. 3.; viz.	Arpoolee, in the Purganna Manpore 22 11 9
In the Purganna of Nudde — 170 15 3	Sayalta, in the Purganna of Calcutta 118 9 9
In the Purganna of Picaun — 37 7 -	Baudfunda, D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> — 40 8 -
Meerzapore R <sup>s</sup> 172. 13. 6.; viz.	Seepore, in D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> — 41 6 6
In the Purganna of Calcutta — 57 15 9	Saidguchee, in D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> — 212 3 -
In D <sup>o</sup> Picaun — — 115 13 9	Cuttanga, in D <sup>o</sup> D <sup>o</sup> — 37 14 -
Cullea R <sup>s</sup> 572. 10. 6.; viz.	Puttera, in D <sup>o</sup> Picaun — 101 1 6
In the Purganna of Calcutta — 127 6 9	Bauduchneedaun, D <sup>o</sup> — 125 8 3
In the Purganna of Picaun — 445 3 9	Balcalcutta, in Calcutta — 114 3 0
Buggaree R <sup>s</sup> 228. 13. 3.; viz.	Cheatpore, in Purganna Ameirabad 252 8 -
	Z
	N <sup>o</sup> 29.



N<sup>o</sup> 29. Directed to Acram Caun, Duan of Bengal, the same as the foregoing, word for word, with the list of the towns on back as the foregoing.

Perwanna under Jaffar Cawn's seal, obtained by Mr. Samuel Feake, at Cossimbazar. Received 20th of July 1717; as followeth:

May his Highness, the support of Nobles, the honourable Caun Maudee Allee Caun, be always surrounded with his Majesty's favour.

The Vakeel of the English Company has represented, that Mahomed Sallah Droga, of the Cherabaf Conna, does unjustly molest Succada, Gomashtah of his master, who resides at Jahungeernagur (Dacca); for which reason this is wrote; that if it be true, you bid the aforesaid Droga forbear injuriously oppressing the English Gomashtahs: But if the story should be otherwise, to you write it. The 3d of Shabaun, the 6 year of his Majesty's reign.

Duffkhut (sign'd.)

To these people favour and encouragement should be shewn, because they are great merchants, and are exalted by their eminent services.

Perwanna under Jaffar Caun's seal, obtained by Mr. Feake, &c. at Cossimbazar. Received in Fort William the 5th of October, 1717; as followeth:

May his Highness, the support of Nobles, Sultan Hussain Caun, be always surrounded with his Majesty's favour.

The English Company's Vakeel has represented, that his Master's Gomashtah, who have resided at Mahanundapore, (subordinate to Rajmull) for a long while to buy and sell goods; that your deputy have unjustly extorted 50 R<sup>s</sup> from said Gomashtah; for which this is wrote; that if it be true, you make the said rupees to be refunded to the said Gomashtah, and take his satisfactory certificate and send it hither: Do you likewise give particular orders, that nobody molest said Gomashtah injuriously, that he may remain there, carrying on with content his business. Regard this well. Written the 26th of the moon Ramazan, the 6 year of his Majesty's reign.

Translate of King Furruckseer, his Phirmaun, for the honourable Robert Hedges, Esquire, President in Bengal, in answer to the petition sent by Mr. John Surman, &c.

The most worthy amongst your Peers, the great amongst your brothers, and worthy of my favour, Robert Hedges, President for the English Company: Be always in hopes of kingly favour; and know at this time of conquest, and being conqueror, the petition that desired a Phirmaun for the currency of trade for the English, and pardon of customs, according to ancient usage, with the piscah, accompanied by English Surman and Serad Armenian to the holy place that carries the ensigns of miracles, whose height approaches the skies, is received, and has past the royal view, and the piscah that you sent has been presented before his sacred Majesty, and pleased him, with his royal acceptance after the most holy place, being acquainted of your entire sincerity, and strict obedience, out of his Majesty's most particular favours, have granted Phirmauns, conformable to the petition of the above Serad, for the currency of the Company's trade, and pardon of customs, pursuant to former rule; you ought, in a high and grateful degree, to acknowledge this great royal favour, with a serious temper, and perfect satisfaction; go on in your business and merchandize, your upright behaviour and perfect obedience will be a means of your future protection. The 19th day of the moon Jamadullacur; wrote in the six year of our glorious reign.

The Vizier's title, which is wrote on the back of the four Phirmauns.

Under the protection of the mountain of vast riches, in whom the King puts his confidence; Chief of the Nobles of the greatest port; conspicuous among the great; the great Protector of the country, and its riches; the Opener of the way to fortune and riches; Master of the sword and pen; the Light and Exalter of the spear and order; Vizier of a true judgment unalterable; Chief of the country; Prime Minister, in whose hands are all power; the Lord High Treasurer, the Valiant, the Victorious in battle, faithful Friend; and the Mirrour of Viziers.

Copy of a Husbullhookum.

An account of the Europeans at Hughly, as represented by the government of Hughly to Muxadavad, viz.

Its customary, upon every new King's accession to the throne, and upon every Subah's and Duan's accession, for the Europeans to get new Phirmaunds and new Perwannahs to carry on their business, and to give a present; for which reason I send an account of the nation, that as it is now the time for dispatching their ships, if they are dealt hard with, it will be for the advantage of the King and Subah; viz.

The English, in Aurengzeb's time, obtained a Phirmaund, exempting them from all customs, in lieu of which a piscah of three thousand rupees was settled, which they annually pay into the treasury at Hughly, since which they have not had either Phirmaund or Perwannah; they carry on their mercantile affairs in an unjust and unprecedented manner, by which the King's trea-

treasury is lessened; the Phirmaund they procured in Phiruchfeer's time has never been seen, nor they ever had a Perwannah from the Nabob for carrying on their business.

The Dutch, in Aurengzeb's time, obtained a phirmaund, granting leave to trade, paying  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. into the treasury at Hughly. In Shaw Allum's time they obtained a phirmaund for paying  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. customs, and they, conformable to which they obtained a perwannah from Jaffer Cawn, when he was called Mustaf Coolie Cawn, by virtue of which they now carry on their business; besides this, they have had no other new perwannah, nor made any present to the King or Subah.

The French, in Aurengzeb's time, obtained a Phirmaund, also the Subah and Duan's perwannah, and according to the Dutch, they paid four per cent. customs; and when the Dutch got the customs settled at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. they likewise got a perwannah from the Nabob to pay the same; besides which, they had no new Perwannah, nor made any present to the King or Subah: The Ostenders have no Phirmaund; they have obtained Jaffer Cawn's Perwannah, by virtue of which they carry on their business.

The Armenians used formerly to pay 5 per cent. customs; in Shaw Allum's time they obtained a phirmaund for paying no more than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and according to which phirmaund they have Jaffer Cawn's perwannah, and now they carry on their business in Calcutta under the English protection, and those of them that wants a perwannah for Suratt, comes to Hughly and gets one, by which the King is a great sufferer.

It has not been customary for Europeans to trade in salt; this year some of the English have sent large quantities of salt to Patna, without paying the custom: it has always been customary for the weavers to pay 5 per cent. on all photaes, before they sell any to Europeans, and now the English, contrary to custom, in the adjacent towns of Calcutta, and in Bardivan, buy photaes, and carry them, with their dusticks, without paying the usual customs; and upon all goods that are bought and sold in Calcutta, they collect a duty, by which the King is a great sufferer.

It has not been customary for the Europeans to traffick in grain, &c. etables they used to have allowed them (by leave from hence) just a sufficient quantity for their own food; and the English now buys grain in every place, and transports it on board their ships, by way of merchandize, by which the King is a great sufferer, and grain is made dear and scarce in this country.

All goods imported formerly by Europeans, used to be sold to the Patna merchants, &c. who used to pay the customs thereon; and for these several years the English send what goods they import to Patna, &c. Aurungs, by which there is no custom paid; here they pay a pishcash of rupees three thousand for the Company and other Englishmen, by which the King is a great sufferer; and the Dutch, ever since they have had the custom settled at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. send their goods to Patna and other places, and do not sell to those who used to pay the custom here, by which the King is a great sufferer.

Transcribed per T. Fenwick.

Examined with A. Dawson.

Copy of a Dastuck, under the seal of Commordee Caune, grand Vizier, directed to all phowdars, guardians of the roads, keepers of passages, and Zemindar, in the provinces of Bengal, Beharr, and Orixa.

Know ye, that the English Company are free of customs, pursuant to the tenor of the royal phirmaund, in lieu of which they pay an annual pishcash of three thousand rupees into the treasury, at the port of Hughly; and every year, their boats, loaden with goods, do pass and repass throughout the aforementioned provinces; for which reason this is wrote, that they be not troubled or molested for Raudary, &c. but on the contrary, that you pass them through your several districts in safety. The 27th Shaubaun, the 9th of his Majesty's reign.

Transcribed per A. Dawson.

Examined with Sol<sup>r</sup> Margas.

Copy of a Husbullhookum, under the seal of Commordudee Caune, Vizier, directed to all Mutsudys present and to come, in the provinces of Bengal, Beharr, and Orixa.

Know ye, that the English Company's Vaqueel has presented a petition; setting forth, That his masters have a Phirmaund, exempting them from all customs, in lieu of which they annually pay into the treasury at Hughly a pishcash of three thousand rupees: That the Subah and Duan's people, in every Subahship, and Phowdars, &c. on the roads, molest and trouble them, contrary to the tenor of the royal Phirmaund: He is in hopes of obtaining a Husbullhookum, confirming their being free of customs, pursuant to the royal Phirmaund. It appears by the books, that in lieu of thirty thousand rupees, which they pay into the treasury at the port of Hughly, they are free of all customs; for which reason they have obtained this Husbullhookum, ordering you to act conformable to the royal Phirmaund, and in no ways to impede or molest them. The 17th of the moon Rajeb, in the 9th year of his Majesty's ever happy reign.

There are three other Perwannahs or Husbullhookums, of the same tenor as the foregoing, directed to Jalsecaun, Subah of Bengal, and Suffrage Caunc, Duan of Bengal, and the third to Aiteram Caun, Duan of Patna.



Transcribed per W. Davis.  
Examined with Sol<sup>d</sup> Margas.

Copy of a Perwannah, under the seal of Suffrage Caune, Duan of Bengal, directed to all Mutsuddys, present and to come, to all Gomastahs of Juggers, Phowfdars, Zemindars, Collectors, and Recorders, in the Provinces of Bengal and Orixa.

Know ye, that King Furruckfeer's Phirmaund and Perwannahs, granted the English Company, has been presented by Mr. Stevenson, by which it is perceivable, that they pay annually a pishcashi of thire thousand rupees in the treasury at Hughly, besides which, they are not to be molested for any thing more; and that in all places you assist them in buying and selling their goods; in case they have any account or demands on any weavers, &c. oblige them to pay their gomastahs; and not suffer any body to molest or impede their gomastahs, nor trouble them on account of their own or hired boats for Cutbarah: That whosoever of the Company's gomastahs, being debtors, desert them, seize them, and deliver them to the chiefs of their factories; that they be not molested for Phouldary, &c. (Abobmunna) impositions: That in case any of their goods or ships are drove ashore, or wrecked, let particular care be taken thereof: That at Calcutta they have a settlement, and the renting of Calcutta, &c. Towns in the Purgane of Ameiravad, &c. were formerly granted them, and bought by consent from the Zemindars of them, and are now in their possession: That thirty-eight towns more, amounting to rupees eight thousand one hundred and twenty-one, and eight annaes, adjoining to the aforesaid, in case they purchase them by the consent of the proprietors, let the Duan put them in possession thereof: It appearing by the registers of the Duan, that Calcutta, &c. three towns, are in their possession, according to former custom, for which they pay yearly rupees one thousand one hundred and ninety five, and the other thirty-eight towns, which they have not yet bought, neither are in their possession; you must let Calcutta, &c. three towns, remain in their possession as heretofore, and receive the customary rent thereof; and, according to the tenor of the royal Phirmaund, whereon is wrote on the back of this, do you act in every respect, and not contrary. The first of the moon Zethedge, in the ninth year of his Majesty's reign.

Articles of a treaty and agreement, concluded between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company, and the Nabob Syef ul Dowla.

On the part of the Company.

We the Governor and Council do engage to secure to the Nabob, Syef ul Dowla, the subahdarre of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, and to support him therein, with the Company's forces, against all his enemies.

On the part of the Nabob.

I.

The treaty which my father formerly concluded with the Company, upon his first accession to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the Company, and of the Governor and Council, as his own; and that entered into with my brother, Nabob Najim ul Dowla; the same treaties, as far as is consistent with the true spirit, intent, and meaning thereof, I do hereby ratify and confirm.

II.

The King has been graciously pleased to grant unto the English East India Company the dewannaship of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, as a free gift for ever; and I having an entire confidence in them, and in their servants settled in this country, that nothing whatever be proposed or carried into execution by them, derogating from my honour, dignity, interest, and the good of my country, do therefore, for the better conducting the affairs of the Subahdarree, and promoting my honour and interest, and that of the Company in the best manner, agree, that the protecting the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, and the force sufficient for that purpose, be entirely left to their direction and good management, in consideration of their paying the King, Shaw Allum, by monthly payments, as by treaty agreed on, the sum of rupees 2,16,666. 10. 9. and to me, Syef ul Dowla, the annual stipend of rupees 41,86,131. 9; viz the sum of rupees 17,78,854. 1. for my house, servants, and other expences indispensably necessary, and the remaining sum of 24,07,277. 8. for the support of such Sepoys, Peons, and Burgundasses, as may be thought proper for my afwarry only; but on no account ever to exceed that amount.

III. The

## III.

The Nabob Minauh Dowla, who was, at the instance of the Governor and gentlemen of the Council, appointed Naib of the provinces, and invested with the management of affairs, in conjunction with Mah Rajah Doolubram and Juggut Seat, shall continue in the same post, and with the same authority; and having a perfect confidence in him, I moreover agree to let him have the disbursing of the above sum of 24,07,277. 8. for the purposes above mentioned.

This agreement, by the blessing of God, I hope will be inviolably observed as long as the English Company's factories continue in Bengal. Dated this 19th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1766.

W<sup>m</sup> B. Sumner.  
H. Vereltt.  
Rand<sup>h</sup> Marriottt.  
H. Watts.  
Claud. Ruffel.  
W<sup>m</sup> Alderfey.  
Tho. Kelfall.  
Charles Floyer.

Articles of a treaty and agreement, concluded between the Governor and Council of fort William, on the part of the English East India Company, and the Nabob Syef ul Dowla.

On the part of the Company.

We the Governor and Council do engage to secure to the Nabob Syef ul Dowla, the Subahdarree of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, and to support him therein, with the Company's forces, against all his enemies.

On the part of the Nabob.

I.

The treaty which my father formerly concluded with the Company, upon his first accession to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the Company, and the Governor and Council, as his own; and that entered into with my brother, the Nabob Nazim ul Dowla; the same treaties, as far as is consistent with the true spirit, intent, and meaning thereof, I do hereby ratify and confirm.

II.

The King has been graciously pleased to grant unto the English East-India Company, the Dewannship of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, as a free gift, for ever; and I having an entire confidence in them and in their servants settled in this country, that nothing will be proposed, or carried into execution, by them, derogating from my honour and dignity, and the true interest and the good of my country, do therefore, for the better conducting the affairs of the Subahdarree, and promoting my honour and interest, and that of the Company, in the best manner, agree that the protecting the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, and the force sufficient for that purpose, be entirely left to their direction and good management; in consideration of their paying the King, Shaw Allum, by monthly payments, as by treaty agreed on, the sum of rupees 2,16,666. 10. 9, and to me, Syef ul Dowla, the annual stipend of rupees 41,86,131. 9; viz. the sum of rupees 17,78,854. 1. for my house, servants, and other expences indispensably necessary, and the remaining sum of 24,07,277.8. for the support of such Sepoys, Peons, and Burkundassles, as may be thought proper for my Afwariy only; but on no account ever to exceed that amount.

III.

The Nabob, Minaut Dowlah, who was, at the instance of the Governor and the Gentlemen of the Council, appointed Naib of the provinces, and invested with the management of all affairs, in conjunction with Mharaga Doolubram, and Juggut Seet, shall continue in the same post, and with the same authority; and having a perfect confidence in him, I further agree to let him have the disbursing of the above sum of 24,07,277. 8. for the purpose above-mentioned.

This agreement, by the blessing of God, I hope will be inviolably observed as long as the English Company's factories continue in Bengal. Dated the 18th day of May, in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty-six.

(Signed) Governor and Council. (Signed) The Nabob.

Fort William, 28th Nov. 1766.

A true copy.

W<sup>m</sup> Alderfey, Secretary.



Signed E. Baber, Secretary.



Articles of a treaty and agreement, between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company, and the Nabob Mebarek ul Dowlah.

On the part of the Company.

We, the Governor and Council, do engage to secure to the Nabob Mebarek ul Dowlah, the Soubahdarree of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, and to support him therein, with the Company's forces, against all his enemies.

On the part of the Nabob.

I.

The treaty which my father formerly concluded with the Company, upon his first accession to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the Company, and of the Governor and Council, as his own; and that entered into with my brothers, the Nabobs Nazim ul Dowlah, and Syef ul Dowlah; the same treaties, as far as is consistent with the true spirit, intent, and meaning thereof, I do hereby ratify and confirm.

II.

The King has been graciously pleased to grant unto the English East India Company, the Dewannahship of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, as a free gift for ever; and I, having an entire confidence in them and in their servants settled in this country, that nothing whatever be proposed or carried into execution by them, derogating from my honour, interest, and the good of my country, do therefore, for the better conducting the affairs of the Subahdarree, and promoting my honour and interest, and that of the Company, in the best manner,

Agree, That the protecting the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, and the force sufficient for that purpose, be entirely left to their direction and good management, in consideration of their paying the King, Shaw Allum, by monthly payments, as by treaty agreed on, the sum of rupees two lacks sixteen thousand six hundred and sixty six, ten annas, and nine pice (rupees 2,16,666. 10. 9); and to me, Mebarek ul Dowla, the annual stipend of rupees thirty one lacks eighty-one thousand nine hundred and ninety-one, nine annas (31,81,991. 9); viz. the sum of rupees fifteen lacks eighty-one thousand nine hundred and ninety-one, nine annas (15,81,991. 9), for my house, servants, and other expences indispensably necessary; and the remaining sum of rupees sixteen lacks (rupees 16,00000), for the support of such Sepoys, Peons, and Burgundasses, as may be thought proper for my swarry only; but on no account ever to exceed that amount.

III.

The Nabob Minauh Dowla, who was, at the instance of the Governor and gentlemen of the Council, appointed Naib of the provinces, and invested with the management of affairs, in conjunction with Maha Rajah Doolubram and Juggut Seat, shall continue in the same post, and with the same authority: And having a perfect confidence in him, I moreover agree to let him have the disbursing of the above sum of rupees sixteen lacks, for the purposes above-mentioned.

This agreement, by the blessing of God, shall be inviolably observed for ever.

Dated the 21st day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

{	Richard Beecher,
	W <sup>m</sup> Aldersey,
	John Cartier,
	Claud Ruffell,
	Charles Floyer,
	John Reed,
	Francis Hare,
	Joseph Jekyll,
Thomas Lane,	
{ Richard Barwell.	

A true Copy.

W. Wynne, Secretary.

Copy of the translate of a Perwannah from Suja Dowla Cawn, Subah of Bengal, to Governor Deane; as entered after the Fort William consultation of the 19th January 1731-2

John Deane, Governor: I salute you, and am very well pleased and satisfied with your fair dealing and management, and have not any ill will whatsoever against you; you ought to preserve a good understanding with me, and by a good management of yours, go on with your business as customary, without doing any thing contrary to law and custom.

Copy of a Perwannah, under the seal of the Nabob Sujah Cawn, to Mhamud Aliff; entered after the Fort William consultation of the 16th July 1736.

Whereas the revenues of the towns of de Calcutta, Soota Lootee, and Govindpoor, in the Purgannas of Ameembad, Calcutta, and Paycawne, in the surcar of Sutgom, by grants from the court, and several Governors of the province, have been appropriated to the English Company, and been under the direction of their agents, I do now confirm the same to them, according to custom; and you are not to molest them, or demand more upon any account than is usual, nor insist upon their renewing this grant yearly; but encourage the improvement of the towns in the manner, therefore, to their satisfaction. See that this be obeyed. On the 1st of the month Rubbenlaurell, 18th year of the King's reign.

## A P P E N D I X, No. 3.

A Letter to George Pigot, Esquire, President, &c. of Fort St. George, relating to the Capture of Calcutta; dated 16th July 1756, from the Governor and Council of Bengal.

To the honourable George Pigot, Esquire, President and Governor, &c. Council at Fort St. George.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Our utmost efforts have been employed to dispatch to you sooner the intelligence of the capture of Calcutta by the Moors, acting under orders of Serajah Dowla, the new Nabob; which account, we doubt not, will have reached you before this can possibly arrive, by means of Patamars from the Shroffs or foreign nations; a true narrative of this unhappy event, will, in our opinion, be faithfully represented to you by Mr. Manningham, which we have not here to commit to writing; the above gentleman we depute to your honour, &c. on the United English East India Company's behalf, and require from this representation, that you will support us with the whole force you can obtain on your coast, military and marine, together with a sufficient quantity of ammunition, cannon, and all other warlike stores, military and marine, which may enable us to re-establish ourselves in this province, which we esteem of the most essential consequence to the East India Company, and trade of India in general.

It is highly to represent to your honour, &c. and that the English here were established by patent from the Grand Mogul, under whose orders all subahs should be dependant; but as your honour, &c. are well acquainted that this province was overcome by Ally Verde Cawn, who maintained his conquest by force of arms, so was it possessed by his grandson, who assumed the title of Serajah Dowla; wherefore further to favour our cause, and just complaints for restitution, and right to the privilege granted us by the royal firmaund, we are to request you will, without delay, set forth to the Grand Mogul the enormities committed by the present Nabob, on a nation which has always paid obedience to the tenor of the firmaund, nor infringed on its privileges; requiring and entreating by his authority to re-establish us in all our rights, and that the loss sustained by the Company and inhabitants of the settlement may be made good.

We are at present endeavouring to open a correspondence with the principal men, whom we are informed the Nabob attends to, in hopes to bring on a treaty till we can obtain succour, and that we may in some measure be relieved from our present distress, being in the utmost want of all necessaries of life, and strict orders issued by the government not to supply us with any provisions: the Dutch and French are also prohibited giving us any assistance; their situation appears very precarious; and we are told the French have wrote for a large reinforcement from Pondicherry.

Our determination is to keep the river, until we are informed of your honour, &c.'s resolutions; and in case we are not able to procure any favour from this government, or should be persecuted so by the enemy as to be obliged to stand out to sea, we shall proceed to Vizagapatam; this we think proper to mention, as it may be necessary that the ships in their way to the bay call there for intelligence, which we shall lodge there, if we are able to procure any conveyances; for the ingratitude of our immediate servants has been such, that we are drove to the necessity of doing every individual office for ourselves; nor have we been able to procure a Pattaman, or a Persian writer; and it is with the utmost difficulty we have hitherto kept together a sufficient number of Lascars to work our ships, and are daily apprehensive they will quit us on the first occasion.

We have desired the gentlemen at Vizagapatam to provide and hold in readiness what provision of every kind they are able to procure, to be put on board the vessels coming down hither.

We request your honour, &c. to represent a full state of all these occurrences to Admiral Watson, the commander in chief of his Majesty's squadron, and entreat his aid and assistance with the fleet, which we hope may be able to proceed hither.

Monfr. Le Beaume, (who had the command of our advanced batteries, and defended the same very gallantly) accompanies Mr. Manningham, and will, in case of accident happening to Mr. Manningham, deliver you these advices; we esteeming Monfr. Le Beaume well qualified to give you a circumstantial detail of our military proceedings, as also inform you of the various stores we are in want of.

As we imagine the news of this capture will produce very bad consequences in England, to the honourable Company's affairs, if they receive it without being informed at the same time of there being a prospect of our settling in Bengal; we are to request your honour will alter your resolution of sending the Delawar to Europe, till you hear the success of the force you may be able to assist us with.

We are, with great respect,  
Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient humble servants,

R. D. &c.

Fulta,  
16 July 1756.



General Letter dated 15th September 1756.

To the honourable the Court of Directors for affairs of the honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

May it please your honours,

As it is probable a vessel may be dispatched for Europe, by the president and council of Fort St. George, or some other nation settled on the coast, and a conveyance offering from hence to Vizagapatam, we think it our duty to give your honours some account of an event which must be of the utmost consequence to your trade.—It is with the greatest concern we find ourselves under the necessity of transmitting your honours such disagreeable news; and shall beg leave to confine ourselves to generals for the present, referring to a future address for the particulars of this affair.

Upon the receipt of your packet by the Delawar, we thought it necessary to put ourselves in the best state of defence we could, and for that purpose gave directions to have the line of guns towards the river repaired and strengthened: While we were carrying on this work, a perwannah arrived from the Nabob Serajah Dowla (who had succeeded to the government upon the death of Alyver de Cawn) forbidding us to erect any new works, or dig a ditch, which he was informed we were doing. As we esteemed this a very unreasonable prohibition, the president made the following reply, by the approbation and consent of the board; That we were not erecting any new fortifications, but only repairing our wharf, which had been much damaged by the freshes; and he had been misinformed in regard to the ditch, having dug none since the invasion of the Marattoes, which had been executed at the request of our inhabitants, and with the approbation of Alyver de Cawn himself.—That we had received advice of there being a likelihood of a rupture between the French and us, and as they disregarded the neutrality of the Mogul's dominions in the last war, by attacking Madrais, we were under some apprehensions of their making some attempt upon our settlement, should there be a declaration of war between the two nations, for which reason we thought it necessary to be upon our guard, and make our place as defensible as we could.

The Nabob was at that time encamped at Rajamaul; and the gentlemen at Cossimbuzar, a few days after, informed us, that he was much incensed at the foregoing reply, and had ordered their factory to be invested with a party of horsemen. This was confirmed in a second letter from them, with advice that a large body of troops were actually placed upon them, and that more were daily expected; for which reason they desired a reinforcement of military and a supply of stores. Another letter from those gentlemen advised us that troops were daily stationed on them; that the Nabob himself was returning from Rajamaul; that a train of artillery was ordered to be planted against them; and that he threatened to attack as soon as he arrived.—In this letter they requested us to complain against Hukumbeg and his duan, for their extortions of late years, as they looked upon them to be the instigators of these disturbances.

Upon receipt of this letter, we transmitted them a blank arasdas, for them to insert the complaint against Hukumbeg and his duan, as they who were on the spot must be the best judges what to write; and directed them to remonstrate, in that arasdas, the injury done us in surrounding our factory upon so frivolous and unjust a pretence; the falsity of which he might be satisfied of by sending a person to examine and report the works we were carrying on.—We likewise ordered them to endeavour all in their power to accommodate the matter, but on no account to mention the demolition of any works: That in the present situation of affairs we thought it more adviseable to soothe the Nabob than to provoke him, which sending up a reinforcement might occasion; and therefore we thought it best to defer the supply they had requested; and directed them, that in case the Nabob carried matters to extremity, and attacked their factory, to make the best defence they could till the waters rose, and then to retreat, with their garrison, to Calcutta.

Two other letters arrived from Mr. Watts and his council, with intelligence of a further number of troops having surrounded their factory, and that the Nabob was daily expected at Muxadavad, when it was imagined they would actually be attacked.—In the former of these letters they informed us, that one of the principal zemmadars placed upon them, told their doctor, the Nabob was angry with the English on no other account than a draw bridge we had built at Perins, and an octagon at Mr. Kestall's garden, and that if we would destroy those works, the forces would be immediately taken off their factory: In consequence of which information they gave it as their opinion, if the president would address the Nabob, and promise to demolish the draw bridge and octagon, the affair would be accommodated.

This letter was taken into consideration by the board, and, for many strong reasons, it was judged more adviseable to promise the demolition of those works, than hazard a rupture with the Nabob, at a juncture when we were so little prepared for it.—Accordingly an arasdas was wrote to that effect, and triplicates of it forwarded to the chief and council at Cossimbuzar, for them to get delivered. These letters, Messrs. Watts and Collett acquaints us, were not received while the factory remained in our hands.

On the 7th of June we received the disagreeable news of Cossimbuzar factory being delivered up to the Nabob, who had made Mr. Watts a prisoner upon his going to visit him, and forced him to sign a matchculka to the following purport: That we should give no protection

reſtion to the king's ſubjects; that we ſhould deſtroy any new fortifications we had raiſed, and fill up the new ditch; and that if it could be proved we had granted duſticks to any perſons that were not entitled to them, the loſs ſuſtained by the government, in the cuſtoms, ſhould be made good by the Company. Theſe letters likewiſe informed us, the Nabob intended to march to Calcutta with his whole army, which now amounted to 50,000 men, beſides a very large train of artillery.

Upon the receipt of this intelligence we thought it expedient to put our town (which lay extremely open towards the land) in the beſt poſture of defence we could, by throwing up ſuch outworks as the ſhortneſs of the time would admit of, conformable to plans laid before us for that purpoſe, which was accordingly executed. The militia were likewiſe ſummoned and trained, and every thing in our power prepared to ſuſtain our attack, in caſe the Nabob ſhould be raſh enough to carry matters to that extremity.

The 16th of June the van of his army appeared before the redoubt at Perrin's, and about one in the afternoon attempted to force a paſſage that way into the town, but were bravely repulſed by the party ſtationed there, numbers of them being killed; which made them de-camp in the night from thence, and enter the town from the eaſtward; at which quarter it was not in our power to prevent their getting in.—On the morning of the 18th they begun the attack of our lines, and after a very warm fire the whole day from one of our batteries, were obliged to retreat, which made it neceſſary to recall the reſt, that they might not be cut off by the enemy in the rear.

The next morning they commenced a brisk fire upon the fort, which they continued the whole day, and great part of Sunday the 20th; and having gained poſſeſſion of the ſeveral houſes near the factory and church, they deſtroyed a great many officers and private men; who being harrasſed out with continual duty, and the enemy overpowering us with their numbers, the walls were ſcaled on the evening of the 20th, and the fort ſurrendered upon promiſe of their civil treatment of the priſoners.

We have now given your Honours a ſummary relation of the Nabob's proceedings at Coſſimbuzar, his march againſt Calcutta, the attack and capture of that place.

There being ſome country veſſels in the river, ſuch of the inhabitants as could eſcape have been confined in them, and ſuffered the greateſt diſtreſs; moſt of them having loſt every thing they had, and ſcarce ſaved the cloaths on their backs, which has induced us to take the liberty of maintaining them at your Honours expence, which we flatter ourſelves will not be diſapproved of, when it is conſidered how general the calamity has been, and what numbers had it not in their power to ſuſſiſt themſelves by any means whatever.

Our remaining here ſo long has been owing to our judging it abſolutely neceſſary to keep the river, in order to re-eſtabliſh ourſelves in theſe provinces; for which purpoſe we have applied to the preſident and council of Fort St. George, to aſſiſt us with all the force they can poſſibly ſpare from the calls of their own coaſt, and have deputed Charles Manningham, Eſquire, to ſaſſy them of the neceſſity of exerting themſelves on this occaſion, for recovering your Honours ſettlements, rights, and privileges, in theſe provinces: As yet, have received no anſwer from thoſe gentlemen, tho' we daily expect one; and we hope they will not reſuſe or delay ſending us down a conſiderable body of troops, as ſoon as they received our letter upon that head, as their arrival at this juncture would enable us to re-eſtabliſh your honours in all the privileges and immunities of the royal firmaund. The country being involved in troubles by the appointment of another ſubah from Dilly, who is joined by ſome royal troops, and ſeveral conſiderable jummadars, that have deſerted Serajah Dowla; there is likewiſe an invaſion expected from the Maratteos as ſoon as the rains take off; and by the intelligence we have received from Coſſimbuzar, the Nabob is greatly embarrassed.

We have likewiſe applied to the preſident and council of Bombay for a ſupply of troops; and in caſe theſe two preſidencies give us the neceſſary aſſiſtance, we may hope, in a ſhort time, to acquaint your Honours of our being re-ſettled upon a ſecure and reſpectable footing.

The gentlemen of Luckipore and Bulromgurry have ſafely withdrawn their factories, purſuant to our orders, and brought away all their military ſtores, with what caſh and effects were laying in their reſpective factories; thoſe at Dacca could not do the ſame, for want of conveyances; all their boats being ſeiſed by the Nabob of that place; but were obliged to ſurrender after they heard of the loſs of Fort William.

By the next conveyances we ſhall tranſmit your honours copies of our proceedings ſince the loſs of Calcutta, with the caſh account, and what other papers are material: and are with the greateſt reſpect,

May it pleaſe your Honours,

Your faithful and moſt

Obedient humble ſervants,

Roger Drake, junior,  
William Watts,  
James Killpatrick,  
Richard Becher,  
Paul Richard Pearkes,  
W. Frankland,  
M. Collet,  
J. Z. Holwell,  
W. Macl.ett,  
P. Amyatt.

Fort William,  
the 15th September 1757.

Letter



Letter from Messrs. Becher, Scrafton, Hyndman, and Waller, at the French Factory at Dacca.

To the honourable Court of Directors for Affairs of the honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

May it please your Honours,

1. The present melancholy situation of your affairs in Bengal will appear a very sufficient apology for our not addressing you in the usual form of your council; some are killed, some prisoners, and those who remain, retired with Mr. Drake we know not well whither. You have been doubtless long since informed of Ali Verdi Khan's having named Seir Rajah Dowlat his successor to this province, in prejudice of his nephews, Newages Mahmud Khan and Sahid Hamud Khan; the former of which had his residence at Muxadavad, the latter in the Proonean country, of which he was Nabob.—The succession of Seir Rajah Dowlat, notwithstanding this preference, was greatly doubted; his competitors were rich and powerful, both men of much more experience in life; the one esteemed of abilities greatly superior; fortune however had adopted him, and took care to pave his way to that point of grandeur to which he is now arrived. In December last died Newages Mahmud Khan, a few months after the Nabob of Poornea, and on the 9th of April Ali Verdi Khan breathed his last. The widow of Newages for some time maintained a faint shew of opposition to the succession of Seir Rajah Dowlat, in favour of a boy, named Muradel Dowlat, nephew to Seir Rajah Dowlat, and who had been adopted by her late husband. But deserted by her adherents, she was necessitated to drop it, and to claim the protection of Seir Rajah Dowlat, at this time firmly established. Kiffendas, son to Rajabullub, who had long acted as prime minister to Newages Mahmud Khan, is said to have retired to Calcutta, in March last, with immense riches of his father's, and of the widow of his late master.—The protection granted to this man, and the refusal of delivering him up when demanded, is universally believed to be the cause of all our misfortunes. Umbrage taken at some new works of fortification, which were carrying on at Calcutta, and artful insinuations to the Nabob, that the English were putting themselves in a state to make war upon him, may be the pretences.—On the 23d of May the factory at Cossimbuzar was invested by a body of about 500 men; from that time till the 3d of June, fresh forces were daily arriving, when the number is said to have consisted of 50,000. That day the Nabob Seir Rajah Dowlat likewise arrived, with a large body of horse, the rear of his army; the day following he is said to have dispatched a messenger to Mr. Watts, to signify his desire of a conference with him: this was complied with: Mr. Watts was no sooner in his presence than he was made prisoner, and the messenger returned to the factory, for Messrs. Collet and Batson, the only two gentlemen in council at that time at Cossimbuzar: he told them their presence was necessary to undersign a paper, to which Mr. Watts had set his name, and which, without theirs, would not be valid. These two gentlemen likewise waited on the Nabob; the latter was immediately made prisoner, and the former sent back to the factory, with orders to the officer who commanded, to deliver it up to whoever the Nabob should appoint to take possession of it, with guns, ammunition, &c. His orders were conformed to, and the Nabob took possession of it the 6th. This done, orders were issued for the march of the army towards Calcutta. For the particulars of the siege of that place and Fort William, we must beg leave to refer your honours to some of those gentlemen who continued in the fort till it was taken. The accounts we have vary much, and are difficult to reconcile; all agree in this, that many brave men have died miserably, whose lives might have been saved by the smallest degree of good conduct and resolution in their leaders.—That Mr. Drake refused listening to any terms of accommodation, said to have been proposed by the Nabob, while at Hughley, to avert the storm which threatened the colony, is what we can hardly credit, though this is confidently affirmed. In a garrison so ill provided as it appears Fort William was, it would certainly have been eligible to have submitted to any for the present, and to have waved his resentment till a change of circumstances might enable him to gratify it, and to obtain such as were more advantageous. The Nabob in his return from Calcutta, after marching a number of his men through Chandernagore, and committing many irregularities, extorted from the French the sum of three lacks of rupees, and from the Dutch 450,000. and from the Danes 50,000. The French have behaved with the greatest humanity to such as have taken refuge at their factory; and the tenor of their conduct every where to us, on this melancholy occasion, has been such as to merit the grateful acknowledgement of our nation. The sloop which, in our correspondence with Monsi. Courtin, your Honours will observe we became answerable for, to prevent the ill consequences of Mr. Amyatt's seizing her at so critical a juncture, is, with her cargo, we are informed, safely arrived at Chandernagore.

2. It was on the 23d of May, as in a preceding paragraph we have acquainted your Honours, that Cossimbuzar factory was first invested. It was the 9th of June before we had any letter from the gentlemen in Calcutta; it was dated the 3d, and in general terms directed us to be upon our guard, as the Nabob had taken offence at some works which were carrying on at Calcutta, and it was uncertain to what lengths his caprices and passion might lead him: our situation, and the want of embarkations, rendered a compliance with their orders of the

7th (received the 12th) utterly impracticable: for our reasons fully deduced, we beg leave to refer your Honours to our consultation of the 12th, in those, and our public letters, both which accompany this address to your Honours, the consultation of the 3d and 5th excepted, two copies of which have been sent to Calcutta, but the originals we have not been able to get out of the factory: we have been sufficiently explicit to enable you to judge and determine on our conduct, and shall not enter into a further detail.

3. As your books and papers are all in the possession of the Nabob, we cannot, with exactness, inform you of the loss you have sustained at your factory at Dacca. If they will permit us to extract a few minutes from the books, we shall shortly be able to make it up, and your Honours may depend on having it by the first occasion.

4. As to ourselves we have lost every thing; a consciousness of having to the utmost of our abilities discharged our duty to your Honours, and the hopes of your future favour, should it appear to you we have acted in such a manner as to deserve it, must, for the present, support us. Your Honours will do us the justice to believe, that in the surrender of our factory without resistance, we have not been actuated by any unmanly attachment to life. Every necessary disposition our situation would admit of had been made; and while Fort William stood, our resolution was taken to defend ourselves to the last extremity.— That gone, and all hopes of assistance cut off, it is certain we might have died, or by exasperating an ungenerous enemy, exposed ourselves to ignominy and torment, but this would in no shape have availed your Honours.

5. The French gentlemen at Chandernagore and Cossimbuzar are warmly soliciting our liberty; if we are so happy as to obtain it, we propose going to Madras in the first ship; where we shall be ready, to serve your Honours in any suitable employment your President and Council there may point out to us, till your pleasure is known:

6. Exclusive of the gentlemen whose names appear at the foot of this letter, there are prisoners with us here, Mr. John Cartier, a factor of one year's standing; Mr. John Johnstone just commencing, Assistants Licut. John Cudmore, and Mr. Nathaniel Wilson, Surgeon; Mr. William Sumner, the second at this factory, absent at Calcutta, by permission, and who we hear is safe, having been ordered on board ship some days before the place was taken.

We advised the gentlemen at Madras of this unhappy event, as soon as we could collect any particulars which we thought carried an appearance of truth.

We are, with great respect,  
May it please your Honours.

Your Honours faithful

Humble servants,

Richard Becher,  
Luke Scrafton,  
Thomas Hyndman,  
Samuel Waller.

From the French factory at  
Dacca, July 18th, 1756.

Extract of a Letter from Messrs Watts and Collet, to the honourable the Court of Directors.

To the honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies.

May it please your Honours,

It is with the utmost concern we now inform you, that Fort William was taken the 20th of June by the Nabob of Bengal, grandson of Alliverdicawn, who died last April. The first rise of these troubles are as follows:

Some time after his coming to the government, he sent one Narran Sing, brother to Rogeram, who is Nabob at Cuttack, and commander of the Spys (which in this country is a considerable post) to Calcutta, where he arrived privately, and in disguise, with a letter from the Nabob to the Governor; which the Governor did not think proper to receive, as it was presented in such a way, but turned Narran Sing with disgrace out of the place. The Chief of Cossimbuzar, being apprehensive that this might occasion some trouble, wrote to the Durbar officers, to prevent any complaint being made to the Nabob, and the affair was seemingly hushed up; but a few days were elapsed, when he sent for our Vaqueel, and told him he heard they were making fortifications, and digging a ditch round Calcutta; and insisted that we should level our new works, and fill up the ditch. Upon the Vaqueel's returning from the Durbar, and acquainting the Chief with what the Nabob said, he wrote to him, that he had not heard of any new fortifications being raised, or ditch dug; and that we were apprehensive that our enemies, for their own lucrative advantages, had raised these reports; to this letter he returned no answer, but sent a purwannah to Calcutta, ordering them to desist from fortifying, and to level what new works they had begun. He then marched to the northward, and gave out he was going to Patna. On his arrival at Rajamaul, he received the Governor's answer, at which he was greatly incensed, and immediately ordered a party of horse and gun men upon our factory, and returned back himself



with the greatest expedition with his whole army, which encamped round our factory, and according to the most moderate computation consisted of 10,000 horse, and 20,000 Rajepouts, and other gun men, with a large train of artillery; and then demanded the Chief to come out, and see him; the Nabob's Duan, who commanded the van of the army, writing the Chief a letter, that he might come out with great safety, that no harm should happen, and that he would introduce him to the Nabob: upon this we thought proper to send the surgeon of the factory to the Duan; and he gave him the same assurances, and sent him back with a considerable person, and a present of beetle (which is esteemed a pledge of faith) to accompany the Chief to the Duan, who was to introduce him to the Nabob; accordingly, agreeable to the unanimous opinion of the gentlemen of the factory, and officer of the garrison, the Chief went, and was presented by the Duan to the Nabob; who immediately ordered him into confinement, and insisted on his giving an obligation, that in 15 days time the gentlemen of Calcutta should level what new works they had raised, deliver up the Nabob's tenants, who had fled for protection there; and that if it should be proved we had falsified the Company's dustucks, by giving them to those that had no right to them, we should pay back what the government had suffered by loss of duties: the chief, being in their hands, was obliged to sign this. They then told him, that his signing was of no consequence, without the rest of the Council; accordingly, upon the Surgeon's returning to the factory, with an eunuch of the Nabob's, and two or three others, who acquainted Messrs. Collet and Batson, that it was necessary they should go to the Chief to make an end of the affair; they went, and were detained prisoners, nothing more being said about the obligation the Chief had signed. The next day we were ordered to deliver up our ammunition and cannon, which, upon mature deliberation, we thought proper to comply with, in hopes to entirely pacify the Nabob, and prevent his march to Calcutta. The army then drew off from the factory.

Extract of Mr. Drake's Letter to the Council at Fort William, dated Calcutta, 17th to 25th January 1757.

Par. 4. Referring to Mr. Becher's letter, under date of the 26th November last, that gentleman condemns my conduct, in that I granted protection, or admitted into Calcutta, Kiffendafs; that I refused to receive the Nabob's perwannah, and insulted the messenger; the assuming to myself such an authority to act without the advice, or acquainting my Council thereof; my not using proper means to accommodate matters, when I found the Nabob irritated; and not securing on board the ships the Company's books, papers, and treasure; and finally abandoning the fort in the manner I did: To all which accusations I reply, That the admission of Kiffendafs into Calcutta was permitted by Mr. Manningham, in my absence on a visit to Ballasore, where I went, after the dispatch of our last Europe ship that season, the 9th of March, and returned the 21st of said month. Kiffendafs I think arrived here the 16th, and he, or some of his people, introduced a letter from Mr. Watts to Mr. Manningham, with one inclosed for myself under a flying seal, to the following purport, as far as my remembrance leads me: That an application had been made to him by Rajahbullub (who is father to Kiffendafs) requesting he would admit his (Rajahbullub's) family into Calcutta for the space of two months, until one of the women was brought to bed, and able to proceed on her journey to Jaggernot Pagod; and strenuously recommended we would not refuse that request, as Rajahbullub was likely to hold great posts in the government, and might, from such favour shewn his family, be instrumental of giving an uninterrupted currency to our business at Dacca and its dependencies; which recommendation from Mr. Watts, who then was so nearly situated to the Durbar of Muxadavad, drew a grant from Mr. Manningham, to admit Kiffendafs, his family, and attendants, into our bounds. I think Messrs. Frankland and Holwell are able to testify that such a letter was penned by Mr. Watts, nor would I be understood to throw any blame on Mr. Manningham, for having had regard thereto; had I been present on Kiffendafs his arrival, I should certainly adhered to so strong a recommendatory letter from our chief at Cossimbuzar; nor was any disturbance surmised would happen on account of that family's residence here, or on any other account, until about the 15th of April, when a perwannah arrived, said to contain an immediate demand, from the Nabob, of Rajahbullub's family and wealth; which leads me to answer Mr. Becher's second accusation, That I refused to receive the said perwannah, and insulted the messenger, by Messrs. Manningham, Holwell, and myself, is a fact, and the messenger was ordered out of the bounds. Our then reasons, that induced us to act, were, that this messenger, or rather spy, came into our bounds in disguise, and his first foot on shore was at Omichund's house, who received him privately, and a perwannah for himself, tending, as we learnt, to this purport, that he, Omichund, was to interest himself to obtain the immediate delivery of Rajahbullub's sons and family to Narrandafs, brother to Rojeram, the Nabob's head spy: This first arbitrary and unusual proceeding of the new Nabob, before his having advised our Presidency, (as has ever been customary on change of government) of his succession to the government, caused a suspicion, that the said perwannah had been wrote without his consent or knowledge; and not at that time having had any intelligence from Mr. Watts, that such a person had been dispatched by the Nabob, joined with the fear Omichund shewed on the occasion, determined us to reject the perwannah (which



(which Mr. Manningham or myself never had a sight of) and to order Narrandass instantly out of our bounds; and if that gentleman and Mr. Holwell will recollect, I think they must acknowledge I then produced Mr. Watts his original letter, recommending, in most strenuous terms, the reception of that family into our settlement, with two or three others; certifying how useful the retaining Rajahbullub in our interest would be, who was likely to hold great posts in the government; at the same instant I was required by those gentlemen to acquaint Mr. Watts of the clandestine manner whereby Narrandass stole into our bounds; of our refusal to receive the perwannah, and his being ordered to quit our settlement: To which Mr. Watts replied, That our Vaqueel had represented to the chief Durbar officers the whole that had happened; and that the reply thereto was, That we surely had a right to dismiss such people out of our bounds. It is with regret I mention not having Mr. Watts his letters to produce; but I appeal to Mr. Manningham, Frankland, and Holwell, to whom I communicated, at different times, the purport of those letters, whether circumstances to be gathered therefrom were not implying, that Rajahbullub would be taken into favour again; and advising, rather shewing, civility to his family than any way to distress them; giving his opinion, that we should be cautious, and not let them leave Calcutta: One letter did imply to give them warning to depart, as the space of time, his father had applied for their residence here, was nigh elapsed; that was soon contradicted; and I call on Mr. Watts to declare, whether I did not frequently express, I was apprehensive that family's residence here would bring the Company's affairs into trouble; and whether I ever shewed any disinclination to their quitting the bounds, or submitting to the delivery of them, had the Nabob openly required it. Further, Mr. Watts wrote me, he had acquainted the principal men a Muxadavad, that I should have no objection to deliver up Kissendass; but that he thought I should not consent to the giving up of his women, nor would that be insisted on. To the blame Mr. Becher is pleased to cast on me, for assuming to myself the sole authority of acting without the consent or advice of my council, in the protection granted Kissendass, and the dismissal of the messenger who brought the perwannah for the immediate delivery of him and his family, I must beg leave to refer, in part thereof, to my reply to his foregoing accusation against my conduct; wherein it will appear, beyond contradiction, that I assumed no power of acting by arbitrary will: I could wish the perwannah had not been refused, but in public council, which sat that very morning; and the gentlemen were assembled in the consultation room before Messrs. Manningham and Holwell quitted my apartment, and were all well acquainted with the steps we had taken; but not one member of the board opened his mouth to speak thereon, which was their duty to do, had they then imagined evil consequences would be the attendant on that proceeding; which leads me to remark, that no gentleman of the council can excuse himself for that silence; as I think I shall be supported in declaring, I never attempted to bridle their tongues. I further am led to think, that Mr. Becher, who was in Calcutta from the latter end of February to the beginning of April, though not obliged to attend our councils, when his absence from his chiefship at Dacca, on account of his own concerns, was permitted, might then have set forth his apprehensions that such our proceedings were wrong, which any slight intimation of to, or at, the board, would have saved me many an unhappy reflection on what my character has since suffered from after-thinking men: what availed it me, or either Messrs. Manningham or Holwell, whether Rajahbullub's family was, or was not, to be admitted and kept in our town; but to hold in good correspondence and harmony, people who then had great influence at the Durbar, thereby to promote the interest of our employers, and to act according to the chief of Cossimbuzar, his recommendation, who has always been supposed a competent judge how to hold the great men in favour at the Durbar; even had any letter, private or general, from Cossimbuzar, intimated so far as even an apprehension, that the protecting Kissendass would be likely to draw on the Nabob's anger, I dare aver either of those two gentlemen would have communicated the same in public council; I answer I should for myself; and I am sure liberty of speech and writing has too much prevailed in this settlement not to admit it from any person who then thought the Company's interest was injured. I should fall into the same error with after conjectures, if I ask why the gentlemen of Cossimbuzar did not, at any time, inform us it was a wrong proceeding to continue Rajahbullub's family with us: if they thought so, it was their duty to have set forth the Nabob was irritated thereat, and at the dismissal of the spy; but far otherwise, no mention was ever made to us from that factory of any umbrage the Nabob took on that account; not even the name of any of Rajahbullub's family appeared in their general letters. The next accusation Mr. Becher is pleased to alledge against me, though I think it may be deemed rather a general blame on the whole board, is, that I did not use proper means to accommodate matters when I found the Nabob irritated. I would ask Mr. Becher, if he has hitherto made an enquiry, or from his certain knowledge can give the board intelligence, what methods were pursued to hinder the Nabob's approach, and to specify his ungovernable passion and premeditated resolution to extirpate the English from his dominions. I shall not therefore immediately enter here a detail of those measures, but think they promised to be the most effectual means those members present could take; and, I do conjecture, will be now so by them acknowledged, as the appearance and circumstances of every matter then presented itself to us.



## A P P E N D I X. No. 4.

At the East India House, Thursday, December 2 1762.

Present, All the Commissaries, English and Dutch.

The Dutch commissaries acknowledging the candour of the English, in sending them copies of their treaties with the Nabobs, observed, that a 13th article, as transmitted by Colonel Clive to the government of Chinsurah, and inserted in the Appendix to their memorial, page 12, is not to be found in either of those treaties; the English commissaries disavowed all knowledge of that article: with this declaration the others seemed much satisfied, saying, that if this article had stood confirmed, it would have been the greatest grievance they had to complain of.

Letter from the English commissaries to Lord Clive, relative to the 13th article, and Lord Clive's answer thereto.

At the East India House, Tuesday the 14th of December 1762.

Present, All the English Commissaries. Also, Mr. Dunning.

A letter was agreed upon, by the gentlemen, to Lord Clive, to be signed by the secretary, desiring his lordship to enable them to clear up the difficulty with the Dutch commissaries, concerning the 13th article of the treaty with Jaffier Aly Khan, inserted in the 12th page of the Appendix to the memorial of the Dutch Company; the said letter being as follows:

My Lord,

In the course of the conferences between the English and Dutch commissaries, the latter have very strongly pressed the point of the letter and article inclosed from your lordship to Mr. Bisdorn, as mentioned in the 12th article of the Appendix to their memorial:—In respect of the article, the English commissaries have given the answer your lordship instructed them to give in your letter to Mr. Rous, of the 18th of August, that is, that it was in the Persian language, and had been misinterpreted; but they observe, that the letter in which this article was inclosed, speaks of it as a 13th article, which had been solemnly ratified and confirmed by oath, on one side by the Nabob, and on the other by the English East India Company—Whereas the treaty appears to consist of 12 articles, and therefore the Dutch insinuate, that whether the article, as they have printed it, be well or ill translated from that inclosed in your lordship's letter; the letter itself, which speaks of a 13th article, must be a misrepresentation, and in this way the English commissaries apprehend they mean to impeach the credit of your lordship's attestation, on which our defence chiefly rests.

I am ordered by the gentlemen to communicate this to your lordship, and to add, that as they have no doubt but your lordship can, they trust you will, enable them to clear up this difficulty.

I am, with the greatest respect,

Your lordship's most obedient,

and most humble servant,

Robert James, Secretary.

East India House,  
the 14th Dec. 1762.

Right honourable Lord Clive.

Wednesday, the 15th Dec. 1762.

Received the following answer of this date from Lord Clive, to the letter sent his lordship yesterday, by order of the English Commissaries, viz.

SIR,

I desire you will inform the gentlemen of the Committee, that I think I cannot explain myself much more fully on the subject than I have already done. I do remember to have wrote such a letter as is set forth in the 12th page of the Appendix in the Dutch memorial; but as I am without a copy of that letter, I cannot be certain the article I sent Mr. Bisdorn was called the 13th; if it was, it must be a mistake in the interpreter, because I do not understand Persian, and all the articles were wrote in that language; but as I did inclose to Mr. Bisdorn an article, I do verily believe, nay I am almost certain, it must be the second article which has been falsely translated to serve a particular purpose; and I must insist upon it, if what they call the 13th article should prove to be, verbatim, the same as the second article, which can only be proved by producing the Persian article itself, it must prove, that there never existed a 13th, because it would be absurd to repeat the same article twice.

As

As to the solemn ratification and confirmation by oath, &c. that might have been sent with the Persian article, to enforce it with Mr. Bidom, though it be no part of that particular article, but belongs to, and succeeds, the whole.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

Berkeley Square,  
15th Dec. 1762.

Clive.

Robert James, Esquire.

## A P P E N D I X, No. 5.

Letter from Mr. Drake, &c. dated 14th July 1757.

To the honourable the Secret Committee for affairs of the honourable United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies.

Honourable Sirs,

1. We have given you a full account of the state of these provinces, and our transactions, to the 26th March; triplicate of which advices were forwarded by his majesty's sloop of war, the King's Fisher.

2. This letter is purposely to acquaint you of a happy revolution in the government of this kingdom, in favour of Jaffier Aly Khan, of the part we took in this affair, and our motives for it; and of the advantages obtained, by espousing the present Subah's cause, and placing the sway in his hands.

3. On the first of May Colonel Clive laid before us two letters he had received from Mr. Watts, dated the 26th and 28th April, in which, after some observations on the strangeness of the Nabob's behaviour, and that all degrees of people were persuaded he would break with us upon the first favourable opportunity, he proceeds to inform the Colonel, that Jaffier Aly Khan had sent for Coja Petrose, and given him to understand, that most of the Nabob's principal officers were tired of his government, and ready to desert him and set up another, if we would countenance and support the confederacy with the assistance of our troops: that if we approved of this scheme, he desired our demands of what monies, lands, &c. would induce us to engage in the business.—In the last of the abovementioned letters Mr. Watts repeats his apprehensions of the Nabob's design to break the treaty he made with us, urges a speedy answer might be sent to Jaffier Aly Khan's proposal, and gives it as his opinion, the project was feasible, and might be executed without much difficulty.

4. As a proposition of this importance required our most serious consideration, we accordingly debated maturely the consequences of embracing this offer, and whether it should be accepted or declined.—After a long consultation, in which every reason for and against the scheme was collected, and deliberately argued on; it was the unanimous sense of the Committee, that a revolution in the government, whatever hands it fell into, would be advantageous to the English; that there could be no hurt in trying to effect it, as our good understanding with Serajah Dowla was extremely precarious, and a rupture with him universally expected as soon as the squadron and army left us; and that by joining Jaffier Aly Khan, to supplant him, we should obtain, in all probability, very beneficial terms for the Company, as well as live free of any apprehensions from the country government. But as these general reasons would not have justified our embarking the Company in such an undertaking, and hazarding a breach with Serajah Dowla, after concluding the peace we did, we think it necessary to recite at large our motives for engaging in a confederacy to change the government, and doubt not they will be esteemed sufficient by our employers, to vindicate our proceedings.

5. First, it was evident to us, from the whole tenor of the Nabob's behaviour since the peace, that we could not possibly rely on his friendship; and that the treaty made with him would soon be violated, when once he thought himself superior to us in strength; his delay in performing the agreement, many of the articles being at that time as far from being completed as at first; the evasion of giving us any satisfaction for the losses suffered by our inhabitants, through Monichund's means; the small sum of money which was pretended to be given credit for in his Sircarry, being scarce a tenth part of the loss sustained by the Europeans alone; with several other parts of his conduct; were so many convincing proofs, that his friendship was insincere; and that he could not abide by his treaty, which the exigency of his situation alone inclined him to make.

6. Secondly, There was the greatest reason to imagine he was an utter enemy to the English, and privately endeavouring to bring in the French, with promises of joining them against us. We were confirmed in this opinion, from the great aversion he shewed to our molesting the French at Chandernagore; his espousing and protecting Monsieur Law and his party after that place was taken; his keeping them in his pay; and the certain intelligence we had received from all quarters, of his writing frequently to Monsieur Bouffé, sending him large presents, and inviting him to march this way.—This was so notorious, that it was publicly talked of and known, his Collids passing almost daily through Ballasore; and but a few days before, some elephants and scerpaws arrived at that place, in their passage to Monsieur Bouffé's camp.



7. Lastly, There was great room to think he did not mean well, by the orders he had given to fortify Cutwah, and the removing of Suffras Cawn's family from Dacca into Peoranea.—The interruption our boats and people met with in their way to Cossimbuzar, contrary to the treaty of peace, with many actions of the same nature, which put it beyond all doubt, that this dislike and jealousy of our nation was rooted; and that he would not miss any opportunity of ruining our affairs, and extirpating the English out of his country.—It was therefore but common prudence to prevent our own ruin; which could not be done so effectually any other way, than by divesting the Nabob of the power of hurting us.

8. Another inducement to undertake this affair, was the universal hatred of all sorts and conditions of men to Serajah Dowla; the affection of his army alienated from him, by his ill usage of the officers; and a revolution so generally wished for, that it is probable it would be attempted (and perhaps successful) even without our assistance; in which case it would have availed us but little: whereas by countenancing the confederacy, and supporting it with our whole force, we might make our own terms, benefit our employers, both by present and future advantages, do a general good, procure some satisfaction to the inhabitants of our colony for their heavy losses in the capture, establish the tranquillity of the country, and by that means open a greater currency than ever to our business; and lastly, cut off the expectation of the French, and keep them totally out of these dominions.

9. Motives so interesting, and founded upon the prime law of self-preservation, determined us to embrace the proposal made by Jaffier Aly Khan, provided adequate terms were granted in consideration of entering into a fresh war with the Nabob, whose consequence must have proved very detrimental to our affairs, if the success of it had not been answerable to our expectations. Accordingly, after some consideration, the following demands were esteemed equitable and reasonable to be asked, viz. That our firmans and the privileges acquired by the treaty with Serajah Dowla, be confirmed, and punctually complied with; that restitution be made of the Company's whole loss, and the loss of the European inhabitants of Calcutta; that our bounds be augmented; that we have liberty to fortify Cossimbuzar; that an offensive and defensive alliance be made against all enemies of both parties, as well Europeans as others; and that the French be not permitted to resettle in these provinces; that the Moors do not fortify within twenty miles of the river side from Fughley down to Ingellic; and that the revenues of a certain track of land be made over and assigned to us, in consideration of our maintaining a good body of troops. These terms were accordingly transmitted to Mr. Watts, to get Jaffier Aly Khan to assent to them.

10. On the 17th May, colonel Clive laid before us a letter from Mr. Watts, with such articles of agreement as Jaffier Aly Khan's confidant had assured him would be accepted of, and requesting, that if they were approved of by the admiral and committee, they might be ingrossed in cypher, signed and sealed by them, and returned to him to get them executed by Jaffier Aly Khan: as those articles were greatly more advantageous for the Company than the terms we had demanded, there could be no objection to them on our part; they were accordingly approved of, and ordered to be ingrossed with some alterations, relating to the satisfaction of private sufferers. The substance of them you will find in the translate of the Persian treaty, herewith transmitted for your observation.

11. In order to prevent the least suspicion of what we were doing, our troops were ordered into quarters, part of them in Calcutta, and part in Chandernagore; and the Nabob wrote to (agreeable to Jaffier Aly Khan's advice) to recall his army encamped at Plassey and Dandpore.

12. Matters being advanced thus far, it was next judged proper to obtain, if possible, a personal conference between Jaffier Aly Khan, and some person of trust and confidence on our part: to effect this, without alarming the Nabob's suspicions, it was proposed for the colonel to send the Nabob a letter by Mr. Scrafton's hands, acquainting him, that he had an affair of consequence to communicate, by which means Mr. Scrafton might have an opportunity of seeing Jaffier Aly Khan, and confer with him on the plan of operations for executing our project; to assure him of our attachment to his interest; and to use his endeavours to get such security as could well be given, without discovering the scheme.

13. On the 19th May the treaty being ingrossed in the manner Mr. Watts had requested, it was signed and sealed by the admiral and the members of the committee.

14. From that time till the 11th June, the colonel received several letters from Mr. Watts, confirming us in the opinion we had conceived of the Nabob's writing to Monsieur Bouffé to march this way, and extirpate the English. These letters likewise gave a detail of the progress of our negotiation with Jaffier Aly Khan, who on the 15th ultimo signed, sealed, and solemnly swore in the presence of Mr. Watts, to abide by the treaty he had made with the English; and to perform punctually the agreement on his part, as soon as he was in possession of the subahship.

15. Mirza Oinar Beg, on the 11th ultimo, arrived at the French gardens, where we assembled a committee, and had the treaty in Persian executed by Jaffier Aly Khan, delivered us by the above-mentioned person, who gave us the greatest assurances of his friendship and esteem for the English; that there would be very little difficulty in effecting a change of government; and that we might depend upon it, Jaffier Aly Khan would be punctual in performing every article of his agreement.

16. Mr. Watts, his letters all urging the immediate march of our troops towards Muxadavad; and the committee for many reasons judging it best to lose no time, as this appeared the most favourable conjuncture we could have to succeed in our enterprize; and as a delay might not only produce a discovery of our confederacy, and consequently the ruin of our project, but would greatly diminish our strength, while the Nabob would have time to augment his army, by calling in his troops from all quarters, and enlisting others; it was therefore resolved to set out immediately, and on the 13th of June our troops began their march.

17. On the 19th or 20th June, Cutwah town and fort (a strong place) was taken by our troops, where the colonel remained two or three days, to get some advice or letter from Jaffier Aly Khan, having received but one in his way up.—The 26th June we had the pleasure to receive a letter from him, with the news of a complete victory obtained over Serajah Dowla, in the plains of Platley; his whole army and himself being fled, and we in possession of his camp, ordnance, &c. That Jaffier Aly Khan, Roydoolub, and Lutter Caun, had observed a neutrality during the engagement, and were with the colonel at the time of writing of his letter.

18. On the 29th we received the agreeable news of Jaffier Aly Khan's being in possession of the city and kila of Muxadavad; that Serajah Dowla had withdrawn privately, but it was not doubted would be soon taken; and that Mohunloll was prisoner at the city. In a letter of the 30th June, colonel Clive acquainted us of his having seated Jaffier Aly Khan in the musnud; and that he had received the homages of his jemidars and people, as subah of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

19. We now beg leave to congratulate you, honourable Sirs, and the Company, on our success in this important business, and the happy change of government established in these dominions so fortunately and speedily. Our loss has been but very trifling, not above 20 Europeans being killed, and wounded.

20. The advantages of the treaty made with the present Nabob, are too apparent to want any comment, if the terms are punctually complied with, which we have not the least reason to doubt; but we must take the liberty to recommend to your serious consideration, the preservation of the grants and privileges acquired by this revolution, which can be done only by keeping up a large body of troops in the country: as it is the Company's interest to exert themselves on this occasion, we make no doubt you will immediately enlist, and send out a sufficient number of recruits, to make a respectable garrison in Bengal, which should consist of a body of two thousand Europeans at least, which expences we think will be overpaid by the advantages of our acquisitions: we flatter ourselves, therefore, you will not, on any account, neglect the sending such a body of Europeans as we have mentioned to be necessary: this we are of opinion will be the only method of preventing, in future, the encroachments of the country government, to make our friendship and alliance courted, to carry on our trade on the securest footing, and to oppose the re-settlement of the French in these provinces.

21. Upon examining the treasury, Roydoolub pretended there was but one crore and 50 lack of rupees in balance: this obliged colonel Clive to go to the city himself, in order to be near the Nabob. This letter of the 30th ultimo informs us to put an end to all heartburnings and jealousies between us and the Nabob; he agreed to refer the affair to Juggutseat's arbitration: that the Nabob and he accordingly went there; and after some consideration, Juggutseat desired the colonel would not insist immediately on the full payment of the sums stipulated in the treaty; but that half should be made good without delay, in money and jewels; the other half to be paid in three years, at three annual and equal payments. These terms the Colonel consented to, as they were better than he expected, considering the lowness of the Nabob's treasury; since which we learn, that one third in specie of the whole was actually embarking on boats for Calcutta.

22. But as the bad consequences of deferring the payment of any part of the money, appeared to us too evident to be allowed of, if it could be avoided, we have wrote the Colonel our sentiments thereon, and desired the gentlemen of the Select Committee, who are at Muxadavad, to use their best endeavours to obtain immediate payment; but if that is not to be done, to get some good security from the Nabob to abide by his contract; that for our parts, we should prefer Juggutseat's engaging to see it punctually made good; and next to that security, a mortgage of such lands contiguous to Calcutta, whose revenues will be equal to the sum to be received by us annually.

23. Having given you, honourable Sirs, a very particular detail of our transactions, since engaging in the confederacy, to set up Jaffier Aly Khan, we have reason to flatter ourselves you will approve of our conduct through the whole of this nice, but necessary, step.

24. Mr. Manningham is gone up to Muxadavad to assist in hastening the completion of the treaty, and settling such matters as relate to the mercantile part of it.

25. By a letter from Colonel Clive, dated the 30th June late at night, we learnt that Serajah Dowla was taken; and by another letter of the fourth instant, we are informed of his being cut off by Jaffier Aly Khan's son and others.

26. Tranquillity being established by the change, we have advice of people's minds more at ease, and no apprehensions of trouble from the government remaining. We have begun the purchase of this year's investment, by sending money to the different aurgings; and  
hope,



hope, with the assistance of the goods received from Serajah Dowla at our subordinates and aurungs, to be able to send the Company a handsome return from this presidency.

27. As the sum of money to be received from the Nabob, even if Juggutseat's determination is to stand good, will greatly exceed our demands for the investment; we propose to advertize, that all interest notes will be discharged upon being tendered; and that, in case the proprietors do not sue for payment before the first day of October next, the interest will cease from that day. This will ease the Company of a very heavy burthen, and we hope will prove very agreeable news. In this place we must beg leave to remark, that by Juggutseat's determination, the Company are to receive, for three years successively, the sum of 16 lacks and two thirds of rupees in specie, which, with the sale of your annual imports, and the amount of bills of exchange that we shall be under a necessity of granting, will be fully sufficient, we imagine, for the respective investments of those three years, without obliging the Company to run the risque of any bullion for the supply of this presidency, till that term of years is expired.

28. These advices are dispatched in triplicates to the Select Committee of Bombay, to be forwarded to Europe by them, by the quickest conveyances, either by shipping or by land. We shall endeavour to send copies to Fort St. George, to be forwarded from thence to Europe; and shall dispatch the Diligent schooner about the middle of next month directly home, with another copy of this packet; by which means we hope the Company will get the intelligence of what has happened in Bengal before the ships of next season leave England.

29. Since writing thus far, the money from Muxadavad is arrived.

We are, with the greatest respect, honourable Sirs,  
 your most faithful humble servants,  
 Fort William,  
 14th July 1757.

Roger Drake Jun.  
 Richard Becher.

Proceedings 17th May 1757.

Fort William, the 17th May 1757.

Tuesday, 17th May 1757.

At a Committee; Present,  
 The honourable Roger Drake, Esquire, President,  
 Robert Clive, Esquire,  
 James Kilpatrick, Esquire,  
 Richard Becher, Esquire,

The proceedings of the 12th instant being wrote fair, were now read, approved, and signed.

Colonel Clive lays the following letter from Mr. Watts to him, before the Committee; which being read, contained as follows:

Copy of Mr. Watts, his letter to Colonel Clive, dated the 14th May.

I received a letter two days ago from Mr. Scrafton, wherein he writes Omichund, that you have agreed to give him 5 per cent. on whatever money he may receive on the new contract. As I by no means think he merits such a favour, or has acted so disinterested a part as I once imagined, I have not mentioned the 5 per cent. to him. The particulars relating to him, that are come to my knowledge, are these: when our treaty was concluded with the Nabob, and the 20,000 gold mohurs agreed to be given in consideration of the plunder of Calcutta, the Nabob had agreed with Rungeet Roy and Omichund to pay 20,000 gold mohurs more, which they told the Nabob was to be given among the leading men in Calcutta, for assenting to the treaty; besides which, the Nabob agreed to give 2 lack of rupees, half of which Omichund agreed Rungeet Roy was to have; 25,000 rupees he was himself to have; and the other 75,000 rupees was to be disposed of to whom Omichund thought proper to favour. These particulars I had from Omichund himself; and from very good authority have been lately informed, that on the Nabob's arrival here, Rungeet Roy was very pressing with him to comply with his promise of paying the 20,000 mohurs, and the lack of rupees, in hopes of getting possession of the lack of rupees, which the Nabob was not inclinable to pay.—This Omichund observed, and in order to gain favour, at a proper time he told the Nabob, that if Rungeet Roy was suffered to interfere in our affairs, the Nabob would be obliged to pay the above sums; but if he disgraced him, he would save the money.—This advice the Nabob followed, and Omichund, in consideration of this advice, got purwannahs and orders to the several aurungs, to have his money, goods, and effects, delivered up.—To corroborate what I have been informed of, I this day asked Omichund, if I should apply to the Nabob for the money; but he advises me strenuously against it, saying, it was a secret contract, and by no means proper for me to mention, but he would himself think of means to get it.—I shewed the articles you sent up to Omichund, who did not approve of them, but insisted on my demanding for him 5 per cent. on all the Nabob's treasure, which would amount to two crore of rupees, besides a quarter of all his wealth; and that Meer Jaffier should oblige himself to take from the Zemindars no more than they paid in Jaffier Cawn's time.—To secure Roydoolub to his interest, he proposed giving him a quarter part of whatever they could dupe Meer Jaffier out of.—These, and many other articles, in which his

own ambition, cunning, and avaricious views, were the chief motives, he positively insisted on, and would not be prevailed upon to recede from one article.—Perceiving his obstinacy would only ruin our affairs, and that we should alarm the jealousy, and lose the good opinion, of all people, and that the accomplishment of his treaty (if agreed to) would take some years; Meer Jaffier likewise having expressed an utter distrust and disgust at his being any ways concerned in the treaty, and as delays are dangerous; I therefore, with Petrosé, had a meeting with Meer Jaffier's confidant, who sets out to-day with the accompanying articles, which he says, he is sure Meer Jaffier will comply with: If the Admiral and Committee therefore approve of them, I request you will get the articles wrote on large thin paper, in cypher; the sheet to be divided into two columns. On the first division the agreement to be wrote in cypher; which is to be signed by the Admirals; you, the Committee and Council, affirming in the name of God, and our Saviour, that you will abide by this agreement.—In the second division I shall write the agreement in English; and on the third it will be wrote in Persian.—These two last I shall sign and seal when the articles are agreed to.—Meer Jaffier desires to know your opinion with regard to the operations of war.—He thinks it advisable for you to write to the Nabob, that agreeable to his desire, and on promise of his doing the same, you had withdrawn your forces. That while his continued in the field, and the Company's business must continue stopt, and that they could not think of risking their money to the Aurungs, while neither a boat, nor European, could pass without molestation.—You therefore request him, either to comply with his promise recalling his troops to the city, or let you know his real sentiments, that you may take proper measures accordingly.—If the Nabob should comply, Meer Jaffier will acquaint you with his sentiments how further to proceed.—If he refuses, other measures must be pursued. I declare solemnly before God, that what relates to Omichund is strictly true; and the information of him relating to Rungeet Roy I had from good authority; but I request you will, for the present, keep it an inviolable secret; you must be sensible the critical situation of our affairs require it.

Articles sent by Mr. Watts for the approbation of the committee.

- 1st. That Meer Jaffier will confirm all the grants made the English by the present Nabob.
- 2d. That he will make an alliance with the English, offensive and defensive, against all enemies, either country, or European.
- 3d. Wherever the French are in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, to be delivered up, with all their effects and factories, and they never permitted again to settle in either of the said provinces.
- 4th. On account of the Company's losses and expences, to be paid them one crore of rupees.
- 5th. On account of the losses of Europeans, 30 laaks.
- 6th. On account of Jentoo's, 30 laaks.
- 7th. On account of Armenians, 15 laaks.
- 8th. On account of Omichund, 30 laaks.
- 9th. Whatever ground there is within the Calcutta ditch, belonging to the Zemindars, to be given up to the English, and 600 yards without the ditch all round.
- 10th. A tract of land, whose rents in the Mogul's books amount to 100,000 rupees yearly, to be bought at a reasonable rate, from the Zemindars, and the Nabob to assist us in the purchase; we paying the annual pishcah or revenues, as usual, to the Nabob: whatever profit may arise from this Zemindary to go towards paying the English military.
- 11th. Whenever the Nabob wants the assistance of our army, the extraordinary expences to be paid by him.

The committee then proceeded to the examination of the foregoing articles. To the first four, and the 9th, 10th, and 11th, they make no objection, but rather esteem them extremely beneficial to our employers; the 5th, 6th, and 7th, it is judged proper to alter, as we do not think the allowances made there, will bear a just proportion to the real losses of the respective people:—The committee therefore think, that the sum for European losses should be increased to 50 laaks;—That the sum for Jentoo losses should be reduced to 20 laaks; and the Armenian losses to 7 laaks.—These respective sums to be divided among the Europeans, Jentoo's, and Armenians, in such manner as shall appear most equitable to Admirals Watson and Pocock; and the Select Committee, or the latter alone, should the admirals not be on the spot at the time; and that the distribution they make, shall be liable to no contest or appeal.

The article in favour of Omichund, the committee think, should be totally left out, as his behaviour rather merits disgrace and punishment at our hands, than such a stipulation in his behalf.—The committee likewise think, two other articles should be added; viz.

That the Moors do not fortify by the river side, below Houghly.

That the whole of this agreement be fully complied with within one month from his being seated as Nabob, at Muxadavad, or any other city, within the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

It was then considered, how we might deceive Omichund, and prevent a discovery of the whole project, which we run the risque of, should we hesitate or refuse to insist on the unreasonable gratification he expects and demands; and on the other hand, it would be highly improper to stipulate, much more to demand, with any obstinacy, such extravagant terms



from Meer Jaffier, for a person who can be of no service in the intended revolution; so on the other, it would be dangerous to provoke a man of Omichund's character, by seeming to take no care at all of his interests, and slighting his weight and influence, which might prompt him to make a sacrifice of us, and ruin our affairs entirely.

For these reasons we think it will be necessary to form a double treaty, both to be signed by Meer Jaffier, and by us; in one of which, the article in favour of Omichund is to be inserted, in the other, to be left out; and Meer Jaffier is to be informed of that which we design to abide by, and esteem authentic, with our reasons for taking such a step.

A conference with Meer Jaffier being necessary, on this and other accounts, and a difficulty arising how to obtain one, without giving suspicion; it is proposed, that the colonel do write the Nabob a letter, acquainting him that Mr. Scrafton has an affair of great moment to communicate to his private ear; and in order to gain the Nabob's confidence, and incline him to think us sincere in our friendship for him, it is agreed, that Mr. Scrafton carry Balleray's letter to the president, and shew it the Nabob, on his promise of returning it; by which artifice, Mr. Scrafton may have an opportunity, in his way up, to confer with Meer Jaffier (now encamped near Kissnagur) on the following subjects; viz.

To settle a plan of operation for carrying our project into execution; to persuade him of the moderation of our demands; to explain to him the part Omichund is acting; and assure him of our constancy and attachment to his cause; that our request for his not fortifying below Houghly, is not on account of any apprehensions we entertain of his integrity, but to provide against any designs of his successors; and, in fine, that Mr. Scrafton use his endeavours to get such security, as can well be given, without discovering the scheme, that we may have no room to suspect any treachery.

Roger Drake, Junior.  
Robert Clive.  
Richard Becher.

Proceedings, 19th May 1757. Fort William, 19th May 1757.  
Thursday, 19th May 1757.

At a Committee; Present,

The honourable Roger Drake, Esquire, President.  
James Killpatrick, Esquire, Richard Becher, Esquire.

The proceedings of the 17th instant, being wrote fair, were now read, approved, and signed.

Received a letter from Colonel Clive, inclosing the real and fictitious articles of agreement which he desires we will sign, as we may observe dispatch is necessary: by the copy of a letter he now sends for our perusal, from Mr. Watts, he informs us, there are no alterations to the articles we agreed upon, excepting its being left to Mr. Watts his discretion, to demand either a crore, or 50 laaks for the Company, as he finds Meer Jaffier disposed; and an additional article annexed, binding the aforeaid Jaffier Ally Cawn, to the performance of the contract, under the most solemn oaths; and that we, on our part, will assist him with our whole force, to establish him in the government.

Read, Mr. Watts his letter to the Colonel, dated the 16th instant; wherein he informs him, that Meer Jaffier had sent a blank paper, with his seal affixed, for the articles to be wrote on: he recommends the agreement therefore to be returned him with the utmost haste, and every thing will be finished in two hours.

Read, The agreement transmitted by Colonel Clive, to be executed by Admiral Watson, and the Committee; which being approved, was now signed.

Ordered, It be entered after this day's proceedings.

Roger Drake, Junior, Richard Becher.

Translation of the treaty executed by Meer Jaffier.

(Wrote in his own hand)

I swear by God, and the prophet of God, to abide by the terms of this treaty whilst I have life.

Meer Mahmud Jaffier  
Khan Bahadr,  
Servant of King  
Aalungeer.

Treaty made with the Admiral, and Colonel Clive, Sabut Jung Bahadr, and the other Counsellors and Mr. Drake, and Mr. Watts.

1st. Whatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace, with the Nabob Serajah Dowla Munsurulmemalek Shah Kulli Khan Bahadr Hybut Jung, I agree to comply with.

2d. The

2d. The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

3d. All the effects and factories belonging to the French in the provinces of Bengal (the paradise of nations) and Bahar and Orissa, shall remain in the possession of the English, nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three provinces.

4th. In consideration of the losses which the English Company have sustained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta by the Nabob, and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of their forces, I will give them one crore of rupees.

5th. For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I agree to give 50 laak of rupees.

6th. For the effects plundered from the Jentoos, Mussulmen, and other subjects of Calcutta, twenty laak of rupees shall be given.

7th. For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give the sum of seven laak of rupees.—The distribution of the sum allotted the natives, English inhabitants, Jentoos, and Mussulmen, shall be left to the Admiral and Colonel Clive, Sabur Jung Bahadr, and the rest of the Committee, to be disposed of by them, to whom they think proper.

8th. Within the ditch which surround the borders of Calcutta, are tracts of land belonging to several Zemindars, and all the offu; besides this, I will grant the English Company six hundred yards without the ditch.

9th. All the land lying to the south of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, shall be under the Zemindary of the English Company, and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction.—The revenues to be paid by them (the Company) in the same manner with other Zemindars.

10th. Whenever I demand the English assistance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of them.

11th. I will not erect any new fortifications below Hughly, near the river Ganges.

12th. As soon as I am established in the government of the three provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid.

Dated 15th Ramzan, in the 4th year of the reign.

Six Letters from Serajah Dowla to the French, and one from Mr. Law.

No. 1. Supposed to be wrote the latter end of February 1757.

Serajah Dowlah, to the exalted in station, greatest among great officers, the support of friendship, Monsieur Busie Bahadre.

The disturbers of my country, the Admiral and Colonel Clive, Sabur Jung, whom bad fortune attends without any reason whatever, are warring against Zubdateok Toojah, Monsieur Rennault, the governor of Chandernagore: This you will learn from his letters, I, who in all things seek the good of mankind, assist him in every respect, and have sent him the best of my troops that he may join with them and fight the English; and if it becomes necessary, I will join him myself. I hope in God, these English who are unfortunate, will be punished for the disturbances they have raised. Be confident, look on my forces as your own. I have wrote you before for two thousand soldiers and musqueteers, under the command of one or two trusty chiefs: I persuade myself, you have already sent them as I desired; should you not I desire you will do me the pleasure to send them immediately. Further particulars you will learn from Monsieur Rennault. Oblige me with frequent news of your health.

No. 2. Supposed to be wrote about the middle of March 1757:

Serajah Dowla, to the distinguished of the empire, the sword of riches, the victorious in war, Monsieur Busie Bahadre.

I have with great pleasure received news of your being arrived near the Orissa country with a powerful army of soldiers, telingas, &c. to the assistance of the commander of Chandernagore. I promise myself great pleasure in seeing you; a meeting will confirm the great friendship between us. I have ordered the Naibs of the Subah, the Phousdars and Jemidars of Midnapore, to wait on you, and assist you in your march.

No. 3. Supposed to be wrote the latter end of March 1757:

Serajah Dowla to Monsieur Busie Bahadre, &c.

I am advised, that you are arrived at Echapore: this news gives me pleasure; the sooner you come here, the greater satisfaction I shall have in meeting you.—What can I write of the perfidy of the English? They have without ground picked a quarrel with Monsieur Rennault, and taken by force his factory: they want now to quarrel with Monsieur Law, your Chief at Cossimbuzar; but I will take care to oppose and overthrow their proceedings: When you come to Ballasore, I will then send Monsieur Law to your assistance, unless you forbid his setting out. Rest assured of my good-will towards you and your Company; and to convince you of my sincerity, I now send perwannahs to Didarally, and Ramagee Pundit, and to Razarim Sing, that as soon as you may enter the province, that they may meet and lend you all possible assistance, and not on any pretence impede your march. Both at Cuttack Rajah of Ballasore, and Midnapore.



No. 4. Supposed to be wrote the latter end of March 1757.

Serajah Dowla, to Rajaram Sing.

You write me that Monsieur Busie is arrived at Echapore, 6 days journey on this side Chicacul, and 6 days on the other side Cuttack; this letter I have received: You must obtain good intelligence and employ proper hircarras, and so soon as Monsieur Busie is arrived in your limits, receive him in the politest manner, so that he may be well pleased and satisfied with you: The moment Monsieur Busie arrives, present him the inclosed purwannah: Enquire diligently and inform me, whether he has passed the Chilka. I have wrote to Didarally and Rainagee Pundit, that when Monsieur Busie or his army arrives, they do not impede them.

No. 5. Supposed to be wrote the latter end of April 1757.

Serajah Dowla, to Monsieur Law.

I send you 10,000 rupees for your expences. Remain quiet at Rajamaul: When Monsieur Busie Bahadre, &c. comes on this side Cuttack, I will then send for you.

No. 6. Supposed to be wrote the latter end of April 1757.

Serajah Dowla, to Abdoulla.

I have sent Monsieur Law 10,000 rupees: do you countenance and assist him at Rajah-maul; and when I write for him to come here, do you accompany Monsieur Law:—Write the purport of what I now inform you of, to Mahmud Nazam.

No. 7. Monsieur Law, to Monsieur Bugrofs, chief of Sydadabad.

Je viens de recevoir une Lettre du Nabob, par laquelle il m'ordonne de retourner à Meuxadabad; il veut, dit il, se joindre à nous pour tomber sur les Anglois. J'ai reçu aussi une Lettre du Sieur Changeau, qui me donne d'assez bonnes Nouvelles. Je suis surpris que vous ne m'avez rien, car je ne puis croire que vous soyez tout-a-fait ignorant de ce qui se passe. J'envoye Monsieur de Sinfray au Nabob, avec lequel il est chargé d'entrer en Négociation. Il a ordre de rester à notre Loge; comme il est votre Ancien, vous aurez la bonté de le reconnoître pour chef, et de lui obeir en cette Qualité. Peut-être irai-je bientôt vous trouver.

J'ai l'honneur d'être,  
 avec une parfaite Considération,  
 Monsieur,  
 Votre très humble,  
 & très obeissant Serviteur,  
 Law.

Du Camp devant  
 Champagnore, le 4me Mai 1757.

## A P P E N D I X, No. 6.

Letter from Charles Watfon, to President, &c. of Select Committee, dated 3d March.

To the President, &c. Members of the Select Committee.

Gentlemen,

I have the favour of your letter of yesterday's date, acquainting me, the Nabob having signified his dislike to any hostilities being committed on the French within his territories, has occasioned you to alter your opinion of acting offensively against the French within the Ganges; and the French having applied to you, to enter into a neutrality, you have drawn up articles for that purpose, and desire my sentiments and approbation thereon, before you sign it: My approbation you always may depend on, in every thing that will tend to the Company's advantage; how far this neutrality will answer that end, you must be the best judges.—However, as you have desired my sentiments thereon, I have very maturely considered the articles you have drawn up, and am of opinion, the treaty ought not to take place, till such time it is returned from Pondicherry, ratified and confirmed; and then, upon your signifying to me, my observing such a neutrality will be the properest step that can be taken for the advantage of the Company's affairs, I shall, upon such a representation, have no objection to giving you my promise thereto.

This would be making a neutrality on the surest foundation, that can be obtained in this part of the world; and indeed, upon my hearing the first hints from the French of this design, I did suppose the Committee at Chandernagore was invested with proper powers, to make and confirm such a treaty of themselves, otherwise I should not have listened to them as much as I did: But since I have been assured by the present deputies, they have not those powers, but that the articles must be sent to Pondicherry, to be there ratified and confirmed, I can by no means think of agreeing to such a neutrality, whereby it is so evident, the French will have every advantage, and we subject to every uncertainty. Will they not reap immediate benefit by the neutrality as it now stands? And further, shall we be certain of its being complied with, till it is returned from Pondicherry, ratified and confirmed by the Governor and Council there? This appears to me, to be giving so sensible an advantage to the French, without even a possibility of benefitting by it ourselves, that, with regard to myself, I cannot think of giving my consent to its taking place, till such time we are certain it will be agreed to by the Governor and Council of Pondicherry.

The

The 6th says, in order to validate this treaty, and make it more authentic, both parties shall send a Persian form of a guarantee to the Nabob, and use their joint endeavours to prevail on him and some of his principal officers, to sign and swear to the same.

I make no doubt of this being a very proper measure of making the treaty lasting and firm between both nations, provided the objections to the Nabob being properly qualified for such an office, were removed. It is now three weeks since the peace commenced, in which, many articles were promised by him: are they yet complied with? Give me leave to go a little farther, and ask, when they will be complied with? I am afraid it is too difficult a question, to be answered with any degree of exactness. Is it reasonable then to suppose, if the Nabob should sign this guarantee, and swear to the observance of it, that he will pay any more regard to that, than he has done to the fulfilling the several articles of the peace? or is it the policy of this country, to place your confidence in the man who has not observed his word, though bound by the most solemn protestations? If it is, you could not pitch upon a more proper man to guarantee this treaty, than the man you have chose. But as you have desired my sentiments on this matter, I must beg leave to tell you, that I can by no means think the Nabob ought to be address'd on this subject, till he has fulfilled all the articles of the peace; and that appears to me, to be the most necessary business to be hasten'd, and I think as short time as possible should be given him, for the completing it: If he intends peace, and to continue in friendship with us, he will comply; but if not, he will deal evasively, to gain time, till he thinks himself strong enough to return here again; therefore it is my opinion, you should acquaint him, unless the articles are complied with by such a time, you should esteem him as an enemy, and act accordingly.

This, gentlemen, from the best reflections I have been able to make, is my sincere opinion of the subject you desired.

Fort William,

March 3d 1757.

I am, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,

Charles Watson.

P. S. Inclosed, I return you the deputies answer to your articles.

Lord Clive's Letter, dated 4th March 1757.

To the honourable Roger Drake, Esquire, &c. Members of the Select Committee of Fort William.

Gentlemen,

As Mr. Watson has declined accepting the two expedients propos'd to him by us, in refusing either to attack Chandernagore immediately, or enter into such a neutrality with the French, as we have recommended to him, and which we think greatly for the benefit of the East-India Company, both in these provinces, and on the coast of Choromandel; I think he has taken the consequences of all miscarriages upon himself; as in so doing, if I am not misinformed, he runs counter to his Majesty's instructions, which require, that he should give attention to all representations made to him by the Company's agents in India, for the good of their service.

This leads me very seriously to consider the situation of the Company's affairs on the coast, and the positive orders I have received from the President and Committee at Madras, to return at all events with as great a part of the forces under my command as could possibly be spared. This, gentlemen, you are fully acquainted with, and must be sensible, nothing can induce me to risque any longer my return to the coast, now rendered very uncertain by the lateness of the season; but the immediate attack of Chandernagore, become in my opinion, absolutely necessary. If the neutrality be refused, do but reflect, gentlemen, what will be the opinion of the world of these our late proceedings. Did we not, in consequence of a letter received from the Governor and Council of Chandernagore, making offers of a neutrality within the Ganges, in a manner accede to it, by desiring, they would send deputies, and that we would gladly come into such a neutrality with them? And have we not since their arrival, drawn out articles that were satisfactory to both parties; and agreed, that such articles should be reciprocally signed, sealed, and sworn to? What will the Nabob think, after the promises made him on our side, and after his consenting to guarantee this neutrality? he, and all the world will certainly think, that we are men without principles, or that we are men of a trifling insignificant disposition. It is therefore incumbent on us to exculpate ourselves, by declaring the real truth, that we were intirely ignorant of Mr. Watson's intentions to refuse the neutrality in the manner propos'd; and settled by us, and that we always thought him of a contrary opinion, to what his letter declares. I am persuaded, these must be the sentiments of the gentlemen of the Committee, or they never would have gone such lengths, as must expose them to the censure of all reasonable and conscientious men.

You may be assured, the instant the French find their offers of neutrality refused, they will immediately assist the Nabob in all his designs against us, if he has the least intentions of not complying with the late articles of peace; it may then be too late to wish Mr. Watson had been pleas'd to pay more attention to our representations.

Give me leave, gentlemen, further to represent, that though Mr. Watson has done every thing that could be expected from a brave and gallant man, and has been greatly instrumental towards settling the affairs of this province, that our future operations against the Nabob will



chiefly depend upon the land forces; and the officers of such forces must certainly be the best judges of what can be effected by land; and I do take upon me to give it as mine and my officers opinions, that success against the Nabob and French together will be very precarious, notwithstanding the arrival of the Bombay troops, which fell short in real strength of the detachment on board the Cumberland; I must therefore request you will join with me, in desiring Mr. Watson a third time to ratify the neutrality in the manner agreed upon; and if he refuses, to desire he will attack Chandernagore by water immediately, as I am ready to do by land with the forces under my command; and if he refuses this likewise, he becomes responsible for every misfortune that may happen to the East India Company's affairs.

This done, I propose leaving all the forces I can possibly spare for the defence of the Company's settlements, rights, and privileges, in Bengal, and return with the rest immediately to the coast, agreeable to the positive orders received from the President and Committee of Madras; and I must request you will order proper conveyances for that purpose.

Calcutta,  
4th March 1757.

I am, with great respect,  
Your most obedient humble servant,  
Robert Clive.

Two Letters from Charles Watson, dated 7th and 12th March 1757.  
Saturday, 12th March, Fort William, the 12th March 1757.

At a Committee; Present,  
The honourable Roger Drake, Esquire,  
Messieurs Clive and Killpatrick.

Gentlemen,

I have the favour of your letter of yesterday's date, acquainting me of your having received a letter from Mr. Watts, with one inclosed from the Nabob, which had occasioned some alteration in your opinions. I beg leave to acquaint you, I also received a letter yesterday from the Nabob, by which I do imagine, it's possible yet to obtain his consent to attack the French; therefore, I immediately answered his letter, and strongly pressed him for his permission, which if he should grant, I am very ready to give you all the assistance in my power for reducing the French, and attacking them wherever there is a prospect of succeeding.

You must be very sensible, that some time since, on your application to me for attacking Chandernagore by land and sea, I assembled a council of war, when it was agreed to put it in execution; and I was just upon the point of proceeding up the river, but you again altered your opinion, and from your representations it would be then prejudicial to the Company's affairs, I desisted.

As soon as I hear from the Nabob, I will do myself the pleasure to give you an answer to the part of your letter, relating to the neutrality.

Fort William,  
7th March 1757.

I have the honour to be,  
Your most obedient, humble servant,  
Charles Watson.

Gentlemen,

I have received your favour of this day's date, acquainting me with your motives and reasons for altering your sentiments in relation to your conduct with the French, and now desiring the assistance of his Majesty's Squadron to attack Chandernagore.

You may be assured, I shall most readily give you all the assistance I can in this enterprize, and am heartily glad in the present circumstances I am in, of having received his Majesty's declaration of war against France, with orders from the right honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to put the same in execution, that this step is judged a right measure.

The moment the pilots think it safe to move the large ships, I shall proceed up the river, and am,

Fort William,  
12th March 1757.

Gentlemen,  
Your most obedient, humble servants,  
Charles Watson

Last Paragraph of Colonel Clive's Letter to the Secret Committee, dated August 22, 1757.

—Mr. Watson is no more; every one here received the melancholy news of his death with much concern. His generosity, disinterestedness, and zeal for the service, must for ever endear his memory to the Company. Unhappy fate! after having escaped all the risks of war, to be thus untimely cut off in the midst of his successes, crowned with glory and reputation! This is but one of the many lessons given us of the instability of human nature.—Concern for this good man's death hastens me to a conclusion, and I have only to assure you, I am with the greatest respect,

Calcutta,  
22d August 1757.

Honourable Sirs,  
Your most obliged, humble servant,  
Robert Clive.

## A P P E N D I X, No. 7.

Copy of a Letter to Lord Clive, for the Delivery of Part of the Correspondence held by him with the Country Powers in Bengal.

My Lord,

In your Lordship's answer to a letter, which I had the honour to write to you in October last, by order of the gentlemen in the direction concerning the country correspondence, from the 24th January 1759, to the time your Lordship left India, you were pleased to signify, that you proposed being in town in a few days, and would then lay before them any books or papers, which the gentlemen might think any ways serviceable to the cause of the English East India Company; at the same time, your Lordship intimated, that to the best of your remembrance, you were in possession of the country correspondence, to the time of your leaving India in February 1760, but that there were one or two material sections mislaid, which you had made diligent search after some time ago, but did not despair of finding them upon a farther enquiry.

As your Lordship has not yet transmitted this correspondence to the Company, which they are advised is absolutely necessary to be examined and considered in forming their answer to the bill preferred by your Lordship against them in the Court of Chancery, as well as that the Company are, from withholding this correspondence, left entirely in the dark with respect to more than a whole year's transactions, and at a very material crisis, with the country powers; I am therefore, in consequence of a resolution of the Court of Directors, to desire your Lordship will forthwith deliver to the Company, the whole of the before mentioned correspondence, together with all books, writings, and papers whatsoever, in your Lordship's possession, which in any wise relate to, or concern, the Company's affairs, agreeably to the covenants entered into between the Company and your Lordship.

I am, with the greatest respect, My Lord,  
Your Lordship's most obedient,  
and most humble servant,

Robert James, Secretary.

East India House,  
the 12th August 1763.

Letter from Lord Clive, that he will send his Country Correspondence mentioned in the Secretary's Letter, of the 12th August, as soon as he makes a Transcript thereof.

SIR,

The country correspondence mentioned in your letter of the 12th August last, is transcribing and is not yet finished; the moment the transcript is made, the original shall be delivered to you.

As to the sections mislaid, they were delivered by me in September or October 1760, to Mr. Campbell, in order to prepare a memorial concerning the Dutch affairs to be laid before Mr. Pitt, the then Secretary of State; and from that time to this, I have not had or seen them; and although I have made the best enquiry after them I can, I have not yet been able to come at them, or find out where they are: But I can assure the Court of Directors from my own knowledge, that there is nothing contained in those sections, which can any ways affect the matter in dispute between the East India Company and myself; and if the Court of Directors are desirous of having any farther satisfaction, that may be had, I believe, on applying to Mr. Campbell, who is acquainted with the contents of the missing sections.

As to the demand of the Court of Directors, that I shall produce all books, papers, and writings, whatsoever, in my possession, agreeable to the covenants entered into between the Company and me; I must observe to you, Sir, that those covenants extend only to the commercial affairs of the Company; in which I had little or no concern; however, I am searching for all papers in my custody, relative to affairs of this kind, which I will deliver to the Court of Directors; and although I am not (as I am advised) obliged to produce any books or papers, other than such as relate to the commercial affairs I have mentioned, yet I am ready to produce any other books, papers, or writings, in my custody or power, relative to any of the affairs of the Company, if the Court of Directors will be pleased to specify the particular books, writings, or papers, they desire to inspect.

I am, Sir,  
Berkeley Square,  
September 12th 1763.

Your most obedient servant,  
Clive.

The President to the Seats, dated 31st January 1759. No. 281.

I always understood, that when you had procured me the sunnod for a 6,000 munsub and 5,000 horse, with the title of Zubit al Mulk Nazier ad Doula, that the Nabob would have favoured me with a jaguire, equal to the rank I received by my sunnod; but to this day I have not heard a word from him concerning it. As this is an affair of my own, I have not chose to address the Nabob thereon now. As there is a strong friendship subsisting between you and me, I beg leave to give you the trouble to apply to the Nabob concerning this affair, and that I may have a jaguire equal to my rank.

From the Seats to the President. No Date: Received 20th February 1759.

Your two obliging letters, one answering ours which accompanied some apples to you; the other, that you understood when we had procured you a munsub and titles, that the Nabob would have favoured you with a jaguire, equal to the rank you received by your sunnod, but that to the writing of your letter, you had not heard from him concerning it; that on account



of the friendship subsisting between us, you desired we would apply to the Nabob and procure it, we have with great pleasure received, and are rejoiced to hear you are in good health, for which we return God thanks: Agreeable to your orders, we addressed the Nabob to give you a jaguire; he has long determined not to grant jaguires in the subahship of Bengal; Orissa is poor, but if it is agreeable to you to have one in the subahship of Bahar, it will be immediately granted you; of this I thought proper to advise you. Please to acquaint us with your resolution on this affair. We are going to a place of devotion with all our family in a day or two, accompanied by some of the Nabob's forces. By the favour of God we hope to return in six weeks.

No 326. The President to Shah Allum Bahadre, Son of Allum Guire, Baudshah, and Successor of the Empire, dated 27th February 1759.

I have had the honour to receive your Highness's firmand; it gives me great concern to find that this country must undergo a scene of troubles.—I beg leave to inform you, that I have been favoured with a sunnod from the Emperor, appointing me a Munsubdar of the rank of 6000 and of 5000 horse, which constitutes me a servant of his; and as I have not received any orders, either from the Emperor or the Vizier, acquainting me of your coming down here, I cannot pay that due regard to your Highness's orders which I would otherwise wish to do.

I must further beg leave to inform you, that I am under the strictest engagements with the present Subah of these provinces, to assist him at all times, and it is not the custom of the English nation to be guilty of insincerity.

## A P P E N D I X, No. 8.

From the Seats to the President. No Date: Received 4th June 1759.

Some time ago we were favoured with an obliging letter from you to this purport, that you had been honoured with a munsub, of the rank of 6000, and the command of 5000 horse from the presence; and that we, who are your faithful servants, had procured you the sunnod, but that as yet no jaguire had been granted for the same; and desiring that we would address the Nabob as we thought proper on that affair, and procure the jaguire, which would give you satisfaction.—Agreeable to your orders we often reminded him of it, and he himself was contriving about it; we have lately addressed him again, and he informs us, that he has pitched on a place for your jaguire in the subahship of Bengal; and by the blessing, when you return to this city, an account thereof will be delivered to you. On this we rose and paid the usual compliment on this occasion. We, who are your sincere friends and well-wishers; hope to be favoured with an account of your health.

## A P P E N D I X, No. 9.

Mr. Holwell's Address to Mr. Vansittart, 4th August 1760.

Fort William the 4th August 1760.

Monday.

At a Select Committee; Present,

The honourable Henry Vansittart, Esquire, President,

William Brightwell Sumner, Esq;

John Zephaniah Holwell, Esq;

William M'Guire, Esq;

Read, approved, and signed the proceedings of the 28th ult.

Agreeable to the President's Request, Mr. Holwell now lays before the Committee a short Address, with such Remarks, and Memorials, as may convey to the President a Knowledge of the present Situation of the Company's Affairs in these Provinces.

“ Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Dated 4th August.

“ As my health, and the consideration of other circumstances, will soon oblige me to request permission from the board to resign the service, I beg leave, previous to that step, to accompany this short address with such remarks and memorials as may convey to the honourable the President (so lately arrived amongst us) a knowledge of the present state and situation of the Company's affairs, as they stand connected with, or depend on, the government of Bengal.

“ To form a judgment of the present state of things in Bengal, it will be needful to retrospect on the late revolution of the year 1757, when necessity, and a just resentment for the most cruel injuries, obliged us to enter into a plan to deprive Surajah Dowla of his government; which was accordingly done, and Mir Mahomed Ally Khan fixed, by us, at the head of the provinces, on certain conditions, and under treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive.

“ A short space of time fully proved how unworthy the family thus raised: The conditions of the treaty could not be obtained from the Nabob without being in a manner extorted from him; and by a thousand shifts and evasions, it was plain to the world no single article would ever have been complied with, had the Nabob been invested with power sufficient to have prevented it, or could he have divested himself of his own fears and apprehensions from our resentments.

“ Tankas on the lands were however granted for the payment of the stipulated sums, at particular times, by which the Roy-Royen Dewans, Mutiuddies, and every harpy employed in the zemindary and revenue, became our implacable enemies; and consequently,

“ A party

“ A party was soon raised at the Durbar, headed by the Nabob's son, Miram, and Rajah-bullub, who were daily planning schemes to shake off their dependance on the English, and continually urging to the Nabob, that until this was effected his government was a name only: The Nabob, somewhat irritated by the protection given Rajah Doolubram, and weak and irresolute in himself, fell too soon into these sentiments.

“ The first step taken to accomplish this measure of independence, was to assassinate, or take off, under one pretence or other, every minister and officer at the Durbar, whom they knew were attached to the English. In consequence of which Coza Hoddy, and Cuzzum Ally Khan, first and second Buxy, were assassinated in November and December 1758, and after many attempts made on the persons of Rheim Khan, Golam Shaw, his uncle and brother, they were at last obliged to seek an asylum with the Sha Zadah, 1759.—Roydoolub, his son, and four brothers were proscribed, on no account but that of the various informations he gave us, and his firm attachment. This family would have fallen a sacrifice, had they not been rescued out of the Nabob's hands by force of arms. Amier Beg Khan would from the same cause have suffered the same fate, had he not given his solemn engagement to quit the kingdom; which he accordingly did.

“ The next project of the Durbar appeared by every concurring subsequent circumstance, to be a secret negociation with the Dutch, for transporting troops from Batavia into these provinces, that with their united force a stop might be put to the power of the English. This scheme was conducted by Raja Ragebullub, on the one part, and Fooeratoojar, for the Dutch, on the other, about October or November 1758, the period when the Decan expedition took place, and the garrison was much reduced.

“ Soon after, the provinces were invaded by the Sha Zadah, on the side of Patna, and Colonel Clive, with our military, and Seapoys, joined the Nabob and his troops, and by forced marches preserved Rajah Ramarrain steady in his duty, and arrived just in time to save that city and province, and drive the prince, though the undoubted heir to the kingdom, beyond the Curramanassar, and brought the Budgepore, &c. countries into subjection to the Nabob.

“ The prince more than once wrote to the Colonel, offering any terms for the Company, and himself on condition the English would quit the Nabob, and join his arms; but the Colonel thinking it incompatible with our treaty with the Nabob gave the prince no encouragement.

“ At the end of the campaign the Colonel returned to us in June 1759, and the two Nabobs arrived at the city, about the same time, with full conviction of our firm attachment to his government and family, and our religious regard to our treaties.—What sense they retained of these obligations, and how long, will appear by and by.

“ The Nabobs, thinking themselves now better established in the government; and screened by such a sure and powerful support as our arms, began to set no bounds to their cruelties, oppressions, and exactions from those who had any thing to be plundered of.—And this barely received a check from the severe and frequent remonstrances of Colonel Clive to the Nabob, on a conduct which he foretold him, must, from the general detestation of his people, end in the destruction of himself, family, and country.—His troops, clamorous at the same time for their pay, whilst the Nabob, in place of appropriating the sums he had acquired by repeated assassinations, to the just demands of his jemnaudars and troops, lavished the same in boundless extravagancies.

“ About the latter end of July 1759, the young Nabob arrived, on a pretended visit to Colonel Clive; but the real motive was to negociate, if possible, the delivery of Rajarage Doolubram, and two or three other articles given him in charge by his father; such as the surrender of the tanka lands on security; the borrowing of us a large sum of money; &c. In these, the son proving unsuccessful, a member of the Board, and Select Committee was, at his desire, sent to accompany him to the city, to reconcile the Nabob to the negatives his son had received at Calcutta; and at the same time to intimate to him the advice we had received, that a large armament was sitting out at Batavia, destined for Bengal, and to penetrate, if possible, his sentiments on this occasion, and what resolutions he would come to, in case that force arrived in the river.

“ He was not to be reconciled to the refusals his son had met, but determined to try his own power, and declared his intention to pay the Colonel a visit himself in September; which he did, with success equal to his son. He seemed to make light of the Dutch intelligence, and not to give credit to it, though he discovered much perplexity. However, he wrote a letter to the Colonel, demanding our assistance, by virtue of the treaty of alliance, in case the Dutch troops came into the river.

“ The armament arrived during his visit; his stay after that was short; his mind seemed much embarrassed, and his whole subsequent conduct gave most undoubted proofs, that the Dutch forces were arrived by his invitation. That such were the sentiments of Colonel Clive and the council, appears from the narrative of that Dutch business, transmitted to the honourable the Court of Directors, and to our several admirals. A perusal of this narrative will convince the impartial, that the Nabob, in his behaviour on this occasion, was guilty of a most flagitious breach of the article of the treaty of alliance, and that from the period, no terms whatever should have been preserved with him, after such unexampled treachery and ingratitude. To which, by way of illustration, we may add the subsequent farces carried



“ on between the Nabobs and the Dutch, as set forth in the several letters between Mr. Howell, and the Resident, at Morauxbag, on this subject, by reference to which it will appear most manifest, that the Nabob's real intentions never were to distress effectually that people, and on the contrary were only aimed to amuse and deceive us; witness the private orders and instructions given to Mhir Cossim Aly Khan, so opposite to his public ones, when he was sent down to demolish the new works at Chinsura; in the apparent delays of this service, Cossim Aly Khan suffered much in the opinion of the late President, tho' unjustly, as we subsequently learnt he was acting conformable to the private orders of the Nabob.

“ In the beginning of the year 1760, the Sha Zadda invaded the provinces again with a force more respectable than the preceding year, both in troops and commanders, by the revolt of Cangaar Khan, Golam Shaw, Reim Khan, and others; the Nabob, by this time, having made himself and family so universally hated, that we may justly say there was hardly a man in the provinces, that did not wish success to the Prince.

“ Colonel Clive resigned the government early in February 1760, about which time the Mharattas entered the province, from the southward, and penetrated into the Burdwan country, making a considerable diversion in favour of the Prince. The Nabob demanded a body of our troops, Sepoys, and field artillery, for the defence of this country, to join his, under the command of Mhir Cossim Aly Khan, which was granted; but their use was frustrated by the Nabob's pusillanimous, irregular, and contradictory, orders to his General, Cossim Aly Khan, to march with our troops to Cutwah, and the city, in place of marching directly to the southward. Thus this country fell a prey to the Mharattas, and a stop was put to the collecting our tankas, on which was our greatest dependence and expectation, for the service of the year (Vide Military Correspondence in the months of February and March 1760.)

“ Our troops, under the command of Major Caillaud, had taken the field in conjunction with the Nabob's, under command of his son, some time before the Colonel's departure for Europe, and shaped their rout towards Patna, whilst the Nabob himself remained in the neighbourhood of Rajambol, a check on Cuddein Hossain Khan, Nabob of Purnea (then in rebellion) until Subut's advance recalled him to the city.

“ A regular and particular detail of the transactions of this laborious campaign will not be expected here, as the progress of it will present itself in the course of the military correspondence laid before the Committee; therefore remarks on the success, effects, and probable consequences, will be sufficient.

“ This, like the former ones, has produced no definitive action, or stroke, to lay the least foundation of a peace to these provinces. In the course of this campaign three morally sure and important opportunities were lost, by the cowardice of both the Nabobs; the first, when the young Nabob refused to join the Major in the immediate pursuit of the Sha Zaddah, when routed near Patna; the second, when the old Nabob refused to comply with the Major's earnest request and demand, to cross his horse over the Burdwan river, and attack the Prince, when united with Subut, &c. the third, when in the late pursuit of Cuddein Hossain Khan, the young Nabob refused to lead or detach his horse to the Major's assistance, by which a general action might have been brought on; but, on the contrary, he kept encamped two or three miles in the Major's rear, as if his intentions were to leave our troops without horse, a sacrifice to the enemy. Had the most been made of either of these favourable occasions, the stroke had, in all human probability, been decisive; as it is, it only proves, that we continue to draw our swords in support of a family most unworthy the government they have by our assistance usurped; and this to the manifest hazard and ruin of the Company's trade and concerns.

“ On the near approach of the Major to Patna he received a phirmaund from the Prince, of which he advised the Board, and promised to forward a copy; but no wonder, that in the course of so extraordinary and fatiguing a campaign, it should escape his memory. On his arrival in the Beerboen country, after the unexpected march he formed upon his defeat, the President received intelligence, that the old Nabob had actually a Vakeel in the Sha Zaddah's camp, and that he was negotiating a separate treaty with him: This appeared to have so dangerous a tendency, that any means were eligible to obtain the truth of it.

“ The late President, by a third hand, procured Affud Jumma Khan, Rajah of Beerboen, and his uncle, Comgaar Khan, to be wrote to on this subject, of the Nabob's Vakeel and treaty: this soon produced a phirmaund from the Prince, inclosing copy of the Nabob's arzdasht: the President made no reply to the phirmaund, but returned a short one to Comgaar Khan's letter, which accompanied the phirmaund, intimating, that copies carried little validity where originals were in being.

“ A few days before the Prince began his retreat from the hills, the President received a second phirmaund from him, inclosing original arzdasht from the Nabob: all that can be said for or against belief being given either to the authenticity of the copy or original, will appear on the face of the correspondence, in two letters from the President to the Major, under dates the 22d and 24th April last, and to Mr. Hastings, the 20th of the same month. To these we may further remark, that if they are forgeries, they have yet this corroborating signature of truth, that the whole tenor of the Nabob's conduct most exactly tallies with the terms of the arzdasht. But to resume the course of the campaign to the present time:

“ Patna is relieved and secure for the present. Cuddein Hossain Khan is dispossessed of  
“ his

“ his government, and drove out of the country, but with all his treasure and valuable effects, to the reproach and infamy of the young Nabob’s memory ; so that after the rains he will easily join the Prince with the essentials of war, which he only wants to harass the provinces five years longer. The young Nabob is taken off by a flash of lightning, and our troops are gone into quarters, after having done as much, or more, than could have been expected, from men so wretchedly supported by those very people, for whose preservation they endured every distress and fatigue, and braved variety of deaths.

“ The Prince has found means to preserve himself and forces a footing on this side the Soane, and in the neighbourhood of Patna. It is said Comgaar Khan has forsaken the cause of the Prince ; which appears most improbable, not only on account of his having no other chance for reimbursing himself, but because we have undoubted intelligence that 3,000 of his troops have lately joined his nephew, Affud Jemma Khan, who has thrown off his allegiance to the Nabob. These troops are doubtless lodged to make an early and important diversion, at the opening of the next campaign, by entering the Burdwan country, as soon as the Prince begins to be in motion above ; and thus our supplies from thence will be again cut off, and the Company’s affairs be reduced to the last extremity of distress, unless the approaching ships of the season relieve us, or the whole tankas of those lands could be collected during the rains. The latter is hardly possible in any serviceable degree, and the former carry very little probability. The late proposal of the Nabob’s, to pay our balances, and resume his lands, is devoutly to be wished ; but it is likewise to be feared he has no meaning in it.

“ The various reasons urged against the measure of supporting the present government longer on the plan we have been some time pursuing, to the heavy injury of the Company, with various expedients to rescue them from manifest approaching ruin, are set forth at large in the military correspondence, in letters from the President to Major Caillaud, under dates the 24th and 25th of May, 14th June, and 3d July, to Mr. Amyatt, under date, the 25th and 30th May, and 1st July ; both the reasons and expedients of the present state of affairs, seem rather to confirm than contraindicate any other. However, the sudden death of the Nabob (if made a proper use of) seems to point out a middle way, if things are not gone too far already, to admit of any other than the divesting this family of the government altogether. Vide the President’s letter to Mr. Hastings, of the 16th of last month, and to Major Caillaud, of the 26th, on the subject of a successor to the young Nabob’s posts.

“ Respecting all matters relative to the Dutch and the Nabob, the Dutch and us, the tanka’s, and obstructions raised by the Nabob on our collecting them, as also the late secret treaty between the Nabob and the Mharattas, &c. they will appear on the face of the correspondence without exaggeration.”

Ordered, That the foregoing narrative do lay upon the table, for the perusal of the several members of the Committee.

Henry Vansittart.  
William B. Sumner.  
J. Z. Holwell.

Fort William, September the 11th. 1760.

The honourable Henry Vansittart, Esquire, President.  
Lieutenant Colonel John Caillaud. John Zeph. Holwell, Esquire.  
William B. Sumner, Esquire. William M’Guire, Esquire.

Read, approved, and signed, the proceedings of the 28th ultimo.

Colonel Caillaud arrives from Patna. Colonel Caillaud informs the Committee that he left Patna the 31st of last month, at which time the Prince was at Dowdnagore, on this side the Soane ; that all the reports of his crossing it were over ; and that Monsieur Laws, with Mawdarah Dawlett were preparing to repass the river and join him. It was said, their next motion would be towards Camdar Khan, with whom the operations of the next campaign were to be settled.

Thoughts on the present State of Affairs. Before we resolve upon a plan of future operations, we will attempt a description of the state the Company’s affairs are now in, and this not to be confined to Bengal, but with regard also to the exigencies of the other settlements, who are told to depend on this for supplies of money :—our influence increasing from time to time since the revolution brought about by Colonel Clive, so have we been obliged to increase our force to support that influence. We have now more than a thousand Europeans, and five thousand seapoys, which, with the contingent expences of an army, is far more than the revenues allotted for their maintenance. This deficiency was not so much attended to whilst the immense sums stipulated by the treaty were coming in ; but these resources being now quite exhausted, and no supplies of money coming from Europe, it becomes immediately necessary to secure to the Company such an income as will bear them clear of charges, and bring in, besides, a supply for the emergencies of their other settlements, and for providing cargoes for loading home their ships.—The first question then that naturally occurs is this :

Whether that great force is wanted ? That a less force would secure the settlement of Fort William, with its former bounds, against every thing that is now in the country, is



not to be doubted; but it is as certain, that nothing but that influence and weight, which we maintain by the largeness of our force, can possibly prevent the well known designs of the two principal European powers, who have long shared with us the benefit of the trade of this country; and to this we may add, that the nearer we approach to a peace in Europe, the nearer we are to our danger here.

These considerations having their due weight, we believe few will dispute the necessity of keeping up our present force, perhaps augmenting it: this granted, it follows, that means must be found within ourselves of supporting the expence; and these means can be no other, than a proportionable share of the revenues of the country.

By the treaty made with the present Nabob, he is obliged, as often as it may be requisite for our troops to take the field, to furnish a lack of rupees a month for their expence; but the uncertainty of this payment has been too long experienced to be any more depended on; nor indeed is it by any means sufficient to answer the purpose, supposing the payments regularly made: it must therefore be proposed to the Nabob, to assign to the Company a much larger income, and to assign it in such a full and ample manner, by giving to the Company the sole right of such districts, as lay most convenient for our management; that we may no longer be subject to the inconveniences we experienced from the late tuncaws, being orders only on a certain part of the revenues.—From the experienced weakness and unsteadiness of the Nabob himself, and the nature of those dependants who now rule him, and who by self-interested views must naturally oppose every increase of our power, as their own will of course be proportionably lessened; it is to be supposed, that such a proposal would meet with all the difficulties that could possibly be thrown in our way. Notwithstanding those difficulties, we will suppose we should have weight enough to over-rule his counsellors, and to obtain his consent. We then just keep our present footing. We have a fund for paying our troops; and those troops must be employed in the service of the Nabob and this service, the same as for these two last years in opposing the Sha Zaddah, whose designs upon these provinces it is almost certain will be pursued.

From the experience of these two years, it is pretty clear that our troops, although always victorious in the field, yet they cannot, by their success, put an end to the troubles: the same cause which has prevented it still exists; the nature of those people, in alliance with whom we are to act, who will not pursue the advantages we gain; and we not having the means in our power, for want of a body of cavalry under our command.—Thus the war may be protracted for years to come; and every year the Nabob's circumstances grow worse and worse, through an increase of expence and loss of revenue, not only by the devastations the enemy make, but by the continual defection of some of his own Rajahs and dependants: many in the course of the two last years have declared themselves; and that others are ripe for doing the same is not to be doubted, particularly the Rajah of Beerboon, in a letter the Governor lately received from him, has spoke his sentiments very freely. The province of Patna is already so much reduced by the two last campaigns, as to be incapable of affording subsistence to the Prince any longer, who must always find on the spot the means of carrying on the war, having no resources within himself; and who consequently must, through necessity, attempt next year to penetrate further into Bengal; and in this he will no doubt by the success which attended his last year's incursion as far as Burdwan.

It is therefore next to be considered, whether it is best for the interest of the Nabob to pursue the present measures, by continuing to oppose the Sha Zaddah, or to support him in his pretensions to the crown of Delhi:—The two parties still subsist, between whom the throne is disputed, or rather who shall give a king to that throne.—One of those parties has repeatedly invited the Sha Zaddah to him; and it is well known what offers he has made both to the Nabob and us for our assistance: the same reasons may be supposed yet to have their weight with him while the dispute remains undecided; and is it not probable that such an assistance given to the prince and thrown into Abdallah's scale, would insure the success of the enterprize? The immediate consequence of this to Bengal would be clearing the country of an enemy, by removing the cause whence all the late troubles and confusion have arose; and if we with reason flatter ourselves we should succeed, what advantages may not the Company expect.

Supposing this change of measures does not appear to the Nabob in the light we have represented, it is to be considered whether the exigencies of the Company's affairs before described, do not require our forming such connections independently of him, as may over-rule the advice and sway of his creatures and ministers.

The unfortunate death of the young Nabob having created a number of separate interests, which it is impossible to conciliate to the satisfaction of all, and thereby gives the fairest opportunity to any other European power to gain a party to support them in their designs of establishing an influence here, is an inducement to make us follow such a system, as will put this the most out of their power.

The share of influence we now enjoy in these provinces, however great in appearance, does not carry with it those real advantages and weighty effects which are necessary not to leave that power in danger of being disputed, and of failing us at a time when we most want it; and nothing is more probable than that that period will happen on a peace, to prevent the evil consequences of this: there seems now to offer such an opportunity of securing to ourselves

ourselves all we could wish in this respect, as likely may never happen again; an opportunity that will give us both power and right.

Another principal motive that urges us to think of changing our system, is the want of money; a want that is not confined to ourselves alone, but on which greatly depend,

The operations on the coast,  
The reduction of Pondicherry, and

The provision of an investment for loading home the next year's ships at all the three presidencies.

It is hardly to be doubted but the Sha Zaddah would be willing to enter into a negociation with us, independent of the Nabob; but such a measure would neither be for the interest nor the honour of our nation. Our views in adopting this system, should be directed rather to strengthen, than weaken or overthrow the present Subah:—all we desire, is to see the power removed out of the hands of that set of men, who now rule and direct the affairs of the Subah, and through whole mismanagement and frauds the country and his administration suffer so considerably. To have such a share of power invested in the Company, as will enable them to prevent the bad consequences of so many contending interests, that will effectually put a stop to that dissipation of revenues, which hath reduced the Nabob to his present distressed condition; which revenue, if properly applied, would leave him nor us any thing to fear from the designs of any enemy; effectually secure to us such a fund as would answer all our present exigencies; and in time prove an increase of honour and advantage to the nation and the Company.

Henry Vanfittart.  
Wm. B. Sumner.  
J. Z. Holwell.

Fort William, Sept. 15th 1760.

At a Select Committee; Present,  
The Honourable Henry Vanfittart, Esquire, President.  
Colonel Caillaud, J. Zephaniah Holwell,  
Wm. Brightwell Sumner, William McGwire, Esqrs.

Read, approved, and signed, the proceedings of the 11th instant.

The Difficulties on both Sides considered. The great objects of our present deliberation are, first, the securing a fund of money for the present and future exigencies of this settlement, as well as the other two presidencies, no money being expected from Europe; and, secondly, the putting an end to the disturbances fomented and kept up by the Sha Zaddah in several parts of these provinces: that the whole may be united under the Nabob, and be put under the more immediate influence of the Company, whose force is his chief support and dependance. By this means enabling us to join a large body of country troops to our own, to oppose any attempts of European or country powers.

The question to be considered is, Whether we can best arrive at these ends by following the present system of opposing the Sha Zaddah, or by proposing to him an alliance with the English, and the assistance of part of our forces to proceed with him to Delhi, and support him in his pretensions to the throne.

In following the present system, the chief difficulties that occur are these.

1st, How to provide for the payment of the Nabob's troops and our army that are opposed to the Sha Zaddah at Patna.

2dly, How to prevail on the Nabob, besides supplying the above demand, to furnish us here with the money wanted for our military and commercial occasions, and for the supply of the other presidencies.

3dly, The possibility of the Sha Zaddah's meeting with better success than heretofore; and in that case, What would be our situation?

4thly, The defection of different chiefs in the country encouraged by the Shaw, by which the revenues of such districts are lost, and those adjacent lessened by their incursions.

5thly, Supposing we yet meet with success, how shall we put an end to the war? having experienced, that gaining a victory over the Sha Zaddah, does not deprive him of the means of renewing his attempts.

6thly,

In following the second system proposed, the chief difficulties that occur are these.

1st, How to gain the Nabob's consent.

2dly, The state of the country considered, when such a force is drawn from it, as will enable us to assist the prince.

3dly, How to satisfy the prince's party, few of whom will be induced to follow him.

4thly, How an immediate sum of money is to be found, that will give us enough to supply the army on the coast, the payment of our troops here, and a present to the prince.

5thly, Are we to inform the Nabob before the negociation is begun, of what our demands are to be, or is he to receive them afterwards, as orders from his king, when we have declared him such? If the latter, Is there no danger of his refusing to comply with them? and if he does, How are we to manage? If the former, Will it not much increase the difficulty of gaining his consent?

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thly, Supposing we should even be able to push our success so far as to drive the Sha Zaddah out of the province, would the confused and impoverished state of the country, furnish us immediately with the means of raising the sums wanted for the general occasions of the Company.

The raising the sum wanted is a difficulty in both cases almost unsurmountable:—it certainly cannot be obtained without imposing on the Nabob forcibly, terms which of his own good-will he never would come into. In favour of the change of system, it is to be said, that the means and resources of the country, from which the money must come, will be more capable of supplying it when the war is removed, by the march of the Sha Zaddah, to the northward.

Consequently those which we can prevail on to take part with us in this project, and to assist us in bringing the Nabob into it, will be more ready to advance money upon the promise of holding the principal employments.

And as on both sides there must be some kind of force or violence exerted over the Nabob's inclinations, it may be done with a better grace, as well as more effect, by means of orders from the prince.

With regard to our forces and the disposition of them, with respect to the security of the Company's settlements here, it must be considered that in both cases our troops must be divided:—at Patna they are more at hand to be called to join us in case of necessity; but yet so distant, that probably the threatened danger would be upon us before they could arrive, and the road would be open for the Sha Zaddah to follow immediately; and after having taken possession of the most valuable parts of the province, to join our enemies, which would make our situation even worse than before.

The Committee therefore are of opinion, all circumstances considered, that the settlements here will be more secure with the forces that will remain here, if by joining our army to the Sha Zaddah, and marching with him to the northward, we can put an end to all the inland troubles here, than in the present disposition of keeping that army at Patna, to make head against the Sha Zaddah, especially if we can procure such terms as will enable us to assemble on any occasion a large country force to co-operate with us here; and such terms, we doubt not, the Sha Zaddah will immediately offer.

An Alliance with the Sha Zaddah resolved on. Resolved therefore unanimously, That the entering into an alliance with the Sha Zaddah, is a necessary and expedient measure. The President is accordingly desired to press Cossim Aly Cawn on the subject of our expences, and our great distresses for money, so as to draw from him some proposal of means for removing those difficulties; by which probably we may be able to form a judgment, whether he might not be brought to join in this negotiation, and in procuring the Nabob's consent. There is another person here, Roydullub, who has been long under our protection; and whose attachment to the Company is not to be doubted: through him it is thought this intention may best be opened to the Sha Zaddah; but as an interview between him and the President at this time, might look suspicious and give an alarm to the Nabob, Mr. Holwell is desired to open the affair to him, and take his advice how best to manage.

Henry Vansittart.  
Wm. B. Sumner.  
J. Z. Holwell.

Fort William, September the 16th, 1760.

At a Select Committee; Present,  
The Honourable Henry Vansittart, Esq; President,  
Colonel Caillaud,  
Wm. B. Sumner, Esq;  
J. Z. Holwell, Esq;  
Wm. M'Gwire, Esq;

Read, approved, and signed, the proceedings of the 15th instant.

The Governor's Report of his Conversation with Cossim Ally Cawn. The President acquaints the Committee, that in a long conversation he had last night with Cossim Aly Cawn, he had an opportunity of making some progress towards the discoveries requisite for carrying on the negotiation proposed yesterday:—that without letting him know any thing of our design, he had led him to make such declarations of his desire to have the rule over the Nabob, and the general management of the affairs of the province, as amount almost to a proof of his readiness to act the part intended for him.

After telling him much of our regard, and of our opinion of him as the fittest person for conducting the great affairs of the Bengal government, I began to make him strong representations on the subject of the Company's expences: that the immediate charges of the army exceeded far the sum assigned for that purpose; which sum also was not regularly paid, there being three or four months arrears:—that besides this, he could not but be sensible how much the Company gave up in other parts, for the sake of providing for the security of Bengal, withdrawing their forces from the Deccan and from Madras, and sending continually fresh

fresh supplies from Europe. I represented to him further the great loss the Company had suffered by the long continuance of the present war with the Sha Zaddah; and how much it was to be wished for the general benefit, that an end could be put to it, so as to enable the Nabob to reduce his expences, and collect his full revenues, of which a great part is now lost by the ravages of the enemy, particularly the whole produce of the Patna province.

In answer to this, Cossim Aly Cawn replied, That he has it not at present in his power to provide in a proper manner for the supply of the Company:—that if we could undertake to give him the general management of the country, by taking it out of the hands of those who are now intrusted with it by the Nabob, he would then make such assignments in favour of the Company, as should be perfectly to our satisfaction.—At the same time he insinuated, that this would undoubtedly meet with opposition at Muxadavad, and at first prove very disagreeable to the Nabob himself: for which reason it would be quite necessary to have a force at hand to support him; by which being enabled to over-rule the present evil counsellors of the Nabob, he could answer for bringing the Nabob himself into such terms as shall be agreed on here.—With respect to the Sha Zaddah, he did not seem to have any notion of offering him peace; but said, he should be able to keep up a sufficient force to frustrate any future attempts on this province: the president thinking this a sufficient progress for the first conference, did not make him acquainted with our intended negotiation with the Sha Zaddah, and which he imagines may better be opened to him by one of his old confidants: Cossim Aly Cawn professed a regard for Roydulub, and a desire to see him; but as it was thought such an interview could not be brought about with secrecy; and if known, would give an alarm to the Nabob, it was therefore determined to confide in Cojah Petrose, as the fittest person to make known our whole plan to Cossim Aly Cawn.

Mr. Holwell's Report of his Conversation with Roydulub.

Mr. Holwell acquaints the Committee, That agreeable to their resolution of yesterday, he had last night a conference with Rajah Roydulub, who received the overture with much satisfaction, and approved in general of the plan; but thought there was some objection to the proposed manner of addressing the prince, as it would cause much unnecessary delay, which for many obvious reasons should be avoided, and would not give him the weight necessary on this occasion, to obtain an immediate stop being put to the Prince's operations: that he thought our waiting for an overture from him was too nice a punctilio at this juncture; because he knows the Prince is in such a situation, as will not permit his hesitating to accept any terms we offer. He thinks nothing can prevent or delay his immediate concession to all we ask, but the article of confirming Meer Jaffier Aly Cawn, not only on account of his personal resentment, but as it is contrary to the laws and rules of the empire, the appointing a feyd to a subahdary: therefore says, we had better demand sunnods at once; that the power of subahdary, buxgerrea, and dewannee, be lodged in the English Company; and then we may confirm Meer Jaffier Aly Cawn ourselves, if we think he deserves it.—That there is no occasion to stipulate for particular lands for the maintenance of the troops and ordnance, as the jaggiers of a host, a hazzare, are always set apart for that purpose.—He requests, he may not be thought of for the post of roy rayen, but that he may be favoured with that of the buxeys neabut under the Company. He thinks he shall be able, without much difficulty, to conciliate matters with Congar Cawn, Bulwansing, and the other Rajahs of the Prince's party, as they are most of them his friends. He assures the Committee, he highly approves of the intended promotion of Meer Cossim Aly Cawn to the dewannee, and will most readily co-operate with him in all matters, conducive to the completion of our plan, as the only possible means left to recover the peace and flourishing state of the provinces, and revive the Company's trade and influence.

Henry Vansittart.

W. B. Sumner.

J. Z. Holwell.

Fort William, 24th October 1760.

At a Select Committee; Present,  
William Ellis, Esquire, President.  
William Brightwell Sumner, Esquire.  
William McGwire, Esquire.

Received the following letter from the President, and Colonel Caillaud, dated at Miradbag the 21st instant.

Gentlemen,

The Governor wrote you yesterday of the affairs here being settled to the Company's advantage: we shall now have the honour to acquaint you of the steps by which we advanced to this point of success.

The Nabob's visit to the Governor at Cossimbuzar, the 15th of the month, as well as that we paid him the next day in return, passed only in general conversation. The 18th, he came here to talk upon business: in order to give him a more clear and full view of the bad management of his ministers, by which his own affairs as well as the Company's are reduced to so dangerous a state, and the inhabitants in general to want and misery: we had prepared three letters, which after a short and friendly introduction, the Governor delivered to him, and of which translations are hereunto annexed, under No. 1, 2, and 3.

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The Nabob seemed much affected by the perusal of the letters, but endeavoured more to put an end to the conference than to propose a remedy to the evils: we, however, prevailed on him to send for his dinner to Moraudbag, and in a manner insisted on his coming to some determination for the immediate reform of his government. At length he confessed himself, through age and grief, incapable of struggling against so many difficulties: he desired time to consult with his friends. We told him the men with whom he had lately advised were not his friends, but his greatest enemies; that his returning again in the midst of them, would only be the means of augmenting his difficulties; that he had much better take the assistance of one from among his relations, on whose true attachment and fidelity he might more safely rely; he named five or six, and among them, Kaffim Aly Khan. We asked him which of that number was the most proper to assist him in his present exigencies: he replied, without any hesitation, That Kaffim Aly Khan was the most proper; nevertheless, it was with the utmost difficulty we could prevail on him to send for him; and so very late, that before Kaffim Aly Khan could arrive, the old Nabob was so extremely fatigued, and in such a state of anxiety, that we could not refuse his return home to take his rest. We were convinced indeed, that it would be to no purpose to keep him; for such was the jealousy he discovered with respect to Kaffim Aly Khan, that we saw he never would consent, without some sort of force, to give the other the means of restoring order to his affairs. An hour or two after the Nabob's departure, Kaffim Aly Khan arrived, and seemed to be extremely apprehensive, that the Nabob, instead of intrusting him with the management of affairs, would endeavour by some means or other to get rid of him. We agreed therefore in opinion with him, that he should not go the Nabob's house, until measures were taken for his security: we resolved, however, to give the Nabob the next day (the 19th) to reflect upon the letters before mentioned, in hopes he would propose some means of regulation. We heard nothing from him all day, but found by our intelligence, that he had been in council with his old advisers, Keneram, Moonital, and Checon, whose advice, we were sure, would be contrary to the welfare of the country in general, and that of the Company in particular. We determined therefore to act immediately upon the Nabob's fears. There could not be a better opportunity, than the night of the 19th afforded, it being the conclusion of the Gentoo feast, when all the principal people of that cast would be pretty well fatigued with their ceremonies. We determined therefore, that Colonel Caillaud, with the two companies of military, and six companies of seapoys, should cross the river between three and four in the morning, and having joined Kaffim Aly Khan and his people, march to the Nabob's palace, and surround it just at day-break: being extremely desirous of preventing any disturbance or bloodshed, the Governor wrote a letter to the Nabob (the translation of which is annexed, No. 4) and delivered it to the Colonel, to send in to him at such time as he should think most expedient: measures were at the same time taken for seizing the persons of Keneram, Moonital, and Checon; our intention being only to remove those three unworthy ministers, and place Kaffim Aly Khan in the full management of all the affairs, in quality of deputy and successor to the Nabob.—The Governor remained at Moradbag, in readiness to pay a visit of congratulation to the Durbar, as soon as the point should be settled.

The necessary preparations being accordingly made with all care and secrecy possible, the Colonel embarked with the troops, joined Kaffim Aly Khan without the least alarm, and marched into the court yard of the palace, just at the proper instant: the gates of the inner court being shut, the Colonel formed his men without, and then sent the Governor's letter to the Nabob, who was at first in a great rage, and long threatened he would make what resistance he could, and take his fate. The Colonel forbore all hostilities; and several messages passed by the means of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Lullington, whose services on this occasion deserve notice.—The affair remained in this doubtful state about two hours, when the Nabob finding his persisting was to no purpose, sent a message to Kaffim Aly Khan, informing him, he was ready to send him the seals and all the ensigns of dignity, and to order the nobles to be stuck up in his name; provided he would agree to take the whole charge of the government upon him, to discharge all the arrears due to the troops, to pay the usual revenues to the king, to save his life and his honour, and to give him an allowance sufficient for his maintenance: all these conditions being agreed to, Kaffim Aly Khan was proclaimed, and the old Nabob came out to the Colonel, declaring, That he depended on him for his life; and the troops then took possession of all the gates, and notice was sent to the Governor, who came immediately; and the old Nabob met him in the gateway, asking, If his person was safe, which seemed now to be all his concern. The Governor told him, not only his person was safe, but his government too if he pleased, of which it never was intended to deprive him: the Nabob answered, That he had nothing more to busy him at the city; that he should be in continual danger from Kaffim Aly Khan; and that if he was permitted to go and live in Calcutta, he should be extremely happy and contented. Tho' we could not help lamenting his sudden fall, we were not sorry for this proposal, as affairs will doubtless be better managed without him, and the advantages stipulated for the Company be obtained without the least difficulty or delay. Kaffim Aly Khan was accordingly seated on the throne, and we paid him our congratulations in the usual form: all the jemmidars, merchants, and others, residing in the city came immediately, and made their acknowledgments to the new Subah; and in the evening every thing was as perfectly quiet,

as if there had been no change. The people in general seem much pleased with this revolution, and we are particularly happy in its being brought about without the least disturbance in the town, or a drop of blood spilt.

The advantages to the Company are great indeed.—The firmavnds for the countries of Burdwan, and Midnapore, and Chittigan, we shall receive immediately, as well as that for half of the Chunam already produced at Silket.—A very severe order has already been issued forbidding all the Shrafts and Merchants to refuse the Calcutta siccas, or to ask any batta on them. A supply of money will be sent with the Colonel for the payment of the troops at Patna, and we have even some hopes of obtaining three or four lack besides to send down to Calcutta, to help out the Company in their present occasions there, and at Madrafs.—The former balance is to be paid monthly, according to the old Nabob's Kistbundy.

We are the more pleased with this fortunate event at this time, when the approach of peace in Europe gives us reason to fear the other European nations will find leisure to disturb us here. We shall now have strong resources within ourselves, and an ally whose attachment to the Company may be relied on. The old Nabob could by no means be depended on for such an occasion; both his means and desire of supporting us were very uncertain, as his behaviour in the Dutch troubles evinced:

The old Nabob did not think himself safe even for one night in the city: Kaffim Aly Khan supplied him with boats, and gave him leave to take away as many of his women as he desired, and a reasonable quantity of cloaths and jewels. We furnished him with a strong escort of Europeans and Sepoys, and intended to lodge him at Herogil, but he would not trust himself there, and begged he might sleep in his boats close to Moradbag, which he did accordingly. We shall take care that Kaffim Aly Khan provides every thing that is convenient and handsome for himself and his women, and settle upon him a sufficient allowance for his maintenance, and then dispatch him with a strong escort to Calcutta. You will please to provide two houses for his reception; there are two belonging to Sooberam Byfack and Rausberry Seat, which the Ray Rayen occupied, when he was in Calcutta; if these can be had, we judge they will answer very well.

His legitimate wife, called the Begum Mother of the deceased Chuta Nabob, and of Kaffim Aly Khan's wife, refused to accompany the old Nabob, with whom she says she has not been in good harmony for a long time past; that she is extremely glad the government is put into such good hands; and that she shall live much happier with her daughter and son in law.

The old Nabob is now pretty easy, and seems to be reconciled to the loss of a power which he owns to have been rather a burthen than a pleasure, and too much for his abilities to manage since the death of his son; and the enjoyment of the rest of his days in security under the English protection, seems to be the chief object of his wishes.

No. 1. Translation of an Address presented to the Nabob Jaffier Aly Khan by the Governor, dated 18th October 1760.

When I was at Madrafs, Colonel Clive frequently wrote to me on the state of affairs in this country, and told me, that whenever he quitted this country to return to Europe, he would procure my appointment to the government. The friendship and connections between your excellency and the colonel are well known to me, and I hoped to have found all affairs carried on intirely according to the treaty; but what I observed upon my arrival, I shall now lay before you particularly.

First, The English forces who are employed in your service, and in the support of your government at Azimabat, are kept without their pay.

Secondly, The forces of the Sircar, who are stationed in those parts, are discontented, and disaffected to the service for want of pay.

Thirdly, The Sepoys at Muxadabad had surrounded the palace in a tumultuous manner for the arrears of their pay, and endangered your life: How deeply I was affected cannot be expressed: God is witness of what I felt upon that occasion.

Fourthly, I plainly perceived, that the ministers of this court, from their covetousness and base dispositions, had set aside all justice, were plundering the poor without cause, and doing what they pleased, nor even withholding their hands from the lives of the people, destroying the subjects, and bringing ruin and desolation on the country.

Fifthly, The scarcity of provisions, &c. is so great as was never before known in this country, insomuch that the people of all degrees are in the greatest distress.—This can be owing to no other cause, than the bad management of your ministers.

Sixthly, Formerly at the desire of the English Company, a mint was established in Calcutta, and it was your order, that the siccas of Calcutta, of the same weight and fineness with the siccas of Muxadabad, should pass for equal value. Notwithstanding your perwanah for enforcing this grant, the officers of the King's province, have not suffered them to pass, but contrary to your orders, require and insist on a batta on the siccas.

Sevently, The war with the Sha Zaddah still continues: notwithstanding the sums expended, and the endeavours of the English forces, this affair is yet no nearer to a conclusion than the first day; excepting the Kella of Azimabat, no part of the subahship of Patna remains in your possession; all the lands and villages are in a state of ruin; and the Zemindars in every place are ready to join the Sha Zaddah's army, as appears from the letter to me to this



purpose from Beerboen.—From these circumstances, it evidently appears to me, that all these difficulties came to pass after the death of your son the late Chuta Nabob; from which time the ministers of the sircar regarding only their own interest, neglect the good of the country, and the welfare of the subjects, and employ themselves in oppressing the poor, in rapine, violence, injustice, and iniquity.—When I saw the affairs of the sircar in the hands of such faithless and unworthy men, and every thing tending still farther to ruin, I lifted up my eyes to heaven, and bewailed my strange fate, that providence should send me into this country at such a time, and in the midst of such calamities; when the dignity of the Nabob, the reputation of the Company, and the prosperity of the country, are almost expired. After long consideration, I concluded I would make one vigorous trial immediately to remedy all these evils, hoping by God's assistance to surmount all difficulties: For this reason, I am come with great joy into your presence, and am happy in paying you my respects.

No. 2. Translation of an Address presented to the Nabob Jaffier Aly Khan by the Governor, dated the 18th October.

The ministers that are about your person, and who transact your business, are people that are ever wavering and changeable in their Councils, as is evident from the perwannahs you frequently sent me, complaining of the bad conduct and wicked intentions of Maha Rajahbullub, insisted upon the being recalled by some means or other. The colonel considering the situation of affairs at that time, recommended Maha Rajahbullub to you, and you sent me a copy of it in a letter, which you did me the honour to write to me, and said, that you was surprised that the Colonel would recommend a man so very unfit for business. You also sent me word by the Nabob Kassiin Aly Khan and the Rayraen, that the business of the most consequence was to get Maha Rajahbullub down from Patna: I therefore agreeable to your desire, wrote to Mr. Amyatt to send him down; God only knows what council your ministers gave, that the perwannah was deferred being sent; but that is the true cause of the troubles now at Patna: It is a known maxim, that a government where the councils change every day, cannot be well regulated.

No. 3. Translation of a Letter presented to the Nabob Jaffier Aly Khan, by the Governor, dated the 18th October 1760.

The important affairs, for the regulation of which I have waited on you, as submitted to your consideration in a separate address, containing seven articles; now that I am here, is the time for opening the door of the difficulties therein mentioned, which is only to be effected by the key of your enlightened wisdom. If this opportunity be lost, another will hardly occur, when we can meet together so conveniently; besides, the particulars which I have taken notice of, and the payment of arrears due to the English troops, and those of the sircar, it is necessary to make a large provision for future exigencies.—You have already given in pledge, jewels for a large amount, to be discharged by different payments, agreed and signed to, in your own hand; how this sum is to be paid, unless the country is settled, I don't perceive; the pay allowed for the English army has been limited to one lack of rupees per month. As the disturbances in the country have increased every day, for that reason large sums have been expended in bringing soldiers from Europe and Madras, and in raising Sepoys: On this account a lack of rupees is by no means sufficient. Let your excellency duly reflect, that your own Sepoys, in the time of extremity, preferring their own safety, have joined with the forces of the enemy; and the English forces, devoted entirely to your service, and the destruction of your enemies, never were guilty of such a conduct, nor ever will; and by the blessing of God, wherever the English standard has been fixed they have always proved victorious: Upon this account it is by no means becoming your wisdom to neglect such brave men, or to deny them their due rewards. It is necessary, that for this business your excellency grant the Company some certain lands, sufficient for the disbursement of the pay of the troops, the expences of the artillery, and the provisions of stores, &c. that, without any trouble to yourself, all their charges may be defrayed, from the produce of these lands, and our arms always ready to be employed in your service; otherwise I must submit to necessity. My concern for my honour will not suffer me to be unmoved at the Company's loss; but I must seek some expedient for promoting the interest of the Company, and removing the evils they are oppressed with; and those expedients must be adopted: but if your affliction for the death of your son has taken that hold upon your mind, that you cannot attend to the remedying of such great difficulties, it is proper that you appoint some capable person from amongst your children, in the place and dignity of your said son, the Nabob Nasir ool Moolk, who may take charge of all these affairs, regulate the business of the country, and remove all these difficulties; that your excellency, freed from all the troubles and fatigues of the transactions, may remain without care, and the shadow of your protection overspread the whole.

No. 4. Translation of a Letter from the Governor to the Nabob, dated 19th October, at Night.

I have been waiting all this day in expectation that you would have settled some of the weighty and urgent affairs, upon which I yesterday conferred with you, and that you would have acquainted me with your determination; but you have not favoured me with any answer.

swer concerning them; from hence it plainly appears, that as long as those evil councillors remain about your person, whatsoever I may represent to you for your prosperity and welfare, and the good of this country, will have no effect. The folly of these people will soon deprive you of your government, and prove the ruin, likewise, of the Company's affairs: I have judged it improper, that such evils and disgrace should be brought upon us, for the sake of two or three men; for this reason I have sent Colonel Caillaud, with forces, to wait upon you; when the said Colonel arrives, he will expel those bad councillors, and place your affairs in a proper state: I will shortly follow. Let not your excellency be under any apprehensions, but cheerfully receive the Colonel; and give orders to your men, that they make no disturbances, nor raise tumults in the city. I solemnly declare, that I have no other view but your good and welfare. Look upon me as your sincere well-wisher, and remain satisfied.

Agreed, we write the following Letter to the President, and Colonel Caillaud.

Gentlemen,

We have been honoured with your favour of the 21st, and one from the President of the 20th instant; by which we have been informed of the great success that has attended your operations: We must congratulate you on your having amply effected the intended purposes, without the effusion of blood, or any disturbance; and are highly pleased to find the Nabob so well reconciled to his present situation. We doubt not but what has been so well begun, will be concluded for the benefit and advantage of the Company; and that the affairs of the government will, in future, be put on a secure and proper footing.

We have given the necessary directions for the reception and accommodation of the old Nabob, whenever he arrives in Calcutta.

A few days, we flatter ourselves, will bring this matter to a conclusion; and that we shall, very shortly, have the pleasure of the Governor's presence with us.

W. Ellis.  
Wm. B. Sumner:

Fort William, 8th November 1760.

At a Consultation; Present;

The honourable Henry Vansittart, Esquire, President;  
William Ellis, Samuel Waller, and  
William B. Sumner, Culling Smith, Esquires.  
Harry Verelst, Mr. McGwire, indisposed.  
Harry Smith,

Mr. Verelst's Opinion of the late Revolutions.

Mr. Verelst delivers in his opinion, upon the measures lately taken by the Select Committee, as follows:

Mr. Verelst begs leave to observe, that the board had been, till now, kept entirely ignorant of the proceedings of the Select Committee, relating to the present revolution, and their motives for it; he therefore cannot pretend to judge how far such a step was necessary, but thinks, that an affair of such immediate consequence to the Company's estates in these parts, the most mature consideration of the whole board should have been first had; that a treaty, executed in the most solemn manner, subsisted between Meer Jaffier, and us; the most faithful adherence to which, as well as all other our engagements, has preserved that influence and power we have maintained ever since the re-capture of Calcutta; a steadiness to which treaty made the British admired, nay even courted, by every prince throughout those provinces, and has ever been fatal to the prince apparent of the empire, and many other disturbers, who have hitherto weakly endeavoured to engage us to break through those solemn ties we were sworn to. As this sudden change must alarm every one, to find us so unexpectedly breaking through all our engagements, which were so public, reputable, and to the honour of the nation, he cannot be blamed, as the member of this board, for expressing his dissatisfaction, at being made a cypher of, in so critical a concern.

Mr. Smith's Opinion the same as Mr. Verelst's.

Mr. Smith begs leave to observe, he is of the same opinion with Mr. Verelst.

The President begs leave to remark upon the foregoing minutes, that though Mr. Verelst and Mr. Smith might, without the least presumption, think that they, and the rest of the gentlemen of the Committee, ought to have been consulted upon an affair of so much importance, before it was carried into execution, yet, their venturing to condemn, or approve, before they know the nature of the engagements entered into, the reason why, or the manner in which, the whole was conducted, seems rather premature, especially as they had an opportunity of so soon making themselves competent judges; the whole being now ordered to be laid before the board, as mentioned in the former part of these minutes: the reason why the whole council was not before informed, was, that it was an affair that absolutely required secrecy, and it is expressly for the conduct of such affairs, that the honourable the Court of Directors has thought proper to appoint a Select

Committee



Committee : To the secrecy which was observed, may, in great measure, be attributed the speedy and easy success which attended the execution, and the preventing all disturbance, and loss of blood.

Fort William, 10th November 1760.

Monday.

At a Consultation ; Present,

The honourable Henry Vansittart, Esquire, President.  
 William Ellis, Harry Verelst, and  
 William B. Sumner. Harry Smyth, Esquires.  
 William M'Gwire,

A Memorial, setting forth the Causes of the late Change in the Subahship of Bengal.

The Nabob, Jaffier Allee Cawn, was of a temper extremely tyrannical and avaricious, at the same time very indolent ; and the people about him, being either abject slaves and flatterers, or else the base instruments of his vices ; there was no chance of having the affairs of the government properly conducted, but by their removal : he attributed all the ill success of his affairs to imaginary plots and contrivances, and sacrificed lives, without mercy, to the excess of his jealousy : numberless are the instances of men, of all degrees, whose blood he has spilt without the least assigned reason. To learn the names and circumstances of all these sufferers, would be a work of time ; but some of the most striking examples are these following :

Coja Huddee, the first buzey, first banished for a pretended conspiracy against the Nabob's life, and afterwards cut off at Shahbad, in his march out of the province.

Mir Cazim, the second buzey, invited by the Chuta Nabob, to his house, and after having received from him unusual marks of affection, assassinated at the gates of the palace.

Abdeel Oliub Cawn, murdered at the Rumna, in the month of March 1760, by some of the Hircarras belonging to Checon, who waylaid him for that purpose, by the Nabob's orders.

Yar Mahmud, formerly in great favour with the Nabob, Serajah Dowla, and since Droga of the Emarut ; slain in the presence of the Chuta Nabob, in the month of April 1760.

Gaffecta Begum, widow of the Nabob, Shehamut Jung ;

Omna Begum, mother to the Nabob, Serajah Dowla ;

Muzado Dowla, the son of Padsha Coolly Cawn, adopted by Shehamut Jung ;

Lutfen Nissa Begum, widow of the Nabob, Serajah Dowla ;

Her infant, daughter of Serajah Dowla.

The five unhappy sufferers, mentioned last, perished all in one night at Dacca, about the month of June 1760 ; where they had been detained prisoners since the accession of Jaffier Allee Cawn to the Subahship ; a perwannah was sent to Jaffret Cawn, the Naib of Dacca, to put to death all the survivors of the family of the Nabob's Aliverdee Cawn, Shehamut Jung, and Serajah Dowla ; but, upon his declining to obey so cruel an order, the messenger, who had private instructions to execute this tragedy, in case of the other's refusal, took them from the place of their confinement ; and having carried them out at midnight upon the river, massacred and drowned them, with about 20 women of inferior note, and attendants. What became of Aliverdee Cawn's widow, is uncertain ; it being reported by many, that she escaped the fate of the rest of her family.

Executions of this kind had made the Nabob the dread, or the detestation of all good men ; and he necessarily became a prey to the people of mean extraction, and abject dispositions ; who, knowing that a government so managed could not stand long, fought only to make themselves rich, by oppressions of all sorts, upon the country, and inhabitants. To the heavy taxes laid by them on the markets, is ascribed the present unusual scarcity and dearth of provisions at the city, the capital of a country, once esteemed the most plentiful in the world.

The persons who have had the chief shares in this bad management, are Keenooram, Monilol, and Checon, all of low birth ; and the two first, the menial servants of Jaffier Allee Cawn, before he came to the subahship : these manage, so as to engage him continually in idle or vicious amusements ; keeping him, by that means in utter ignorance of his affairs, and in a state of indifference as to their success. No money came into his treasury at the same time ; nothing was paid to his army ; insomuch that his troops mutinied, and surrounded his palace in a tumultuous manner, threatening to take away his life ; which they would certainly have done, had not his son-in-law, the present Nabob, Cossim Allee Cawn, become answerable, and paid them a very large sum out of his own treasury : this happened last June and if the imminent danger, with which his person was threatened on this occasion, awakened for a moment ; no sooner was it removed again to a distance, than he fell back into the lethargy which had so long possessed him. The same unworthy ministers remained still his only councillors, and continued in the management of his affairs to the last day of his administration, which he left in so confused and impoverished a state, that in all human appearance, another month could hardly have run through before he would have been cut off by his own Sepoys, and the city become a scene of plunder and disorder ; the Nabob having

made

made no further provision for the payment of the long arrears due to his people, after Cossim Allee Cawn had freed him from his former extremity. This danger he could not but foresee, and more than once declared his apprehensions, yet had not the power to exert the necessary means for preventing it, but sunk the deeper into dejection.

Besides this intestine danger to which the government was exposed, two armies were in the field, and waiting only the fair weather to advance, the Sha Zaddah towards Patna, and the Beerboom Rajah towards Meershudabad, the capital.—The Rajahs of Bissenpoor Ramgur, and the other countries bordering upon the mountains, were ready to shake off their dependence, and had already afforded considerable supplies to the Beerboom Rajah; the Rajah of Curruckpoor had committed open hostilities, and taken possession of all the country about Boglepoor, which entirely stopped the communication between the two provinces on that side of the river. In a word, the whole country seemed ripe for an universal revolt, those parts only excepted, whose natural weakness, or neighbourhood with the city, intimidated them from taking up arms. To encounter all these difficulties, there was nothing but troops without pay, from whom therefore no great efforts could be expected; of this a very recent instance occurs in the detachment which was ordered against the Beerboom Rajah, three months before the Nabob's abdication, but never advanced more than three coss from the city; in which situation they continued upon my arrival there.

All who are now in Bengal, and acquainted with the transactions of the government, will bear witness, that this is a true description of facts; and all who are convinced of the facts, will certainly agree, that affairs were at an extremity no longer to be neglected, without manifest danger of having the province over-run, and the trade entirely ruined: I was resolved therefore to use my utmost endeavours to get these bad ministers removed: and judging it might be difficult to prevail on the Nabob to part with his favourites without some degree of violence, I brought with me a detachment of Europeans and Sepoys, under pretence of sending them with Colonel Caillaud, to reinforce the army at Patna.

I arrived with the Colonel at Cossimbuzar, the 14th of October, and the next day the Nabob paid us a visit; the 16th we went to the city, and returned the visit on the 18th, the Nabob came to Moradbaug, by appointment, to talk upon business: In the conversation which I had with him in the two former meetings, I had taken occasion to represent to him in general terms, the bad management of his ministers, the miseries and universal disaffection of the country, and the desperate state of his, as well as the Company's, affairs: In order to give him a more full and clear view of the evils brought on through the weakness of his administration, and to point out the means of their removal, I had prepared three letters, which, after a short and friendly introduction, I delivered to him, of which translations are hereunto annexed, under No. 1, 2, and 3.

The Nabob seemed much affected by the perusal of the letters, but endeavoured more to put an end to the conference than to propose a remedy to the evils. I however prevailed on him to send for his dinner to Muradbaug, and in a manner insisted on his coming to some determination for the immediate reform of the government; at length he confessed himself, through age and grief, for the late loss of his son, incapable alone of struggling against so many difficulties.—He desired he might have time to consult with his friends; I told him the men, with whom he had lately advised, were not his friends, but his greatest enemies; that his returning again in the midst of them would only be the means of augmenting his difficulties; that he had much better take the assistance of one from amongst his relations, on whose true attachment and fidelity he might more safely rely: He named five or six, and amongst them Cossim Allee Cawn: I asked him which of that number was most fit to assist him in his present exigencies; he replied, without hesitation, That Cossim Allee Cawn was the most proper; nevertheless it was with the utmost difficulty I could prevail on him to send for him, and so very late, that before Cossim Allee Cawn could arrive, the old Nabob was so extremely fatigued, and in such a state of anxiety, that I could not refuse his return home to take his rest. I was convinced indeed that it was to no purpose to detain him; for such was the jealousy he discovered with respect to Cossim Allee Cawn, that I saw he never would consent, without some sort of force, to give the other the means of restoring order to his affairs: An hour or two after the Nabob's departure, Cossim Allee Cawn arrived, and seemed to be extremely apprehensive that the Nabob, instead of trusting him with the management of his affairs, would endeavour by some means or other to get rid of him; I agreed therefore in opinion with him, that he should not go to the Nabob's house until measures were taken for his security: We resolved however to give the Nabob the next day (the 19th) to reflect upon the letters before-mentioned, in hopes that he would propose some measures of regulation.—I heard nothing from him all day, but found by my intelligence, that he had been in council with his old advisers Keenooran, Monilol, and Checon, whose advice I was sure would be contrary to the welfare of the country in general, and that of the Company in particular. I determined therefore to act immediately on the Nabob's fears: There could not be a better opportunity than that the night of the 19th afforded, it being the conclusion of the Gentoo feast, when all the principal people of that cast would be pretty well fatigued with their ceremonies; accordingly I agreed with Colonel Caillaud that he should cross the river with the detachment between three and four in the morning, and having joined Cossim Allee Cawn, and his people, march to the Nabob's palace, and surround it just at day-break: Being extremely desirous to prevent any disturbance or bloodshed, I wrote a letter to the Nabob, a translation of which is annexed, No. 4. and delivered it to the Colonel, to send in to him



at such a time as he should think most expedient: Measures were taken at the same time for seizing the persons of Keenooram, Monilol, and Checon; my intention being only to remove those three unworthy ministers, and to place Cossim Allee Cawn in the full management of all the affairs, in quality of deputy and successor to the Nabob: The necessary preparations being accordingly made, with all the care and secrecy possible, the Colonel embarked with the troops, joined Cossim Allee Cawn without the least alarm, and marched into the court yard of the palace just at the proper instant; the gates of the inner court being shut, the Colonel formed his men without, and sent my letter to the Nabob, who was at first in a great rage, and long threatened he would make what resistance he could, and take his fate: The Colonel forbore all hostilities, and several messages passed between him and the Nabob. The affair remained in this doubtful state about two hours, when the Nabob finding his persisting was to no purpose, sent a message to Cossim Allee Cawn, informing him he was ready to lend him the seals, and all the ensigns of dignity, and to order the Nabit to be stuck up in his name, provided he would agree to take the whole charge of the government upon him to discharge all the arrears due to the troops, to pay the usual revenues to the King, to save his life and honour, and give him an allowance sufficient for his maintenance. All these conditions being agreed to, Cossim Allee Cawn was proclaimed, and the old Nabob came out to the Colonel, declaring that he depended on him for his life: The troops then took possession of all the gates; and notice being sent to me, I immediately repaired to the palace, and was met by the old Nabob in the gateway; he asked if his person was safe, which seemed now to be all his concern; I told him that not only his person was safe, but his government too, if he pleased, of which it was never intended to deprive him; the Nabob answered, that he had no more business at the city, that he should be in continual danger from Cossim Allee Cawn; and that if he was permitted to go and live in Calcutta, he should be extremely happy and contented. Though I could not help lamenting his sudden fall, I was not sorry for this proposal, as I knew affairs would be much better managed without him; and his retaining a share in the authority (however small) could not fail to cause such perplexities as might prove, in so critical and dangerous a juncture, of the worst consequences to the administration. Cossim Allee Cawn was accordingly seated on the musnud, and I paid him my congratulations in the usual form; all the Jemautdars and persons of distinction at the city came immediately and made their acknowledgments to the new Subah, and in the evening every thing was as perfectly quiet as if there had been no change; the people in general seemed much pleased with this revolution, which had this peculiar felicity attending it, that it was brought about without the least disturbance in the town, or a drop of blood spilt.

The Nabob did not think himself safe even for one night in the city: Cossim Allee Cawn supplied him with boats, and permitted him to take away as many of his women as he desired (which he did to about the number of sixty) with a reasonable quantity of jewels. I furnished him with a stronger escort of Europeans and Sepoys, and intended to lodge him at Nezajeel, but he would not trust himself there, and begged he might sleep in his boats close to Moradbaug, which he accordingly did.—He continued at Moradbaug the next day, and in the evening I visited him with Colonel Caillaud.—He appeared then pretty easy, and reconciled the loss of a power, which he owned to be rather a burthen than a pleasure, and too much for his abilities to manage since the death of his son; and the enjoyment of the rest of his days in security under the English protection seemed to be the chief object of his wishes.

On the morning of the 22d, he set out for Calcutta, and arrived there the 29th. He was met by a deputation from the Council, and treated with every mark of respect due to his former dignity.

Translation of an address presented to the Nabob Jaffier Ally Cawn by the Governor.

Dated the 18th October 1760.

No. 1. When I was at Madras, Colonel Clive frequently wrote to me upon the state of the affairs of this country, and told me, that whenever he quitted this country, to return to Europe, he would procure my appointment to the government. The friendship and connections between your Excellency and the Colonel, are well known to me; and I hoped to have found all affairs carried on entirely according to the treaty; but what I observed upon my arrival, I shall now lay before you particularly.

First, The English Forces, who are employed in your service, and in the support of your government at Azimabad\*, are kept without their pay.

Secondly, The forces of the Sicar †, who are stationed in those parts, are discontented, and disaffected to the service for want of their pay.

Thirdly, The Sepoys of Murshudabad had surrounded the palace in a tumultuous manner for the arrears of their pay, and endangered your life: how deeply I was affected cannot be expressed; God is witness what I felt on that occasion.

Fourthly, I plainly perceived that the ministers of this court, from their covetous and base dispositions, had set aside all justice, were plundering the poor without cause, and doing what they pleased, nor even withholding their hands from the lives of the people, destroying the subjects, and bringing ruin and desolation on the country.

† Patna.

‡ Government.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, The scarcity of provisions, &c. is so great as was never before known in this country, insomuch that the people of all degrees are in the greatest distress: this can be owing to no other cause but the bad management of your ministers.

Sixthly, Formerly, at the desire of the English Company, a mint was established in Calcutta; and it was your order that the siccas of Calcutta, of the same weight and fineness with the siccas of Murshudabad, should pass for equal value; notwithstanding your perwannahs, for the enforcing of this grant, the officers of the King's province have not suffered them to pass; but, contrary to your orders, require and insist on a batta on the siccas.

Seventhly, The war with the Sha Zadda still continues, notwithstanding the sums expended, and the endeavours of the English forces, the affair is yet no nearer to a conclusion than the first day, excepting the kella † of Azimabad, no part of the subahship of Patna remains in your possession; all the lands and villages are in a state of ruin, and the Zemindars, in every place, are ready to join the Sha Zadda's army, as appears from the letter wrote to me to this purpose from Beerboom: From these circumstances it evidently appears to me, that all these difficulties came to pass after the death of your son, the late Chuta Nabob, from which time the ministers of the sircar regarding only their own interest, neglect the good of the country, and the welfare of the subjects, and employ themselves in oppressing the poor, in rapine, violence, injustice, and iniquity. When I saw the affairs of the sircar in the hands of such faithless and unworthy men, and every thing tending still farther to ruin, I lifted up my eyes to heaven, and bewailed my strange fate, that Providence should send me into this country at such a time, and in the midst of such calamities, when the dignity of the Nabob, the reputation of the Company, and the prosperity of the country, are almost expired. After long consideration, I concluded that I would make one vigorous trial immediately, to remedy all these evils, hoping, by God's assistance, to surmount all difficulties; for this reason I am come with great joy into your presence, and am happy in paying you my respects.

Translation of an Address presented to the Nabob Jaffier Ally Cawn by the Governor.

Dated 18th October, 1760.

No. 2. The ministers that are about your person, and who transact your business, are people that are ever wavering and changeable in their councils, as is evident from the perwannahs you frequently sent me; complaining of the bad conduct and wicked intentions of Maha Rajabullub, insinuating upon his being recalled by some means or other. The Colonel, considering the situation of affairs at that time, recommended Maha Rajabullub to you, and you sent a copy of it to me in a letter, which you did me the honour to write me, and said, you was surpris'd that the Colonel would recommend a man so very unfit for every business: you also sent me word by the Nabob Meer Mahomed Cassum Cawn, and the Roy Royan, that the business of the most consequence was to get Maha Rajabullub down from Patna. I therefore, agreeable to your desire, wrote to Mr. Amyatt, to send him down: God only knows what council your ministers gave; that the perwannah was deferred being sent, but that is the true cause of the troubles now at Patna. It is a known maxim that a government, where the council changes every day, cannot be well regulated.

Translation of a Letter presented to the Nabob Jaffier Ally Cawn by the Governor.

Dated 18th October, 1760.

No. 3. The important affairs, for the regulation of which I have waited upon you, are submitted to your consideration in a separate address, containing seven articles. Now that I am here, this is the time for opening the door of the difficulties therein mentioned, which is only to be effected by the key of your enlightened wisdom. If this opportunity be lost, another will hardly occur, when we can meet together so conveniently; besides the particulars which I have taken notice of, and the payment of the arrears, due to the English troops, and those of the sircar, it is necessary to make a large provision for future exigencies; you have already given in pledge jewels for a large amount, to be discharged by different payments, agreed and signed to by your own hand. How this sum is to be paid, unless the country is settled, I do not perceive; the pay allowed for the English army has been limited to one lack of rupees per month; as the disturbances in the country have increased every day, for that reason large sums have been expended in bringing foldiers from Europe and Madras, and in raising Sepoys; on this account a lack of rupees is by no means sufficient: let your excellency duly reflect that your own Sepoys, in time of extremity, preferring their own safety, have joined with the forces of the enemy, and the English forces devoted entirely to your service, and the destruction of your enemies, never were guilty of such a conduct, nor ever will; and by the blessing of God, wherever the English standard has been fixed, they have always proved victorious; upon this account it is by no means becoming your wisdom to neglect such brave men, or to deny them their due rewards. It is necessary that for this business your Excellency grant the English Company certain lands, sufficient for the disbursement of the troops, the expences of the artillery, and the provision of stores, &c. that without any trouble to yourself, all their charges may be defrayed from the produce of these lands, and our arms always ready to be employed in your service, otherwise I must submit to necessity. My concern for my own honour will not suffer me to be unmoved at the Company's loss;



but I must seek some expedient for promoting the interests of the Company, and removing the evils they are oppressed with; and those expedients must be adopted. But if your affliction for the death of your son has taken that hold upon your mind, that you cannot attend to the remedying of such great difficulties, it is proper that you appoint some capable person from amongst your children, in the place and dignity of your said son the Nabob Nassirool Moolk, who may take charge of all these affairs, regulate the business of the country, and remove all these difficulties.—That your Excellency, freed from all the troubles and fatigues of the public transactions, may remain without care or uneasiness, and the shadow of your protection overspread the whole.

Translation of a Letter from the Governor to the Nabob.

Dated the 19th October 1760, at night.

No. 4. I have been waiting all this day in expectation that you would have settled some of the weighty and urgent affairs upon which I yesterday conferred with you, and that you would have acquainted me with your determination, but you have not favoured me with any answer concerning them; from hence it plainly appears, that as long as those evil councillors remain about your person, whatsoever I may represent to you for your prosperity and welfare, and the good of this country, will have no effect. The folly of these people will soon deprive you of your government, and prove the ruin likewise of the Company's affairs. I have judged it improper that such evils and disgrace should be brought upon us for the sake of two or three men; for this reason I have sent Colonel Caillaud with forces to wait upon you; when the same Colonel arrives, he will expel those bad councillors, and place your affairs in a proper state: I will shortly follow. Let not your Excellency be under any apprehensions, but cheerfully receive the Colonel, and give orders to your men that they commit no disturbance, nor raise tumults in the city. I solemnly declare that I have no other view but your good and welfare.—Look upon me as your sincere well-wisher, and remain satisfied.

## A P P E N D I X, No. 10.

Proceedings relating to Colonel Caillaud.

Fort William, the 4th October 1762

At a Consultation; Present,

The worshipful Peter Amyatt, Esquire, President.	
William M'Guire, Esquire.	William Hay, Esquire.
Warren Hastings, Esquire.	Hugh Watts, Esquire.
The Governor indisposed.	

Colonel Caillaud's  
Defence, L. R. No. 14.

Colonel Caillaud now delivers in the following letter, dated this day, containing an apology for his conduct, in answer to the charge exhibited against him.

To the honourable Henry Vansittart, Esquire,  
President, and Governor, &c. Gentlemen of Council, at Fort William.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

In compliance to the orders which you have received relating to me, from the honourable the Court of Directors, in a postscript of a letter, under date the 7th October 1761, in which you are directed and required to cause the strictest and most impartial enquiry to be made into a report; "That in conjunction with the Chuta Nabob, I had signed a paper, offering "a reward of fifty thousand rupees, or some such sum, to several black persons for the assassination of the Sha Zaddah, which paper was also offered to Mr. Amyatt, the then chief of "Patna, for him to sign; but which he refused, as a most infamous measure:" This, Gentlemen, is the substance of the charge to which I am now to reply.

Unfavourable as the first appearance of the action may seem against me, I cannot but hope that when in the course of this my apology, you are made acquainted with the reasons for my concurring and consenting to this (as it must have appeared) so unjustifiable a measure, and when all the circumstances attending on it are laid before you, I flatter myself that I may be able so far to justify my conduct to the world, my employers, and you, as to satisfy them that if I have gone too far, it was from the best of motives, and with the best of intentions; such at least as at that time, and ever since, have acquitted me in my own breast of any sense of guilt; and happy shall I be, if I can make my actions appear in the same light to the unprejudiced and impartial part of mankind.

Could I have foreseen or expected that one day I might be called upon to answer to what is now so heavily laid to my charge, or had my heart ever once at the time, or afterwards, reproached me with that transaction as a crime, which is now made one of so foul a nature against me; is it to be supposed but that I would have taken such precautions to guard against the consequences, as naturally must have presented themselves to a mind conscious of  
guilt,

guilt, or of a fault? On the contrary, as my conscience never reproached me, so my conduct, in consequence, was agreeable to the self-known honesty and innocence of my intentions: On this account, therefore, I made no secret of what had passed, but on all occasions openly and publicly avowed it; even the very day after, my first step was to make the Governor (then Mr. Holwell) acquainted with it; a copy of which letter I shall produce, and in which the fact is told in all truth and sincerity; but in such a stile also, as I think must support what I declare to have been my real sentiments and motives in this affair: I shall bring also a letter, wrote the morning of that evening, in which I acquiesced with the Nabob in that measure, and in which I think many striking proofs will be found for the truth of what I advance in favour of my cause.

From whence then could this consciousness of security to myself arise? Guilt could never have produced it. Sure then, it could only proceed from a strong self conviction, that the measure to which I then gave my concurrence could never take place; but to the appearances to which I was obliged to submit, from the necessity of the times, and to avoid greater ills which then threatened us, as well from the perplexing and critical situation of affairs in general, as from the natures and dispositions of the people, with whom I had to deal.

As a further testimony of the truth of what I am now advancing towards my vindication; and as a proof that the action must have appeared to others in the same light as it did to me at the time, I appeal to the gentlemen then present, Captain Knox and Mr. Lushington, for their sentiments on the affair: For, to the best of my remembrance, I cannot recollect that either of them once made any objection, or expressed that just abhorrence, which naturally would arise against an action such as I am charged with. Could this proceed from any cause, but their seeing the whole transaction with all its attending circumstances, in the same favourable point of view, in which it appeared to me? Must they not, like me, have been satisfied and convinced, that it was an idle and vain scheme, that could never take place, but to which my concurrence was absolutely necessary, to amuse and keep up the idle foolish hopes of the Nabob and his son, who required no less a proof (as we then stood affected towards each other) to satisfy them, and remove those fears and jealousies from which we had every thing to apprehend.

Thus urged, thus impelled, I made no scruple of acting to the best of my judgment and abilities for the public service. To forward that alone was my only aim, and engrossed all my attention; to that I sacrificed all fears, that the means by which I pursued it, were in appearance unjustifiable. But fears indeed I had none, but such as I was ever ready to despise, when the public good and my private safety came in competition: others in my situation might have acted with more prudence; but none, I will venture to affirm, with more innocence of heart, or better intentions: had I been guilty, I had the means in my power, with ease, to have concealed it: had I been less zealous, I had proceeded with more caution, and given more attention to my own personal safety, than to the dangers of the public cause.

But from this my own report, Gentlemen, neither the world nor you can judge, or be satisfied. I shall therefore endeavour to support what I have already offered in my vindication, by such proofs, as, from the nature of the accusation against me, I shall be able to collect. These proofs shall consist in a fair and impartial account of the transaction itself; with all the circumstances attending it that I can possibly charge my memory with; and by my own account of the event immediately after it happened.—The difficulties I labour under in my defence, are obvious, by being obliged to answer to so unexpected a charge, at so great a distance of time, there being now above two years elapsed; in which space many circumstances must have escaped me, as well as the gentlemen who were present, which, could we recollect, might have much favoured and assisted my cause. However, such allowances and assistance, in this, and in every other respect, as may be expected from men of honour, candour, and generosity, I am satisfied I may expect, and that I shall receive, Gentlemen from you.

To this account of the fact itself shall be joined authenticated extracts from my correspondence at that time; and from these I hope the real motives of my action will appear in their strongest and most favourable light, as will also what I have advanced as to the then critical situation of our affairs. But for the truth of this I may further appeal to many of the present members of the Council, who must have a perfect knowledge, as well of our condition at that time, as of the nature of the men with whom I was obliged to act.

From the depositions already taken, and the further questions I may have to ask of Captain Knox and Mr. Lushington, I hope also much may appear in my favour: What I have to say in my own cause may be doubted; but that, when strengthened by the testimony of others, cannot be controverted. Happy shall I esteem myself, if altogether I can satisfy my employers, and you, Gentlemen, that I have not deserved the injury done my reputation.

I am greatly encouraged to hope, from the reception I have met with since my arrival here, that no prejudices are entertained to my disadvantage. On the contrary, I have all the reason to be satisfied, that my cause will be assisted by all the generous concern which human minds can feel (without prejudice to honour, truth, or justice) for errors in which the heart had no share.

May I venture to conclude this by an appeal to the course of my conduct thro' life? Have I ever, to the knowledge of any man, betrayed in my actions, my conversation, or my manners, a want of humanity? or in my nature and disposition shewn that I had not the feelings



of a man? and may I, without an imputation of vanity, rather flatter myself, that amongst my friends and my acquaintance, I was held in some esteem, for the practice of a few virtues the most opposite to such a character? Is it possible then, that I could in one minute so far change my nature; and that at once forgetting all that was due to myself, to honour, to principle, and to humanity, I could be guilty of the crime laid to my charge?

There are none of you, Gentlemen, here, but what are well acquainted with the Shah Zaddah's first attempts in the year 1759, who then entered the subahship of Bahar, at the head of an army, which gave the first rise to the troubles and confusion, that for a time so distracted this government. Colonel Clive, with his usual conduct, activity, and success, baffled with ease his first attempts, and obliged him to retire over the Caramaferah, the boundaries of the Patna province; and there was room to hope, that all further troubles from that quarter were happily over.

However, early in the year 1760, the Prince was encouraged by the number of disaffected Rajahs and Jemydars of these provinces (who all promised to support his cause) once more to try his fortune. You are well informed of his first successes by the defeat of Ramnouan, the Subah then of Patna; of my march, in conjunction with the Nabob's son, to the relief of that city; and of our success against the Prince, whose army was defeated at Circey on the 22d of February.

The bad use that was made of this victory, the causes of which are well known, gave the Prince time to collect his scattered adherents; and the then situation of the province of Bengal gave him hopes, that he might better carry the point, by striking at once at the root before we could prevent the mischief; which determined him to move for that province, leaving behind him every thing that could retard his march, and with an army composed almost of nothing but cavalry.

The old Nabob was then in Bengal, and had taken the field at the head of an army, as mutinous, disobedient, and ill appointed, as a body of troops could be, to whom there was owing vast arrears of pay, and even without money for their immediate subsistence. The occasion of his taking the field at first, was with an intention to reduce to obedience the Nabob of Pyrneah, who had thrown off his allegiance, and was encamped on the banks of the Ganges, with an army well appointed and well paid of 30 thousand men; and besides this force, by whom the Shah Zaddan expected to be joined, there was also a body of Morattoes that had entered the province from Catak, and were then in the heart of Bengal, plundering and destroying the most fruitful part of the province; and this was the situation of affairs in this government about the beginning of March.

Mr. Holwell was then Governor, and had succeeded Colonel Clive, who had failed for Europe some time in February: while he remained such was his influence and ascendancy over the Nabob, that he was kept within some bounds; but no sooner was that check removed, than he began to pursue such measures as gave Mr. Holwell (and indeed with justice) very early impressions to his disadvantage; and as Mr. Holwell did not conceal his sentiments, the Nabob was soon apprized of them; and thus a mutual distrust and jealousy of each other was very early and firmly established. I own the Nabob's conduct was such, that though my way of acting was different, yet my real opinion of him was to the full as bad as Mr. Holwell's; but our respective thoughts on this subject will best appear by the subjoined extracts of our letters, one of mine to the Governor, dated the 27th February, and his answer of the 11th of March.

Extract of Colonel Caillaud's Letter to Mr. Holwell, dated Shah Zadahpour, 27th February 1760.

“ The more I see of the Nabob, the more I am convinced he must be ruined in spite of all our endeavours, if he does not alter his present measures: he is neither loved nor feared by his troops, nor his people: he neglects securing the one by the badness of his payments; and he wants spirit and steadiness to command the other: as no one knows him better than you, Sir, no one is more proper to give him the necessary advice on the occasion; nor can you too forcibly, or frequently represent to him the fatal consequences, if he persists in his folly.”

Extract of Mr. Holwell's Answer, dated Calcutta, 11th March 1760.

“ The judgment you have formed of the Nabob is too just. Weakness, irresolution, suspicion, and consequently cruelty from his disposition: What but the issue you predict can result from these, when joined to a most ungracious and insolent demeanour, which has made him universally hated and despised? We must, however, support him and his government as long as we possibly can, without involving ourselves and our employers in his ruin. When this appears, it will be time to think a little further, as I judge there is no treaty subsisting between us, that can exact that sacrifice from us.”

Ill, however, as it appears I thought of the Nabob, yet I strove on all occasions to soften matters between him and Mr. Holwell: I knew and apprehended the fatal consequences of such jealousies and divisions amongst us; which in the end could but encrease our difficulties, and add to the confusion and perplexity of our situation.

Among

Among the many subjects of contention between them, there were two in particular that much widened the breach, and in the conduct of which I thought there were faults on both sides.

The Nabob at this time had been particularly earnest with Mr. Holwell, with regard to the protection that was continued to a person called Roydoolabram, against whom there were very strong proofs, that he had been very instrumental in promoting the troubles which then reigned in that country; that he had favoured the Prince's cause, and assisted him with money; and that it was owing principally to his representations and advice, that the Prince had begun his march towards Bengal; and that the Morattoes had entered the province. It was certain that the force of any accusation which the Nabob could bring against this man, was much weakened by the knowledge we had of his motives, and the many attempts he had before made at the expence of truth, to induce us to withdraw our protection from him: But at this time my suspicions of his conduct were not grounded so much on what the Nabob advanced against him, as from my own knowledge of facts, which proved that he not only then encouraged, but was assisting the Prince's cause: I did not think therefore that all was done that might have been done, to give the Nabob satisfaction in this affair: Tho' I must do Mr. Holwell the justice to say, that notwithstanding our sentiments differed on this subject, yet he had so much regard to my representations, as to have the man confined to his house, and narrowly watched. Our opinions will best appear on this subject also by two short extracts of one of my letters to him, dated the 4th of March, and his answer of the 12th.

Extract of Colonel Caillaud's Letter to Mr. Holwell, dated Camp at Circey the 4th March 1760.

“ There was a report that Roydoolabram and Nuncomar were confined. I could have wished to have seen it confirmed in your last letter; as to the latter, I know nothing of him; but for the former, I am convinced he has been the principal person concerned in all these troubles. His confinement, if true, will, I think, be a great means to ruin the Shah Zaddah and his party—as his interest and money have been the principal means of his support.”

Extract of Mr. Holwell's Answer, dated Calcutta 12th March 1760.

“ I must differ in sentiments with you touching Roydoolabram's supporting him (meaning Sabur, the chief of the Morattoes, who were in the country) or the Shah Zaddah; narrowly watched as he has been, it is hardly possible he could have furnished either with supplies; and for the further security of him, I have removed him and his sons into the centre of the town, where they are, and shall remain close prisoners until these troubles subside.”

This affair was one of those which at first begun the distrusts and doubts that subsisted between the Governor and the Nabob; but another of a more serious nature that happened about this time encreased it to such a degree, as still made my situation between them more and more perplexed. It will be necessary, however, before I mention this event, that I mention what became of the Prince, and of his expedition into the Bengal province.

As we had the earliest intelligence of the Prince's march and designs, the young Nabob was then convinced, but too late, of his folly; and to make what amends he could for it, he agreed to pursue any measures I would propose: there was but one left, which was to follow the Prince as fast as we could; and though it could not be expected, from the nature of our troops, that we could come up with his army, yet we kept so close to him, as entirely prevented his putting in execution any part of his plan of operations, expecting his being joined by the Morattoes. As for us, after the junction was made between the old Nabob's army and ours, we marched, in hopes of bringing the Prince to another engagement, which he as cautiously avoided; however, what with lucky and unlucky hours, and every sort of delay and disappointment that could attend irresolution in council, and cowardice in execution, we lost many opportunities; the last the best, when I came up near enough to the rear of the Prince's army to cannonade them; but from which they soon got out of reach; and the Prince finding he could not make any thing of it, while he had our army to contend with, took the same rout back, by which he came; and thus ended his fruitless attempt in Bengal; and as soon as we were satisfied of his retreat, our army, in conjunction with the two Nabobs and their forces, marched towards the city of Muxadavad.

It was about this time that I received a letter from Mr. Holwell, dated the 7th April, informing me, that he had found out that the Nabob was carrying on a correspondence with the Prince, and of so injurious a nature to the mutual engagements which we were under to each other, as deserved our warmest resentment, desiring me that I would use all the means in my power to come at the truth of it; that he, for his part, had been employing an emissary with Cander Khan, the man who was then the Prince's principal support. The consequence of this emissary's negotiations (of the nature of which I never was made acquainted, whether by letter or message) was no less than Mr. Holwell's receiving in answer a phirmaund from the Prince with many fair offers, and inclosing a copy, as it is said, of the Nabob's address, into the authenticity of which I was to inquire. Thus a correspondence was established between Mr. Holwell and the Prince, at the same time that he was so loudly reproaching the Nabob with a step of the same nature.



The first intimation I had given me of this affair, was previous to Mr. Holwell's letter, and came to me from some of the persons about the Nabob, informing me that the Nabob was acquainted with the whole transaction, and was under the greatest uneasiness and apprehensions about it; for which I own I thought he had but too much reason; for as he could not know Mr. Holwell's motives, such a circumstance at the time must have much affected him, and made a very strong impression on his mind. I did not then immediately give my sentiments to Mr. Holwell on the affair; but some time after, upon his mentioning, in a letter to me, that his messengers coming from the Prince, had been plundered of their letters, which, he said, could not be done by any but some of the Nabob's emissaries, I could not help in my answer to him in a general letter of the first of May, saying—

Extract of Colonel Caillaud's Letter to the Board, dated Moradbaug, 1st May 1760.

“ In the President's letter of the 24th ultimo, he informs me, that the returning Hircarrah from Cander Khan had been plundered of the letters they had. I am concerned indeed at it, but not so much from any great loss the letters can be; but that if they have fallen into the Nabob's hands, he will have reason to think it very extraordinary, that at the same time we are reproaching him with carrying on a correspondence without our knowledge, to find such proofs against us of our doing the like, with another disagreeable circumstance attending it, letters in the same packet for men his known and professed enemies, such as Rajahram and Nuncomar.”

To set the above circumstances in the clearest light I can, circumstances which I think must strongly tend towards my justification, I will now lay before you, Gentlemen, an extract of that letter from the Governor, dated the 7th April, in which he first makes me acquainted both with his own correspondence, and that which he suspected the Nabob was carrying on with the Prince; and to this I shall subjoin my answer of the 15th of April, which I will beg of you to observe was wrote the morning of that very day, on which, with the Nabob and his son, I signed that paper with regard to the Prince.

Extract of Mr. Holwell's Letter to Colonel Caillaud, dated Calcutta, the 7th April 1760.

“ I am now to touch on a subject to you, which appears to me to require our greatest attention: some days ago I wrote Mr. Hastings concerning an information that was given me, that the old Nabob had sent a trusty person with a submissive arazee to the Sha Zaddah, in which he exculpated himself, by throwing the whole blame of the opposition made to his arms, on the machinations of the English. Mr. Hastings, in his letter in answer to mine, seemed to think it impossible such a step could have been taken by the Nabob, or indeed, that he could have sent any arazee at all; however, in a subsequent letter from him, of the 27th, he finds out, that an arazee was sent, though different in purport to that I informed him of: as I thought it most essential to us, to trace, if possible, the truth, I employed an emissary to Camgar Khan; the consequence of which has been a phirmaund from the Sha Zaddah, enclosing a copy of the old Nabob's arazee to him, with an apology for not sending the original; a copy of the copy I send you enclosed, and request your sentiments, how and in what light this appears to you. If the copy is authentic, the case is plain, that this man, for whom we have drawn the sword, would not scruple, if drove to any extremity, to make his peace by the sacrifice of his protectors. The phirmaund, I suppose, differs little in matters from that he sent you; he reminds me of the obligations the English lay under to his ancestors; and offers a charte blanche for the Company, provided we will draw our forces off from that doer of evil, and join them to his standard, which he advises me he has at present fixed at Surgur; and in a few days purposes to erect it in Muxadavad, &c.”

Extract of Colonel Caillaud's Answer, dated Camp at Dignagar, the 15th April 1760.

“ I am now to answer your two last obliging favours of the 7th and 9th; the receipt of which I acknowledged in my last of the 12th instant. In order to come to the truth, with regard to the Nabob's arazee to the Prince, Mr. Hastings had recourse to the Nabob's Persian writer; a man, who has on many occasions given him proofs of attachment and fidelity. The moment he set his eyes on the paper, he declared it to be a forgery: may I beg leave to refer you to Mr. Hastings for the reasons he gave for it, as that gentleman's knowledge in the language will enable him to give you a clearer idea of these distinctions in addresses and the stile of their letters than I can pretend to; for my part I own, after Mr. Hastings had repeated them to me, they were so satisfactory as to convince me, the probability of its being a forgery was greatly in the Nabob's favour.

“ Two days, Sir, before I received your letter, the Nabob and his son were with me, and I found the old man big with something that he did not well know how to begin breaking to me; I helped him forward all I could, by those kind of assurances which often open the hearts of men, and he then told me that he had wrote to the Prince, and had

“ had received an answer, such a one as gave him hopes with other circumstances, that the  
 “ Prince might be inclinable to treat, and put himself perhaps in his power; but that he  
 “ knew he (the Prince) would not do this, without I would be his security for his safety :  
 “ the Nabob was desirous to know in such a case, how I would act; but the main drift of  
 “ his discourse was to find out, in short, how far I would be consenting, in case, by the  
 “ means of this treaty, the Prince would trust himself so far in his power as to give him an  
 “ opportunity of displaying the true eastern system of politics, by cutting him off. You  
 “ may easily, Sir, guess my answer, That I was ready to do every thing for his service  
 “ consistent with the honour of my country, and the sacred regard we paid to our word;  
 “ and besides, that if the Prince made any address to me on this subject of security, I must  
 “ first have your instructions in the affair; and thus the conversation ended. I made it my  
 “ business afterwards to enquire among some of the Nabob’s people, on what grounds he  
 “ founded these hopes of getting the Prince in his power, but they all assured me, as I sus-  
 “ pected, That they were no more than the idle reports of some of his minions, who knew  
 “ such stories would be well received and credited, and so found their advantage in flattering  
 “ his foolish hopes.

“ It is a very unfortunate circumstance that we have to do with so weak a man, who nei-  
 “ ther from principle nor merit deserves the dignity of the station we have raised him to;  
 “ and in which he could not remain twenty-four hours, if we were to withdraw our protec-  
 “ tion from him, and on which he now so much depends, that I am obliged to give him a  
 “ guard of seapoys for the safety of his person. It does not appear to me, however, in jus-  
 “ tice or in reason, that we ought to support him in the pursuit of unjustifiable measures,  
 “ such as he follows, in regard to the not discharging the vast arrears due to his troops, who,  
 “ to a man, have publicly declared they will not draw their swords in his cause, and that  
 “ only the fear of us prevents their using them against him: the consequences of which will  
 “ be, as to his part, that while he is not afraid of his head, he never will satisfy them; and  
 “ to us, that though we may protect him against immediate danger to his person, we must  
 “ relinquish the hopes of seeing the country free from troubles, while he keeps a body of  
 “ troops he will not pay regularly, and over whom he has consequently no command. This  
 “ rotten system we might still, in some measure, support, were we always assured none but  
 “ the country powers would disturb us. But I believe it is more than probable, that the  
 “ French and Dutch, if not both, may some time or other renew their attempts to be con-  
 “ cerned, and with how much the more probability of success from the distracted state of  
 “ the country, while the Nabob continues to govern it so ill: the first opportunity I pro-  
 “ pose representing all this to him in the strongest light I possibly can, and should our  
 “ opinions agree, I should take it as a favour if you would enclose a letter from yourself on  
 “ the subject; I will deliver it, and take that opportunity, as the best, to try what can be  
 “ done by working on his fears; the only way, indeed, I am convinced, of managing him  
 “ to our advantage and his good. In particular, Sir, you will please to enforce the payment  
 “ of his troops, hinting, that if he delays it, I have your orders not to prevent their taking  
 “ their own measures.”

From this letter, I think, Gentlemen, my real sentiments may be judged to appear in  
 their strongest light; and if such was my way of thinking in the morning, it may be well  
 supposed they might in a great degree influence the measures to which I concurred in the  
 evening. My natural abhorrence of any bad or base action, appears, I think, strongly ex-  
 pressed; nor is it less evident from what follows immediately after, how much reason and  
 justice I had to treat any information of that sort from the Nabob, with all that degree of  
 contempt and disbelief which it merited. After I was convinced and satisfied from my en-  
 quiries, how little foundation there was for the truth and probability of any such event tak-  
 ing place, had not this latter proof strongly prepossessed me, it is evident, I think, that I  
 should have followed my first sentiments, which seem the most agreeable to my disposition  
 and nature. My opinion of the Nabob’s situation and our own prospects, are painted in  
 their true colours, and may serve also to prove, how perplexed my own situation must have  
 been at the time.

All these circumstances considered, did it not become absolutely necessary for me to give  
 the Nabob some such proof as would satisfy him, and calm those fears and apprehensions,  
 which the tenor of Mr. Holwell’s conduct had so strongly impressed on his mind? Bad as I  
 thought of the whole system, yet I was bound by all the means in my power to support it.  
 A mutual confidence between me and the Nabob was essentially necessary for this purpose,  
 and could it be done more effectually than by removing the cause of his mistrust? In a few  
 hours after such an opportunity offers, and was it not my business and my duty to embrace  
 it? the proof of such a nature as best could answer every good purpose which I could pro-  
 pose from it: a proof the best calculated in point of time and circumstance that could hap-  
 pen, and the strongest self-conviction, when I gave it, that the measure which it hath ap-  
 peared to tend to, was such as I knew could never take place. Let me request, Gentlemen,  
 that the evidence which this letter conveys of the true state of my mind at that time, may  
 have all the weight and attention I think it deserves; and how strong the presumption, that  
 it must have influenced me in the act which followed almost immediately after.



To the transaction itself I am now come, and as many particulars as I can charge my memory with attending on it, I shall relate.

On the 15th of April, in the evening, I waited on the Nabob; my intention in the visit was to introduce Captain Knox to take his leave, as he was the next day to march for Patna, with a detachment under his command; and I further wanted to engage the Nabob to send with him a body of cavalry: Mr. Lushington, as my interpreter, of course was with me.

We called in our way first on the Nabob's son, with whom we staid a few minutes, and I remember his presenting me at that time with a palanquin, which he had promised me a long time before, and had come up that day from Muxadavad. The little circumstances which I may throw into the course of this my account of the affair, are meant only to shew, that I am possessed of that degree of recollection, which must give evidence to the truth of what I may relate of the more essential parts of this transaction.

From the young Nabob's tents, we set out to his father's: I think I had mentioned to his son my wanting a body of cavalry to go with Captain Knox; certain it is, that a little after our arrival at the old Nabob's, I desired Mr. Lushington to settle this business with the young one; for which purpose they went into another apartment; where they, with the Patna jemidars, remained for some time talking and settling this affair, leaving Captain Knox, with the old Nabob and me, in another part of the tent. What the subject of the conversation was between us I cannot recollect; but this I am very certain of, that the little which could have passed must have been of a very general nature, as there was only Captain Knox to explain between us; for so imperfect at that time was his knowledge of the country language, that it was impossible that he could interpret any regular series of conversation between the Nabob and me. I can recollect my going into the tent where the young Nabob and Mr. Lushington were sitting, with the Patna jemidars abovementioned, in order to know what was determined on; how long I remained there, and how soon after they were dismissed, I cannot pretend to charge my memory with: all I know with certainty is, that they were dismissed, and all other attendants; and I think that the old Nabob then changed his seat, and came into that part of the tent where his son had been with Mr. Lushington; that there was then present the Nabob, his son, Captain Knox, Mr. Lushington, myself, and a Persian writer or two. To the best of my remembrance the Nabob's head Hircarrah, one Chuckan, was there; I am satisfied, at least, he was there some part of the time. I then well and confidently remember a letter being produced and read (by whom I cannot say) and by that letter I think the subject was first opened; but that Mr. Lushington explained it to me, as he did every other part of the conversation, I solemnly declare to be most true, and that it was the first time, and the only time, I ever heard of the matter, and that Mr. Lushington, and Mr. Lushington alone, was and could be the interpreter on the occasion.

The purport of the letter was, that one Conderoy, formerly a servant of Cander Khan, made an offer of delivering the Prince into our hands; but if that could not be done, he would cut him off. The letter, I think, was addressed to that head Hircarrah Chuckan, whose character for untruth, I believe, some gentlemen here can vouch for. However, I will not affirm this as a positive truth, but of this I am most sure, that after having heard the letter explained, I repeatedly gave it as my opinion, that I believed it all a forgery, contrived by the Nabob, on purpose to be satisfied, by my consenting to, or rejecting it, what judgment he might form of the nature of the correspondence then carrying on by Mr. Holwell, and how far I was concerned in it: I remember well my enquiring into the means of this being carried into execution, and many other questions, that would have enabled me to judge how far I might give credit to the scheme. The answers to which questions I remember but served the more to confirm me in a perfect disbelief of the whole matter, and make me, with so much ease, give my concurrence to the scheme, as, without any danger to the Prince, I knew it might serve to gain my ends with the Nabob.

The reason why I was asked to seal the paper in conjunction with the two Nabobs, was to ascertain to the man the reward which was promised him; for such was the state of their credit in the country at that time, that few cared to trust their words, even for so small a sum; and without this proof I knew nothing was done towards satisfying the Nabob; I therefore readily consented to it, and desired, in consequence, Mr. Lushington, to send for my seal.

I do not remember any objection made by either of the gentlemen with me. I have the faint recollection of any expression of dislike in Captain Knox's countenance, which might have first introduced the reasons which he so well recollects in his deposition, that I gave for the necessity of going the lengths I did, and with which, to the best of my knowledge, he was well satisfied. As to Mr. Lushington, there was no objection started by him, that I can in the least recollect or remember, but of this I am confident, that if he had thought the measure improper, or unjustifiable, he would have made objections.—And for the truth of this I can appeal to himself, conscious as he must be of the intimacy and friendship that subsisted between us, which was such as made him ready, on all public occasions, to give me his sentiments with freedom, which were ever by me received with kindness, as I always had the greatest confidence in him, from a thorough sense of his capacity and merit: I must own, indeed, that I have seen his depositions on the affair with the greatest concern and surprize; that he might have forgot all that passed was possible, but that his memory shall be so treacherous as to make him remember things so evidently contrary and opposite to what

what really happened at the time, is, indeed, to me a matter of no less astonishment than concern. However, it is possible that I may help his recollection, by a few questions, when we shall have the honour, together with Captain Knox, to appear before you.

While my seal was going for, I believe the paper was writing, and as my tents were at some distance from the Nabob's, some time must have elapsed before they could come; perhaps half an hour; and all which time I presume the conversation was continued on the subject.—When the seal came, it was put to the paper, by whom I recollect not, nor does it, indeed, matter much, for whoever did it, it was done at my desire, and by my directions; I have mentioned this circumstance, as I have been given to understand, that some stress has been laid on this particular act of Mr. Lushington, as if by it he could be deemed an accessary in the transaction; in consequence of the further orders given by the Court of Directors, that if any Europeans were concerned in the affair, they should likewise be dismissed their service. There is no need sure of adding to the weight of what I feel on this occasion, the painful reflection that any others should suffer for an action intirely my own. If Mr. Lushington put the seal, it was to save me the trouble; it was not his duty, nor his office, nor did I ever esteem it so, nor understand that it was. My seal was in general affixed by a Persian writer; and if now the question was asked me, who it was, to the best of my remembrance, that then did that service, I should certainly say it was one of the Persian writers then present; not indeed from recollection, because from the distance of time, this circumstance has escaped my memory, but because there was no reason at that time for changing our general custom, which as I have said was for the Persian writers to seal the letters; and that it was so from no other reason, but that in any attempts of that kind we commonly make a blot instead of an impression; as their manner differs from ours, it requires practice to do it as it ought. In short, Captain Knox, who was with me, by mere accident, may as well be deemed an accessary as Mr. Lushington; the act was my own entirely, and whatever was done, was done by my directions and orders.

Soon after the seal being put, I took my leave, and from that time, or rather from the day after, in which I informed the Governor of what had passed, I never once thought more of the matter, at least seriously enough to make me think I had done amiss. Mr. Amyatt, in his letter to the board, mentions his having wrote to me on the subject, and that my answer was, “As to the affair of the three seals, as there was nothing particular mentioned, I have no particular charge to answer.” And this proceeded from a confidence then, which belief still held me (until some days ago that I saw the original paper) that no mention had ever been made in the paper on what account the money was to be paid, but that it was mentioned in general, such a sum should be given, when he had performed the service he had engaged to do the Nabob. I do not mention this as meaning it should be esteemed any part of my justification; it is only to clear up that passage.—I never denied what had been done; and the extract which I now produce of my letter to the Governor, dated the 16th of April, the very day after, is, I think a sufficient proof of it.

Extract of Colonel Caillaud's Letter to Mr. Holwell, dated Camp at Dignagur, the 16th April 1760.

“In my last I informed you, Sir, of some of the Nabob's late notable schemes, but last night he made me acquainted with another still more notable; and in which also I am concerned to little effect. I believe, however, there could be no harm in trying; this it is:

“One Conderry, duan to Comger Khan, wrote to the Nabob, and has engaged to put the Prince in his hands, or to cut him off, if the Nabob would agree to give him a lack of rupees, and the command of Comger Khan's country; and if the Nabob accepted of these proposals, the promise was to be made, signed, and sealed, by the two Nabob's and myself, all which was done last night.”

Mr. Holwell's answer, under date the 22d, I will insert at large. I must observe, that there has been a mistake in the date of my letter, or in the copies taken, for in his letter he acknowledges receipts of mine of the 15th and 17th; in my copy book, the date of the letter is the 16th. I did not write to him on the 17th, nor indeed until the 20th, so it is plain he received the letter, which I call mine of the 16th, and this he acknowledges as of the 17th.

Mr. Holwell's Letter to Colonel Caillaud, dated 22d April 1760.

“I have the pleasure of your two favours of the 15th and 17th, and must take a further day to reply to them more circumstantially; for the present I enclose you a letter to the old Nabob to the purport of your request, and with it a copy for your perusal, and, I hope, approval; it contains, I think, nothing but what should at all events be urged to him at this juncture. Something must be done, and soon, to recover the currency of the trade of the provinces, or the Company must be lost: the sale of their woollen goods, copper, &c. Exports are totally obstructed, their investment in consequence of this, and the unavoidable stoppage of the tankas, wholly at a stand, and not more than a lack and a half



“ half in their treasury, particulars you should be necessarily acquainted with, as they arise from the perpetual troubles of the country, perpetuated I may too justly say, by the wickedness, as well as weakness, of those who govern it.

“ To give you what are still my sentiments on the Nabob's arzdasht to the Prince, and my reasons for those sentiments, I now enclose you a copy of my reply to Mr. Hastings on that head, and think my judgment of this affair more confirmed from the circumstance recited in your favour of the 15th; to wit, the Nabob's having acknowledged to you his writing to the Prince, and that his reply gave him hopes he was inclined to treat; the carrying on this concealed correspondence with the Prince, I cannot look on in any other light than as the highest infringement of the respect and deference due to your station, and the treaty subsisting between us; and here it becomes, Sir, needful to remark, it is full time the Nabob should be convinced he is not to look upon you as an officer sent to submit implicitly to his orders or sentiments, but as his coadjutor and protector in the war! and should, at any time, his wretched politics dictate measures, which appear in your opinion destructive of the general end proposed, I hope, and doubt not, but you will think yourself fully authorized and peremptorily to over-rule them without losing time in application here; as I am very well satisfied we may depend on the propriety of your conduct in the command and trust you are invested with. I have the honour to be, with very real esteem, &c.”

I have transcribed the whole of the above letter, as I think, Gentlemen, it still gives a further proof of what I have already advanced, as to the then critical and perplexed situation of our affairs. Mr. Holwell says, when he acknowledges the receipt of those two letters of the 15th and 17th, that he must take a further day to reply to them more circumstantially; but this was never done in any of his subsequent letters, as to the principal point in question; of which, if you should have any doubts, they may be easily satisfied by laying before you the whole course of our correspondence together. This answer of Mr. Holwell's, I think, proves, at least tacitly, his opinion of the affair; and what is still more, you will please to observe, that though in my account of the transaction to him, I gave no particular reasons for my motives in going such lengths; and though my own words, “ That there could be no harm in trying,” seem to imply, as if I admitted, at least, a possibility; yet the little probability of it must have appeared in so strong a light to the Governor, that he never once censures me as guilty even of an indiscretion, much less of a crime; on the contrary, he seems rather inclined, from the letter, to approve my conduct in general, and consequently to increase in his confidence.

It becomes necessary, however, Gentlemen, to inform you why I did not make the Governor acquainted with the real motives of my conduct, and contented myself with so general an account of the transaction; and this I am induced to do, that I may clear up any impressions to my disadvantage which might arise from those words, “ There is no harm in trying,” which if not yet accounted for, might, notwithstanding my solemn declaration to the contrary, convey an idea, that I admitted at least a possibility of the scheme taking place. In doing this, I must touch upon a subject which I willingly would have avoided, but I cannot, in so dear a cause, as that of my reputation and character, leave any thing out, which I think may tend to clearing of it up to your satisfaction.

Mr. Holwell's general character and disposition is well known in India, and many were the cautions which I received from those who knew him best, to be on my guard against him. This naturally excluded any great degree of confidence on my side. But I was cautious also of myself, and not willing hastily to arraign and condemn his conduct, fearing the consequences of a mind already tainted with prejudices against him, which might have biased my judgment, and led me to censure actions in him, which perhaps, more impartially inclined, I might have approved in others: and though I might have been ever so much in the right, such a subject between him and me must certainly have given rise to altercation and dispute, which could not but have added to the confusion of our affairs. I therefore forebore as long as I possibly could, and for the public good I rather chose to avoid every thing that might offend, while I could do it consistently with my duty. My motives, had I given them, must have implied a very heavy censure on his conduct, when I could have only told him, that the whole course of his extraordinary behaviour towards the Nabob, and that particular part of it in carrying on a secret correspondence with the Prince, at the very time that he was so loudly censuring the same step in the Nabob, had forced me to concur in a measure, to which I never would have consented if any other proof could have satisfied the Nabob, that we were not making the best terms we could for ourselves, without any regard to him, or the mutual engagements subsisting between us. As I did not therefore, for the reasons above-mentioned, acquaint Mr. Holwell with my motives, I was obliged in my account of the transaction itself, to throw in, at least, such a degree of probability attending on it, as would save me from appearing in the ridiculous light of having consented to a measure, which I was proving could answer no end, and that was my only reason for inserting the words I did; nor does it less evidently, I think, appear from the ingenuous and open manner in which I relate the transaction itself, but that I must have been conscious to myself how well prepared I was, from the innocence of my real intentions, to answer any charge, which at that time might have been brought against me.

You have had now, Gentlemen, laid before you in all sincerity and truth, all that I have to offer in my justification; but I cannot conclude without taking some notice of the manner, in which this heavy charge is exhibited against me.

The letter from the honourable the Court of Directors begins by these words (which is all that appears as the ground of their charge) "It having been strongly reported," but whether these reports were of a public or of a private nature, how far examined into, and who were the authors of them, are points which I am left to guess at, though I own I thought some farther lights into the accusation, or at least, the names of my accusers, was a satisfaction due to my character; but which I am deeply concerned to find, I was not thought worthy to receive. Little, I own, did I expect such a return for upwards of nine years services; and in the course of which I had flattered myself that my conduct had been irreproachable; and if I may be permitted to say it, I was still the more confirmed in this fond hope, by having been honoured by that body with some distinguishing marks of favour. I must further own, that their last rewards (which I have ever gratefully acknowledged, was due alone to their interest and solicitations) were of such a nature as far exceeded my best services: impressed therefore with the highest sense of gratitude for their favours, happy in the confidence of their approbation, and anxiously pursuing the only means in my power, by which I could acquit myself towards them; I am unhappy enough in one instant to find all my best hopes frustrated, my reputation blasted (a reputation confirmed and established by themselves) and all this owing to a ready belief of the very first report to my disadvantage.

As to my accusers, I have said I am given leave to guess at them, however, some friends have been kind enough to give me that private satisfaction, which I thought was my due from public justice. I am now only surpris'd, that every report which that worthy man has so industriously spread and propagated against me, to the prejudice of my character, has not obtained equal credit, and been made another part of the charge against me. I mean the report "of my having also ordered the assassination of the young Nabob, whose death was given out to have happened by a flash of lightning." This I introduce as a proof of the great degree of credit, which my accuser deserves. Indeed, as I have acknowledged the other fact, so far I must own, and do the gentleman justice, that there was some truth in the first part of his information; but whether led to it by a natural disposition to malice, scandal, and calumny, or whether actuated by the more noble zeal for the common injury done to humanity, public honour, and justice, are points which I think deserved some attention from the respectable body, who received his information, and might have justly been a subject well deserving their strictest enquiry: would it not also have been but fair and just for this body to have considered his station in their service, and how far it rendered him a competent judge of public transactions from the supposed knowledge he could have in country affairs, in which he never was employed? If the fact had really been as represented by him, the Court of Directors must have been satisfied, that it was of a public nature, or how could one of his rank have come by his intelligence: and if of a public nature; why did it not come to them in a proper channel, and from whence alone, in honour and justice to their servants, complaints should ever be heard? The Court of Directors must either suppose that their servants in council are very deficient in their duty, or that the affair was misrepresented to them, since no notice was taken of it here at the Board, from whence they might naturally suppose the account would have come for their own honour, had I been as guilty as the story they credited seem'd to make me. All these circumstances considered, should have had, I think, some weight, and might have induced them to shew a greater degree of tenderness, than appears in the nature of the enquiry; especially in favour of one whose character to their knowledge was free from stain or blemish.

Such, however, is my confidence in the cause of truth, that still I hope the shame will fall on those who best deserve it; and that the impartial part of mankind will as freely acquit me, as I have been acquitted by my own conscience in the whole course of the affair.

I am satisfied also, that justice will have her turn, and that those from whom I think I have received this undeserved injury to my reputation, will be as ready (when convinced of my innocence) to make me all the amends in their power.

But this case of mine now, gentlemen, becomes more immediately your own. It is from your opinion and decision, that the impartial world must judge and determine. To you all the facts recited must appear in their strongest point of view. To you the truth of the arguments I have used in my defence, must appear in all their force; and the strength of the proofs I have brought in support of them, are best to be determined by you alone, whose knowledge of every particular, by being on the spot, must make your judgments much more perfect and discerning, than those who at so great a distance are hereafter to determine on my conduct.

By your opinions, therefore, I am to stand or fall; well pleased and happy to submit the cause of innocence and truth to the decision of men of honour and justice.

I have the honour to be, with perfect respect,

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient, and

Most humble servant,

John Caillaud.

Calcutta, the 4th  
October 1762.



## Colonel Caillaud's Letter. L. R. No. 15.

He also sends in another letter, requesting that after we have perused the above apology, we will be pleased to appoint a day for examining Captain Knox and Mr. Lushington, on some questions which he is desirous of putting to them.

“ Honourable Sir and Sirs,  
 “ After the perusal of the papers, which this morning I have the honour of laying before you, may I further request that you will be pleased to appoint a day on which Captain Knox, Mr. Lushington, and myself, may appear before you.  
 “ I have the honour to be, with all respect,  
 “ Gentlemen,  
 “ Your most obedient, and  
 “ Most humble servant,  
 “ Calcutta,  
 “ Oct. 4th 1762.”  
 “ John Caillaud.”

Day appointed for examining Colonel Caillaud's witnesses.

Agreed we meet on Thursday next, to examine any witnesses which Colonel Caillaud may think proper to call in his defence.

Captain Knox and Mr. Lushington summoned to attend.

Ordered, therefore, that the secretary do advise Colonel Caillaud thereof, and summon the attendance of Captain Knox and Mr. Lushington.

P. Amyatt,  
 W. M'Gwire,  
 W. Hay,  
 H. Watts.

Fort William, the 7th Oct. 1762.

Thursday.

At a Consultation; Present,  
 The worshipful Peter Amyatt, Esquire, President.  
 William M'Gwire, Esquire,  
 Warren Hastings, Esquire,  
 William Hay, Esquire,  
 Hugh Watts, Esquire,  
 The Governor indisposed.

The proceedings of the 4th instant, on this subject, being wrote fair, were now read, approved, and signed.

Board met to examine Captain Knox and Mr. Lushington, on behalf of Colonel Caillaud.

The Board being met to examine Captain Knox and Mr. Lushington, on such questions as Colonel Caillaud might be desirous of putting to them, these gentlemen were accordingly called in.

Mr. Lushington's Letter. L. R. No. 16.

Mr. Lushington, previous to his examination, delivers the following letter, dated this day.

To the honourable Henry Vansittart, Esq; President and Governor, &c. Council.

“ Honourable Sir and Sirs,  
 “ When my deposition was first taken, I had the strongest conviction within my own mind, that either Mr. Hastings or Captain Knox first interpreted between the Nabob and Colonel Caillaud, in the affair relative to the three seals, and in consequence of this conviction deposed so accordingly; but from some conversations I have lately had with the Colonel and Captain Knox, I am fully convinced that Mr. Hastings was not present, and that there were only Captain Knox and myself with the Colonel; and as Captain Knox could not be sufficient master enough of the language to manage such a conversation, of course there is the greatest probability that it must have been I alone who interpreted upon the occasion, and consequently that I opened the discourse; though I cannot even yet recollect this last circumstance, and indeed it is no wonder, considering the length of time since the affair, that many particulars should have slipped my memory.

“ I am, with great respect,

“ Honourable Sir and Sirs,

“ Your most obedient,

“ Humble Servant,

“ Henry Lushington.”

Captain Knox and Mr. Lushington sworn.

Captain Knox and Mr. Lushington being duly sworn to answer to the truth of all such questions as might be put to them by Colonel Caillaud, or the Board;

Questions

[Questions by Colonel Caillaud to Captain Knox, with his answers.]

Colonel Caillaud presented the following paper of questions to be put to Captain Knox, to which, upon their being tendered him, returned the following answers.

Deposition, No. 7.

Colonel Caillaud's Questions to Captain Knox.

Captain Knox's Answers.

From your first deposition, Sir, taken at Shawpoor, you remember being with me that evening, on the 15th April 1760, at the Nabob's, when I sealed a paper in conjunction with him and his son, relative to the Sha Zadda. You have also remembered, that the reason of your being with me at that time was, to be introduced to the Nabobs, in order to take your leave, as you were then under orders to march with a detachment to Patna.

Ans. I perfectly well remember this circumstance.

1st. Quest. Can you remember, or recollect, if Mr. Hastings was there the whole or any part of the time that evening?

Ans. I am positive Mr. Hastings was not there any part of the time.

2d. Have you any remembrance, or did it ever come to your knowledge, either by report or from my own information, that Mr. Holwell was then carrying on a correspondence with the prince?

Ans. Yes, I remember it from your own information, and Mr. Holwell likewise informed me, that he had received letters from the prince and Canjar Cam, when I was in Calcutta, a few days before this affair happened.

3d. Can you recollect from any part of the Nabob's conversation, or from any other circumstances, any appearance of distress at that time in his situation?

Ans. No, I can't recollect any appearance of distress from the Nabob's conversation that evening; but his distressed situation was well known to the whole army, on account of the discontentedness of his troops, and the bad situation of his affairs at that time.

4th. Do you remember any objection, made by you, at that time, to the measures or any expression of dislike at it. If you do be pleased to relate and explain them?

Ans. If I made any objection, it was by saying, "That it was a pity so fine a young fellow should fall in that manner," or words to that purpose.

5th. Do you remember or recollect what reasons I made use of on the occasion, to satisfy myself and you that I was acting properly; and can you recollect that I explained to you the necessity I was under to give my seeming concurrence in this affair?

Ans. In the first deposition I have before given in this affair, I have declared that you did give reasons, and what these reasons were which I perfectly remember.

6th. You can remember, and recollect, as it appears in the course of your depositions, that I gave it as my firm opinion and belief that the letter was a forgery, and the whole transaction a contrivance of the Nabob's, in order to sound our dispositions towards him.

Ans. I remember your being of opinion that the letter was a forgery; and I remember also your mentioning it several times that evening, that you absolutely believed it to be a forgery.

7th. Can you remember or recollect, amongst the objections started against the probability of the scheme, that the smallness of the sum to be given was one amongst them?

Ans. I remember that the smallness of the sum for putting such an affair in execution was mentioned as a reason against the probability of it.

8th. Can you remember or recollect making any more objections after I had given you my reasons?

Ans. To the best of my remembrance I made none.

9th. Can you recollect or remember that in a laughing manner I made use of the following words, or some to the same purpose, "That I wished your head was as safe as the prince's from danger," alluding to the service you were then going to be employed on?

Ans. I have some faint remembrance that you made use of such an expression.

10th. Can you remember or recollect that I was very particular in my enquiries in what manner this measure was to be carried into execution, by what means and how?

Ans. I remember that you made such enquiries.

11th. Can you recollect whether any satisfactory answers were given by the Nabob to those questions.

Ans. No.—I cannot recollect the Nabob's answers to those questions.

12th.

Ans.



12th. Can you recollect or remember if at that time, or on any other occasion in which I might make mention of the Shah Zadda in discourse, in what manner and in what terms I was used to express my sentiments on his account?

13th. From your long acquaintance and knowledge of me, do you think or believe, Sir, that if the measure had appeared to me at that time such as could probably or possibly take place, that I would have consented to it?

Questions by Colonel Caillaud to Mr. Lushington, with his answers. Captain Knox having made answers to the several Questions tendered him; Colonel Caillaud then presented a paper of Questions to be put to Mr. Lushington, who returned thereto the following answers.

Deposition, No. 8.

Colonel Caillaud's Questions to Mr. Lushington.

1st. Quest. As it appears by your 1st deposition, given at Patna, that only mention is made in it of cutting off the Sha Zadda, pray can you remember or recollect, Sir, that the putting of him in the Nabob's power was the first point; the other only an alternative in case the first could not be effected.

2d. Can you remember or recollect to have ever heard any thing upon such a subject before?

3d. Can you recollect or remember that evening of the 15th April 1760, when we went together to the Nabob, that some space of time after we had been with him, that the Patna Jamidars, and all other attendants, were ordered to withdraw, and that we were afterwards in private with the Nabob and his son, and 2 or 3 more black people.

4th. Can you recollect or remember Captain Knox being with us the whole time?

5th. Do you remember or recollect a man by name Chuckiman, attendant on the old Nabob?

6th. What was the man's office about the Nabob.

7th. Can you remember or recollect what opinion we entertained of that man's character in general?

8th. Do you remember or recollect the above mentioned person being present the whole, or any part of the time during that transaction?

9th. Can you remember or recollect that you made any objections, or expressed any dislike to the measure which I was then pursuing in concurrence with the Nabob and his son?

10th. Have you any recollection or remembrance of the situation of our affairs at that

Ans. I have often heard you pity the Shah's situation, and that you was sorry circumstances obliged you to act against him.

Ans. In the course of my acquaintance with you, Sir, I never presumed to form a thought so much to your disadvantage.

Mr. Lushington's Answers.

Ans. Yes. Upon recollection I do remember that the circumstance of putting him into the Nabob's power was mentioned.

Ans. No; to the best of my remembrance I never did.

Ans. I remember that evening I was some time employed with the Chuta Nabob, to persuade the Patna Jamidars to attend Captain Knox, which circumstance I have mentioned in my first deposition. I am certain that the Patna Jamidars were not there at the time of sealing the paper, nor any more persons than what I have mentioned in my said deposition.

Ans. To the best of my remembrance he was there the whole time.

Ans. Yes; I very well remember that man.

Ans. He was in the station of head Hircarrah, which implies the person who has under his charge all the Hircarrahs, Spies, &c. and through whom their intelligence passes to the Nabob.

Ans. I remember that we always entertained a very bad opinion of him, though he was employed on both sides; that is, to convey intelligence from the Nabob to the prince's camp, and bring back intelligence from thence to the Nabob's; we also thought he had much the ear of the old Nabob, and by his evil councils much hurted the affairs of the Hircar.

Ans. I remember seeing him the first of the evening, and, I think, he was there when the seal was put to the paper. Indeed, from the nature of his office, it is most likely he was there.

Ans. No.—I cannot say that I did.

Ans. I remember our affairs were in a very deparate situation at that juncture; many instances

that time, if you have, and as you have refused my apology—Do you think I have stated them with truth?

11th. Have you any knowledge, or can you remember or recollect, that Mr. Holwell was then carrying on a private correspondence (meaning a correspondence without the Nabob's knowledge) with the prince?

12th. Do you remember or recollect my often expressing, at that time, my dislike of Mr. Holwell's way of acting in general towards the Nabob: in particular, my uneasiness on account of the above mentioned correspondence, as likewise his behaviour in regard to Roydoolub and Nundcomar?

13th. In the course of such conversation as we may have had together about the prince, can you remember or recollect the manner in which I used to express my sentiments of him?

To clear up a passage in a letter of Mr. Holwell's, dated the 1st April 1760, an extract of which has been laid before the board, and in which he says, "The Phirmaund, I suppose, differs little in matter from that he sent you;" but as I have no recollection or remembrance of receiving any such phirmaund from the prince, nor no such transaction appears in the course of my evidence,

14th. I desire to know, Sir, if you can remember or recollect my having ever received from the prince a paper of such a nature, or of any sort indeed but one phirmaund, which I received the day before the battle of Cercey.

15th. As it appears from your deposition, Sir, taken at Patna, that you then could recollect but very few circumstances of the transaction on that evening—Could you, do you think, now charge your memory with any further circumstances relative to that affair, especially since you have seen my apology, and from our conversation together with Captain Knox?

16th. Do you think, tho' you cannot assert it from recollection, that all which Captain Knox and I have advanced in our account of the affair is the truth?

instances I can give if it is thought necessary that I should; and I really believe that what you have stated, as to the then situation of affairs in your letter to the board, are facts.

Ans. Yes, I do remember it very well, and you often expressed your dislike at it, and apprehensions that it would give the Nabob much uneasiness, as he undoubtedly would get intelligence of it; and I have further a faint idea of a person's telling me that the Nabob knew of it, which I mentioned to you, but the person's name I cannot really remember.

Ans. I well remember your often expressing your dislike of Mr. Holwell's proceedings with regard to the Nabob; and many a time have we held conversations on that subject, how prejudicial it was to the Company's affairs that these two men could not agree.

Ans. Whenever you mentioned the prince you spoke of him with the highest respect, greatly pitied his misfortunes, and said you should be much happier if you were going to assist him in mounting the throne of Delhi; than you was then in opposing him.

Ans. I do not remember your having received but one phirmaund, and that was at the time you specify in the question, brought to our camp by two Moguls, and of which you immediately advised the Chutah Nabob.

Ans. The nature of my office of interpreter was such, that I could not give much attention to the conversation that might pass between Captain Knox and you; yet since you have refreshed my memory with regard to some circumstances which I could not recollect at the time of giving my first deposition, two of which I shall mention; namely, your imagining that the letter was a forgery, and that you believed the Nabob wanted to try how sincere you were in your friendship for him, and what lengths you would go to serve him.

Ans. I have already said that the nature of my office was such as not to admit of my hearing the whole of the conversation; but I believe Captain Knox and you to be men of such honour that you would advance nothing but the truth.

Questions by Colonel Caillaud to Mr. Hastings, and his Answers.

Colonel Caillaud being desirous of putting a few Questions to Mr. Hastings, he was accordingly sworn, and interrogated as follows.

Deposition, No. 9.

Questions by Colonel Caillaud to Mr. Hastings.

Mr. Hastings's Answers.

1st. Question. As you were at that time, Sir, in the field, and in quality of resident to the

Ans. I was not, to the best of my knowledge, and I think it could not have escaped my



the old Nabob, can you remember whether you were present or not that evening?

2d. You have perused my apology, Sir, and at that time, from your station with the old Nabob, you must have been well acquainted with the situation of affairs; can you recollect if what I have advanced in my justification on that subject is a just and true account?

3d. Had you any knowledge at that time of Mr. Holwell's corresponding with the prince?

4th. Can you remember or recollect that the Nabob ever mentioned the affair to you; if not, have you however reason to believe, from any circumstances, that he must have been informed of it?

5th. Supposing him then acquainted with it, do you think, from your knowledge of the nature and disposition of the Nabob, whether such an occurrence at that time must not have given him great cause of jealousy and discontent?

6th. Can you remember or recollect in any of our conversations together, at or about that time, my expressing my dislike at Mr. Holwell's conduct in general towards the Nabob, not only with regard to the correspondence which at that time he was carrying on with the Prince, but also for his behaviour with regard to Rajah Doolubram, Rajahram, and Nundcomar?

7th. Do you remember a person about the Nabob called Chucken, his employment, and the general character which he bore?

my memory if I had been present at such a transaction.

Ans. I think it a very just and true account with respect to the Nabob's fears, the clamours of his army for their large arrears, and the distressed situation of his affairs in general at that time.

Ans. Not with the prince, that I remember, but with Camgar Cawn, which in effect was the same, as he was his prime minister. I had from his own letters to me, on the subject of the Arzee, supposed to have been wrote by the old Nabob to the prince.

Ans. I do not remember that the Nabob mentioned any such thing to me; that he knew it, and mentioned it to me in consequence, I think very probable, as I had one, or if I mistake not, more than one conversation with his Mouchey on the subject of the letter mentioned above; and I do not remember that he talked of it as a matter of secrecy, or that I enjoined him to conceal it.

Ans. It certainly would.

Ans. I can very well remember your expressing a dislike at Mr. Holwell's corresponding with the Prince, as the Nabob might be equally alarmed at such a step, as Mr. Holwell was with the Nabob's corresponding with him: Such, I remember, was your opinion in the affair; and I must confess, my own too, with respect to Roydulub, Rajahram, and Nundcomar, both in the government of Colonel Clive and Mr. Holwell; it was always my opinion that the confidence shewn them, justly gave cause of suspicion and uneasiness to the Nabob, and very probably might have been the subject of our conversation at that time, tho' at so great a distance I cannot recollect.

Ans. I remember Chucken extremely well; he was the chief of the Nabob's Hircarras, or spies, and at that time in great trust with him. I had always the worst opinion of his honesty, veracity, or, indeed, of his understanding.

#### Questions by Mr. Lushington to Captain Knox, and his Answers.

Mr. Lushington requesting that the three following questions might be put to Captain Knox, they were tendered accordingly upon the oath he had already taken, and he gave in his answers thereto as follows.

#### Deposition, No. 10.

Questions by Mr. Lushington to Captain Knox.

1st. Are you positive, Sir, that I put the Colonel's seal with my own hand to the paper?

2d. Do you remember or recollect that I gave the seal, by order of the Colonel, to the Mounshy to affix it?

3d.

Captain Knox's Answers.

Ans. I am positive that you sent for the seal, and received it with your own hand, but I cannot be positive whether you put it with your own hand to the paper, or gave it to a Mounshy to put it, as you mention in your deposition, that there were such people there.

Ans. I do not recollect that particular, but I think it is very probable you might have done so.

Ans.

3d. Do you not remember or recollect that I was absent that evening with the Chutah Nabob and Hahmed Khan Khorefha, Rajah Dereje Narrain, and Rajah Fattee Sing, and that my business was to persuade these three persons to attend you on your expedition to Patna.

Ans. I remember that you retired into a tent a few paces distant with the persons you mention, but you was present the whole time that this affair was transacting, and you interpreted the whole affair between the Nabob and the Colonel.

Board to give their final opinion on Monday on the whole of this enquiry.

The Board taking into consideration the subject of these several evidences, do not see that any more questions are necessary to be put to the gentlemen; and therefore

Agree to give their final opinion on Monday on the whole matter of this enquiry.

P. Amyatt.  
W. M<sup>c</sup>Guire.  
W. Hay.  
H. Watts.

Fort William, the 11th October 1762.

At a Consultation; Present,

Monday.

The honourable Henry Vansittart, Esquire, President,  
Peter Amyatt, Esquire. William Hay, Esquire.  
William M<sup>c</sup>Guire, Esquire. Hugh Watts, Esquire.  
Warren Hastings, Esquire.

The proceedings of the 7th instant on this subject being wrote fair, were now read, approved, and signed.

Colonel Caillaud having desired the opinion of the Board upon the reasons urged in his defence or apology; after a mature consideration of the said reasons, and of all circumstances, It is unanimously agreed and concluded,

That the representation given in the said defence of the state of affairs of the country at that time, (that is, about the month of April 1760) is true and just.

That in such circumstances the Nabob's urgent account of his own distresses, the Colonel's desire of making him easy, as the first thing necessary for the good of the service, and the suddenness of the thing proposed, might deprive him for a moment of his reflection, and surprize him into an assent to a measure, which, as to the measure itself, he could not approve.

That such only were the motives which did, or could, influence Colonel Caillaud to assent to the Nabob's proposal, is fully proved by Captain Knox and Mr. Lushington's deposition of what passed at that time.

That we are fully convinced Colonel Caillaud had no other interest or view in the affair than what is mentioned in his apology: That his conscience at the time never reproached him with a bad design: And therefore, upon the whole, as we are satisfied his intentions were good, although he erred in the measure; we think it should be judged of with candour, and the proper allowances made for the difficult circumstances he had to manage.

Colonel Caillaud wrote to in Consequence.

In consequence of the above opinion, Agree we close this enquiry with the following letter to Colonel Caillaud:

To John Caillaud, Esquire.

L. St. No. 12.

"SIR,

"We have received your letter of the 4th, accompanied with a memorial, containing a full narrative of the transaction which the Company directed to be enquired into, together with the state of the Affairs of the country at that time; from whence you have shewn the motives which occasioned your assenting so far as is there mentioned to that transaction. Having taken the same into consideration, together with the answers of Captain Knox and Mr. Lushington to the questions proposed to them, we annex hereunto a copy of our resolutions thereupon; and as we are fully convinced that you had no ill intentions, so we hope the honourable Court of Directors will in like manner judge of all the circumstances attending upon the measure with candour, and continue that favourable opinion towards you, which your long and zealous services merit.

"With this, and all other good wishes, we remain,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient,  
"humble servants."

Captain Knox and Mr. Lushington to return to their stations.

Ordered, The gentlemen who have been called from their stations to attend on this enquiry, do now return to them with all convenient expedition.

P. Amyatt.  
W. M<sup>c</sup>Guire.  
W. Hay.  
H. Watts.

Opinion



Opinion of the Court of Directors, the 1st of June 1763.

“ Resolved, unanimously, That this Court are of opinion, that Colonel John Caillaud stands honourably acquitted of any design or intention upon or against the life of the Sha Zaddah; it sufficiently appearing, that the motives for suffering his seal to be inadvertently put to the agreement made by the then Nabob of Bengal, Jaffer Ally Khan, on the 15th of April 1760, for the payment of a sum of money for the seizing or cutting off that Prince then in arms against the provinces under the administration of the said Nabob, proceeded from the particular circumstances of affairs of that time, his zeal for the Company’s service, the suddenness of the occasion, and a thorough conviction that it was an artifice of the Nabob to try the sincerity of the Company’s attachment to him, and that no ill consequence would follow therefrom to the Sha Zaddah.”

## A P P E N D I X, No. II.

Extract of General Letter to the Court of Directors, 29th of December 1759.

Paragraph 147. Having fully spoken to every branch of your affairs at this presidency under their established heads, we cannot, consistent with the real anxiety we feel for the future welfare of that respectable body, for whom you and we are in trust, close this address without expostulating with freedom on the unprovoked and general asperity of your letter per Prince Henry Packet. Our sentiments on this head will, we doubt not, acquire additional weight from the consideration of their being subscribed by a majority of your Council, who are at this very period quitting your service, and consequently independent and disinterested. Permit us to say, That the diction of your letter is most unworthy yourselves and us, in whatever relation considered, either as masters to servants, or gentlemen to gentlemen.—Meer inadvertencies and casual neglects, arising from an unavoidable and most complicated confusion in the state of your affairs, have been treated in such language and sentiments, as nothing but the most glaring and premeditated frauds could warrant.—Groundless informations have, without further scrutiny, bore with you the stamp of truth, though proceeding from those who had therein obviously their own purpose to serve, no matter at whose expence. These have received from you such countenance and encouragement, as must most assuredly tend to cool the warmest zeal of your servants here and every where else, as they will appear to have been only the source of general reflections thrown out at random against your faithful servants of this presidency, in various parts of your letter now before us—Faithful to little purpose, if the breath of scandal, joined to private pique, or private and personal attachments, have power to blow away in one hour the merits of many years services, and deprive them of that rank and those rising benefits, which are justly a spur to their integrity and application. The little attention shewn to these considerations, in the indiscriminate favours heaped on some individuals, and undeserved favours on others, will, we apprehend, lessen that spirit of zeal so very essential to the well-being of your affairs, and consequently in the end, if continued, prove the destruction of them.—Private views may, it is much to be feared, take the lead here from examples at home; and no gentleman hold your service longer, nor exert themselves further in it, than their own exigencies require. This being the real present state of your service, it becomes strictly our duty to represent it in the strongest light, or we should with little truth, and less propriety, subscribe ourselves,

May it please your Honours,

Your most faithful servants,

Robert Clive.

J. Z. Holwell.

William B. Sumner.

W. M’Guire.

Fort William,  
29 December 1759.

Extract of Company’s General Letter to Bengal dated the 21st January 1761.

Paragraph 1st. We have taken under our serious consideration, the general letter from our late President and Council of Fort William, dated the 29th December 1759, and many paragraphs therein containing gross insults upon, and indignities offered to, the Court of Directors; tending to the subversion of our authority over our servants, and a dissolution of all order and good government in the Company’s affairs: To put an immediate stop, therefore, to this evil, we do positively order and direct, that immediately upon the receipt of this letter, all those persons still remaining in the Company’s service, who signed the said letter of the 29th December 1759; viz. Messieurs John Zephaniah Holwell, Charles Stafford, Playdell, William Brightwell Sumner, and William M’Guire, be dismissed from the Company’s Service; and you are to take care that they be not permitted, on any consideration, to continue in India, but that they are to be sent to England by the first ships that return home the same season you receive this letter.

## APPENDIX, No. 12.

Extract of Company's General Letter to Bengal, 19th February 1766.

102d Par. **T**HE copy of a Letter from Mr. John Zephaniah Holwell, dated in London, the 13th April 1763, addressed to Mr. John Wollaston at Bengal, has been communicated to us, signifying he had appointed him his attorney there, for receiving, on his account, the remaining part of a teep or obligation Mr. Holwell has obtained from the Nabob (Cossim Ally Khan) for two lacks of sicca rupees, whereof he had received before his departure fifty thousand, as a grateful acknowledgement for the friendship he had shewn him, and cautioning Mr. Wollaston to use all his prudence and secrecy in the said transaction; as were also the subjoined copies of a letter, from Mr. James Amyatt to Mr. Warren Hastings (then in Bengal) dated the 2d of March, desiring to know what answer should be given to Mr. Holwell, relative to the obligation above mentioned, which had been left in Mr. Hastings' management, and of a letter signed W. H. supposed to be from Mr. Hastings in reply thereto, without date, signifying that he had received a lack of rupees, and accounted with him for it—Copies of all which, in the manner they were laid before us, we now transmit to you, for your further information in this affair.

Letter from J. Z. Holwell to Mr. John Wollaston, dated 13th April 1763.

Dear Sir,

On my attornies, Messieurs Sumner and Smith, leaving Bengal, they delivered over to Messieurs Hastings and Lyon, my succeeding attornies, all my affairs (with a clear statement thereof, amounting in the whole to 203486. 6. with all necessary extracts from my general instructions) from whom I have not since received any remittances, the Godolphin not being yet imported with us.—To guard against the death or absence at subordinates of Messieurs Hastings and Lyon, I have thought it necessary to appoint you my succeeding attorney in such case, and enclose you powers for that purpose, which I request your ready acceptance of, and shall write to those Gentlemen accordingly. Another affair which will call for all your prudence and secrecy, it is needful I should impart to you: after I had resigned the service, I had received from the Nabob a teep or obligation for two lacks sicca, as a grateful acknowledgement for the friendship I had shewn him.—Fifty thousand or thereabouts was paid to me before my departure.—The particulars Sunker and Weston can furnish you with.—The remaining balance and the teep I left to be recovered by Mr. Hastings, and under his sole and separate management, but have not heard one syllable on the subject since I left him.—If you can by any means acquire the knowledge of his having made me any remittances on this account, I would not then have you speak to him about it, otherwise to request he would let you know what you should write to me on the subject.

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend, and  
obedient servant,

London,  
Norfolk Street, 13th April 1763.  
To Mr. John Wollaston.

J. Z. Holwell.

Letter from Mr. Amyatt to Mr. Hastings, and Mr. Hastings' answer thereto.

To Warren Hastings, Esq.

Sir,

The Packet being to be closed to-morrow, I shall be glad to know what answer must be given to Mr. Holwell concerning the teep or obligation that was given him by Cossim Alli Cawn, and was left by him under your management. The particulars I mentioned to you some time ago. I am, Sir,

2d March.

Your most obedient servant,

JA. AMYATT.

Mr. Hastings's Answer to Mr. James Amyatt's Letter.

Sir,

That I have received a lack of rupees, and accounted with him for it, which it is probable he knows already. I am

Your most humble servant,

W. H.

Fort William, the 12th January 1761.

Monday.

At a Consultation; Present,  
The Honourable Henry Vansittart, Esquire, President.  
Peter Amyatt, Esquire.  
Lieutenant Colonel John Caillaud.  
William Ellis, Esquire.

O o

William



William B. Sumner, Esquire.  
 Harry Smyth, Esquire.  
 Samuel Waller, Esquire.  
 Culling Smith, Esquire.

The Governor's Minute.

The Governor lays before the Board a letter from the Nabob, received last night, with an order on the phouzedar of Hugley, for 25,000 rupees therein mentioned, to be sent as a present of congratulation from the Nabob to the Governor, on the occasion of the late birth of his son.—Mr. Vansittart declares himself equally sensible of the Nabob's compliment; but as he rejected for himself, and the other Gentlemen of the Committee, all former proposals of private emolument, and has not to this time received a single rupee from him; so neither will he, while there is a difficulty remaining with respect either to the Company's balance, or the arrears due to his own troops.—He desires therefore, that the said sum of 25,000 Rs may be received into the Company's treasury, in further part payment of the outstanding balance, and he will send up the Nabob's order to the fouzdar of Hughley, for payment of that sum.

Fort William, 8th January 1761.

Thursday.

At a Consultation; Present,  
 The Honourable Henry Vansittart, Esquire, President.  
 Peter Amyatt, Esquire.  
 William Ellis, Esquire.  
 William Brightwell Sumner, Esquire.  
 Harry Smyth, Esquire.  
 Culling Smith, Esquire.

Mr. Amyatt's minute concerning the revolution.

Mr. Amyatt takes this opportunity to observe, that he is of opinion, the reasons given for deposing of Jaffier Aly Chan (for he can look upon it in no other light) are far from being sufficient to convict him of breach of faith; consequently in the eyes of the world, the whole odium of such a proceeding must retort upon ourselves. The cruelties of which he is accused, must to a civilized government appear shocking; but in despotic ones, there are none entirely free from instances of this kind, as their own fears and jealousies are ever prompting them to such unwarrantable actions; and it is well known, that the present Nabob has already fallen into the same severities, as likewise, that he has shewn marks of favour to those ministers, who, we are told, "saw with an evil eye the influence of the Company, and readily snatched at any occasion to reduce it." Meer Jaffier's being confirmed by the Court at Delhy in the subahship, was a very valuable consideration, which ought not to have been overlooked, because, whenever that distracted state is restored to peace and tranquillity, he being legally in possession of the government, would of course be confirmed by the reigning king, without hesitation; whereas the obtaining so great a favour for Cossim Aly Khan must be attended with both difficulty and expence. The treaty subsisting between us and Cossim Aly Chan, plainly shews, that his sole aim, at the time of entering into it, was the subahdarry of Bengal, otherwise how ridiculous was it for him to make a promise of ceding certain countries to the Company, which his post of Duan could never have given him the power of executing! The great advantages expected to accrue from these countries, it is feared, will prove merely imaginary, as it is now near three months since their revolution was effected; and yet so far from any appearance of extricating ourselves from the difficulties, as expected, we are involved in fresh troubles every day, which will not appear strange when we cast our eyes upon the person we have raised to the musnud, whose character was never conspicuous in any light till lately, and whose treacherous behaviour to his father-in-law leaves us very little hope of his attachment to our interest; nor indeed can it be expected, that he will place any confidence in us, who have assisted to dethrone a man we were bound to support by the most solemn ties, divine and human; such a breach of faith must necessarily occasion the loss of our influence in this country, and bereave us of that superiority which our steady adherence to our promise ever gave us over these people. For the above reasons Mr. Amyatt dissents to the whole transaction, and further declares, That he never was consulted nor advised with concerning it, nor did he know that it was even intended, till public report had informed him of its execution.

Mr. Ellis's Minute.

Mr. Ellis's sentiments with regard to the revolution, agree entirely with Mr. Amyatt's, and he dissents to it for the same reasons.

Mr. Smyth's Minute.

Mr. Smyth is of the same opinion likewise as Mr. Amyatt, as he has once already intimated to the Board.

Letter to the Honourable the Secret Committee, dated 11th March 1762.

To the Honourable the Secret Committee for Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

Honourable Sirs,—I. It gives us the greatest concern to be obliged to address you in the manner we are now under the necessity of doing; but as we have publicly declared our dissent from

from the last revolution in the kingdom of Bengal, and expressed our entire disapprobation of the measures pursued consequent thereto; it is our duty to acquaint you with our reasons for having differed in opinion from the Gentlemen who were accessary to that revolution, lest ill-minded people should represent our opposition as a faction, instead of owing its rise, as it really does, to our strict regard to what we think conducive to the honour of our country, and the interests of our employers. Had the whole Board been consulted, we dare assert this measure would have been rejected by the majority; and we humbly refer to you, whether the opinion of every member thereof ought not to have been taken by the President, before he ventured upon so bold a step as the subversion of a government.

2. You were informed last year, of the surprizing revolution in favour of Mir Mahammed Cossim Aly Chan, which would necessarily be represented in the most favourable light, by the Gentlemen who promoted it. But whatever judgment you may have been led to entertain of the measure from their account of it, we cannot but think you will judge as ill of it as we do, when you are truly informed of the circumstances with which it was attended, the manner in which it was executed, and the steps that have been since taken to support it; of these we will give you as succinct an account as possible.

3. At a time when there was not the least appearance of a rupture or disgust between us and the Nabob Jassier Aly Cawn, on the contrary, a friendship and harmony subsisted, Mir Cossim Chan, his son-in-law, came down to Calcutta on some pretence or other to visit Mr. Vansittart; and having staid a short time, he returned to Moorshedabad. A few days after Mir Cossim's departure, Mr. Vansittart went up to Moorshedabad on the pretence of a visit to the Nabob; Colonel Caillaud, with a party of two hundred Europeans, and some Sepoys, attended him, who, to remove the suspicion which such a force would have necessarily occasioned, it was pretended were going up to Patna to reinforce the army there. When Mr. Vansittart arrived at Moradbaug, the Nabob paid him two visits, at the last of which Mr. Vansittart, without any previous notice of his intentions, gave him the three letters mentioned in Consultation of the 10th November 1760, of which copies have been transmitted you. The abruptness with which these letters were presented him, one close upon the other, and the unexpected proposals contained in them, terrified the Nabob, and he was entirely at a loss how to act, but desired time to consider on what was to be done. Mr. Vansittart seeing his perplexity, strongly insisted on his immediately naming some person from among his relations to take charge of the subahship, and very particularly recommended Cossim Aly Chan, who was sent for, and the Nabob was desired to stay till he came; but Cossim Aly Chan delayed so long, and the Nabob was in such anxiety of mind, and so desirous to be released from the visit, being greatly fatigued, that Mr. Vansittart was obliged, in order to save appearances, to suffer his departure to the palace, after having detained him much longer than his inclination: that night and the day following passed in concerting measures with Cossim Aly Chan, how to put in execution the plan before agreed on in Calcutta; a treaty having been signed for this purpose in September 1760, while Cossim Aly Chan was down here: in consequence of these deliberations, our troops clandestinely crossed the river the next night, under Colonel Caillaud, and being joined by Cossim Aly Chan and his party, surrounded the Nabob's palace: a letter from Mr. Vansittart was sent in to the Nabob, demanding his immediate compliance with what had been proposed to him; to which the Nabob returned for answer, "That such usage was what he never expected from the English; that whilst a force was at his gates he would enter into no terms, and that it was his desire, our troops might be returned to Moradbaug." A message was then sent in, informing the Nabob, that if he did not directly comply, they should be obliged to storm the palace. Astonished and terrified by this menace, he opened the gates, exclaiming, "That he was betrayed; that the English were guilty of perjury and breach of faith; that he perceived their designs against his government; that he had friends enough to hazard at least one battle in his defence; but although no oaths were sacred enough to bind the English, yet as he had sworn to be their faithful friend, he would never swerve from his engagement, and rather suffer death than draw his sword against them." So suspicious was he of being sold, that "he desired to know what sum of money Cossim Aly Chan was to give for the subahship, and he would give half as much more to be continued. He hoped however, if they intended to dethrone him, they would not leave him to the mercy of his son-in-law, from whom he feared the worst, but rather wished they would carry him from the city, and give him a place of safety in Calcutta." This last request of the Nabob's, the effect of his fear and despair, was immediately laid hold of, and construed in the light of a voluntary resignation. Accordingly our troops took possession of the palace, Mir Cossim Chan was raised to the musnud, and the old Nabob was hurried into a boat, with a few of his women and necessaries, and sent away to Calcutta in a manner wholly unworthy of the high rank he had so lately held, as is also the scanty subsistence allowed him here by his successor.

4. Thus was Jassier Aly Chan deposed, in breach of a treaty founded upon the most solemn oaths, and in violation of the national faith; a prince of whose friendship and attachment you have had many signal proofs, in whose cause our arms have with much honour been employed, and by a firm adherence to whom the English had acquired, throughout the whole country, so universal a character of fidelity and constancy, that the most perfect confidence was placed by the natives in them.

5. The advantages to be reaped by the Company from the revolution were the grant of the zemydaries



zemydaries of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, the payment of the balance due from Nabob Jaffier Aly Chan, with a present of five laack of rupees from Cossim Aly Chan, towards defraying the expences of the war against the French on the coast of Choromandel; of these Mr. Vansittart, on his return to Calcutta, acquainted the Board, and at the same time, in justification of his proceedings, laid before them a memorial; copies whereof were transmitted to you by the ships of the last season.

6. This memorial is introduced with a list of crimes laid to Jaffier Aly Chan's charge, which to those unacquainted with the eastern governments will appear deserving of the highest resentment from a civilized nation; yet such is the state of politics in every Asiatic court, that through the apprehensions of the sovereign, and the intrigues and artifices of the great men about him, instances of cruelty and oppression are but too frequent; and even the most beloved among them are too much to be taxed with committing, or at least conniving at, acts of violence; but it should be considered that many of these are done by persons in power without their knowledge, and that as there are no regular punishments for criminals of station, and who may be so powerful that it would be dangerous proceeding openly against them, recourse is often had to the dagger or poison to punish the guilty. This was the case in most of the instances alledged against Jaffier Aly Chan, none of which shew greater proofs of cruelty than that which Cossim Aly Chan discovered; when being in possession of the palace, he was desirous of making the first act of his power the assassination of Jaffier Aly Chan therein, and was very much displeas'd when he found we intended to give him protection at Calcutta. Since his accession to the subadarree, we could produce to you numberless instances of his extortions and cruelties, but that it would run us into an exorbitant length; and he seems to have made the more immediate objects of his ill usage, those who had been the most avowed friends of the English. We shall only particularize Ramnarain, whom he dispossest of the nabiship of Patna, in which it was always thought sound policy in us to support him, on account of his approved faith; and he now keeps him in irons till he has been fleeced to the utmost, when there is no doubt he will be dispatched; most, if not all those, who espoused the English interest, have been laid under the heaviest contributions, and many have died under the force of the torture to exact money from them; others have been either basely murdered, or (which is a common practice amongst Gentoos) unable to survive the loss of honour, have made away with themselves.

7. It is insinuated in the memorial, that the Nabob's avarice and cruelty had made him the detestation of all good men, and that he was in the hands of bad ministers, under whose administration the country was greatly oppressed; as an instance whereof, the scarcity of grain at the city is produced. To these ministers are ascribed the great difficulties the Nabob laboured under for want of money to answer the expences of the Government, and to pay the army, rendered mutinous for want of their arrears; besides which intestine danger, the provinces were threatened an invasion by the Shahzadah with a powerful army, and several of the rajahs and zemyndars were on the point of revolting: to encounter all which there was nothing but a disaffected army. Mr. Vansittart appeals to every by-stander for the truth of these facts, and of the imminent peril to which the country was exposed; he declares his intentions were only to remove the bad ministers; for which purpose he carried up with him the party of Europeans and Sepoys: he proceeds to set forth the manner in which the old Nabob was removed from the government, and Cossim Aly Chan raised. He says, people in general were pleas'd with the revolution, and makes a merit of its being effected without the least disturbance in the city, or a drop of blood spilt. He concludes, with representing the anxiety the Nabob express'd to get from the city through fear of Cossim Aly Chan; and observes, that he appeared pretty easy and reconciled to the loss of his power, which he own'd to be rather a burthen than a pleasure, and too much for his abilities to manage since the death of his son; and that the enjoyment of the rest of his days in security, under the English protection, seem'd to be the chief object of his wishes.

8. It is very natural for any person who takes an uncommon step, to endeavour to vindicate himself by the most specious arguments and the most plausible reasoning he can devise, and nothing less could be expected from Mr. Vansittart, after having brought about so unprecedented a revolution. He has told his story with all the aggravations the nature of it would admit; notwithstanding which, we do not imagine the reasons he has given in support of so violent a measure, will prove satisfactory to the world. He takes great pains to blacken Mir Jaffier's character, in order to prejudice mens minds against him, and lays great stress upon the scarcity of grain in the city; but we apprehend Mr. Vansittart does not judge so harshly from that circumstance, after what he has himself experienc'd last year; for, notwithstanding all the care we are not to doubt he has taken, grain was never known so scarce in Calcutta before, insomuch that numbers daily perished.

9. Want of money was the great difficulty the Nabob laboured under; but this did not proceed from any fault of his, but from the distracted state in which the country had been ever since Colonel Clive's departure, so that a very small part of the revenues came into his treasury; the Burdwan and Nuddea countries were assign'd over to the Company for the payment of the Nabob's debt; Midnapoor, the frontier to the south-west, was over-run by the Morattas, Beerboon, and other zamyndaries, with the province of Purnea, under Kud-dum Hussein Chan, were affect'd towards the Shahzadah, who had under contribution the whole province of Bahar, except the city of Patna, and a small district around it. Chittagong,

gong, the eastern barrier, did little more than defend itself against the incursions of the Muggs, inhabitants of Arracan, who used every year to come into Bengal for plunder. There remained only the Dacca province; the districts round Morshedabad; the Radshy and Dinagepooor countries, to supply the immense expence of the war; and here lay the Nabob's distress, that with one fourth part, if so much, of the accustomed revenues, he was obliged to maintain an army greater than any Nabob did before him, and the English army was not the least considerable part of the burthen; for trusting most to them, he paid them first, which preference was the cause of discontent to the country troops: and though the force we had in the field against an enemy whom Colonel Clive had but a very short time before drove out of the country, far exceeded those the Colonel had with him, yet no material advantage was gained over them, but the country was over-run, and ravaged by them; and by frequent marches and countermarches, our own armies became as destructive as those of the invaders. No wonder then at the perilous condition, to which Mir Jaffier was reduced, to extricate him from which it behoved us to exert our utmost abilities; instead whereof he was treated with the greatest indignity by us, and basely turned out of his government.

10. To remove bad counsellors from a prince is certainly meritorious, but it does not seem to us that any thing was ever designed against the Nabob's ministers; on the contrary, that the sole intention was to displace the Nabob himself, is pretty evident, by the treaty before mentioned made in Calcutta. Had there been the least attempt to convince him in a friendly manner of any errors in his administration, or of the necessity of dismissing from his presence those who ill-advised him, it is not to be doubted he would have hearkened to reason: that he was not obstinate against good advice, may be concluded from the extraordinary influence which Colonel Clive had over him; in proof whereof we need only call to mind how violently he was incensed against Rajah Ramnarain, and Roydulub; yet the Colonel, by gentle methods, without having recourse to any other force than that of persuasion, perfectly reconciled him to the former, and obtained his permission for the latter to reside at Calcutta, and bring thither with him his family and effects.

11. The people in general, very far from being pleased with the revolution (as alledged in the memorial) were extremely dissatisfied thereat. Had Cossim Aly Chan been before in esteem among them, or possessed any share of influence or power, they might perhaps have overlooked the circumstance of his rise, and a series of popular actions might in time have reconciled them to the usurpation; but he was despised and disliked before he came to the musnud, and his behaviour since, has been so oppressive and tyrannical, that it could not fail confirming the public hatred of him.

12. The little disturbance at Morshedabad upon the occasion proceeded from the apprehensions all degrees of people were under from so large a force being brought into the city in the dead of night; and Mir Jaffier, no way suspicious of the faith of the English, had taken no precautions for his own security: such is the superiority of our arms, and so great the dread of our forces in this country, that had we gone openly to work, we should have met with little or no difficulty, which renders our having proceeded by stealth and treachery, the more inexcusable; and we are truly sorry to have occasion to observe, that the means by which this measure was brought about, have thrown an indelible stain upon our national character, and injured us as much in the opinion of the natives, as it has of all the European colonies in this part of the world.

13. It is asserted in the memorial, that Mir Jaffier was easy under the loss of his power, which he is said to have owned to have been rather a burthen to him; but it is evident, on the contrary, from his declarations since, and his letters to the Company and Colonel Clive, that he was very unwilling to part with his government, and that he greatly regrets the deprivation of it. He was necessitated indeed to submit; and in hopes of being redressed some time or other by the Company, judging that such a step could never be approved of at home, he very wisely chose, rather than trust himself with his son-in-law, to wait patiently for that redress in safety at Calcutta: so far he might appear resigned to his fate; yet this can never be construed as an abdication of his government, though it has been industriously endeavoured to make the world look upon it in that light.

14. We have now, Honourable Sirs, laid before you a true account of the revolution. The projectors perhaps thought the advantages it was to bring the Company would be a sufficient atonement for the measure, and insure them the approbation of their masters. It is true the Company have a considerable addition of territory, and do now receive a large yearly revenue; but as great, if not greater, advantages might have been procured by more honourable means; and the present tranquil state of the country, which secures to the Company, as well as the Nabob, the full enjoyment of their revenues, is not the effect of Mir Cossim Chan's nabobship, but of an event which would equally have happened had Jaffier Aly Chan been continued on the musnud, as can be easily made to appear.

15. Soon after Cossim Aly Chan was fixed in the nabobship, the Company were nominally invested with the zemindari of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, and only nominally, for our first demands upon the two former of these, for the payment of the revenues, were refused.

16. So bad an impression of us did the revolution create in the minds of the country people, that the Burdwan rajah, who, in Jaffier Aly Chan's time, had often expressed his earnest desire that the Company might continue to collect the revenues of his district, as they had



all along done on account of the tuncawks, and that they would procure the zemyndarrie for themselves from the Nabob; yet after the breach of our faith to the old Nabob, concluding no reliance was to be placed on our engagements, he immediately flew off from his former declarations, and instead of acquiescing under our government, he began to act in open rebellion; he stopped our trade, raised a large force, invited the Morattas into his country, withheld the payment of his revenues, and acting in conjunction with the Beerbon rajah, he espoused the cause of the Shahzadah, with whom he entered into correspondence.

17. Several other zamyndars, who had remained quiet whilst Jaffier Aly Chan was Nabob, now finding the government overset, thought themselves at liberty to withdraw their allegiance, and would not acknowledge Mir Cossim, but joined the Shahzadah, whose party by these frequent defections was strengthened with supplies, both of troops and money, and whose followers were greatly encouraged by his having been able to maintain his ground, and continue in our dominions, the whole preceding campaign, in defiance of the English army.

18. The Nabob's troops were rendered quite mutinous by the news of the revolution; they declared they knew nothing of Cossim Aly Chan, and that now they had lost their old master, they were without hopes of being paid any part of the immense arrears due to them, and nothing less than the extraordinary assiduity and influence of Mr. Amyatt, who was then chief at Patna, could have prevented them from proceeding to extremities.

19. In this situation were things when Colonel Caillaud left Patna, and Major Canac received the command of the army from him: the Major saw it was impossible for the country to support itself against such a combination of difficulties, and that if a decisive blow was not soon struck, the Shah could not fail to have immediate possession of all; he therefore determined to bring the Prince to an action as speedily as possible; and after securing Patna by a garrison, to prevent its being plundered by that rabble of troops whose duty it was to defend it, he pushed on with the English army as fast as he could toward the Prince. He came up with him three days march from the city, the consequence of which brought on an action, wherein he gained a complete victory, and reduced the Shah in a few days after to the necessity of putting himself under the protection of the English. The Major's success, as it put an end to the hopes of all the rebellious rajahs and zamyndars, so it at once quelled all commotions, and established the so long wished for tranquillity in the country; and the different provinces were now brought into order, and rendered in a condition to pay their respective revenues; the Nabob's treasury was enriched, and he was enabled to discharge the arrears of his army, and to advance the money he had engaged to pay the Company.

20. Whatever merit there is then in the present tranquillity, is to be ascribed to our success against the Prince, which, by putting an end to the war in the country, reduced it to a state of perfect obedience; and as all the old Nabob's difficulties proceeded from his dominions being the seat of war, and the default of his revenues, on that account there is not the least doubt, had our arms met with the same success during his government, but that he would have extricated himself with equal ease.

21. After what has been set forth, we believe few will imagine that Mir Jaffier was deposed by reason either of a want of ability to rule, or of his bad principles. We would willingly indeed suppose that it proceeded rather from the want of a true knowledge of the country policy, and from an error of judgement, than from lucrative views, had not Mr. Vansittart, and others of the projectors, made no secret that there was a present promised them by Cossim Aly Chan, of twenty laack: 'tis true they make a merit that this was not to be delivered till the Company's debt was paid, and his army satisfied. We have to observe on this occasion, that several of us have had offers from the Nabob of very considerable sums to join in his measures, which we have constantly made public, as well as refused; and if we, who have always opposed those measures, have been thus tried with pecuniary temptations, what may be concluded of those gentlemen, who have supported the Nabob on every occasion?

22. If the Nabob had purchased the power he is invested with, it is to be expected he will of course make the most of it, by extorting money from his subjects, and oppressing every province as much as he can; and as the fate of Jaffier Aly Chan must have convinced him how little we regard the most sacred engagements, he will of necessity endeavour to establish himself on a foundation less precarious than the friendship of the English. That he already begins to do so is evident from his still increasing the number of his troops (notwithstanding the present tranquillity) and to render them the more formidable, he is arming and disciplining as many sepoys as he can procure in the European manner; and to secure himself as much as possible from us, esteeming his capital, Morshedabad, (the scene of his predecessor's fall) too near our settlements, he is about erecting a large fort at Rajahmaul, which he proposes to make his place of residence, where he hopes to be out of our reach.

23. When any member of the Board suggests that the Nabob's behaviour argues a suspicion of us, for that if he really confided in, and sincerely regarded us, he would not put himself to the unnecessary expence of keeping so large an army in pay, nor treat so ill those who are avowedly our friends; it is replied, "The Nabob is master of his country, and being independent of us, is at liberty to rule and act as he pleases." But surely Cossim Aly Chan cannot be more so than his predecessor was; and if it be true that the Nabob of Bengal is independent of the English, and master of his own actions, how can the Gentlemen justify their proceedings against Mir Jaffier, whom they called to so severe an account for the  
administration

administration of his own government as to depose him, though he had not been guilty of any offence to our nation, nor ever deviated from his treaty?

24. Instead of checking the overgrowing power of the present Nabob, it is daily promoted; and he has even the absolute command of our army at Patna; the chief there having directions to let him have what number of our troops he pleases to demand, without being allowed to judge of the nature of the service for which they are demanded. This you will observe, Honourable Sirs, in the instructions given to Mr. Ellis, dated the 22<sup>d</sup> September last, and in the consultation of the same day, where some of our opinions on that procedure are entered.— We cannot help expressing how much we fear, that an ill use will be made, by him, of this power over our forces, and that they will, sooner or later, be employed for such purposes, as will render us more odious to the whole country, bring greater discredit upon our arms, and reflect farther dishonour upon our nation.

25. Notwithstanding this zealous attachment to Cossim Aly Chan, there can be no reason to hope he will act the part of a faithful ally towards us: what dependance can he had on a person who so readily entered into the scheme of deposing, not only his lawful master, but his patron, under whose immediate care he was brought up; who shewed so much disloyalty to his natural sovereign, the King of Hindostan, as to evade even acknowledging him, till he was in a manner obliged to it by our repeated desires, and who betrays a continual distrust of those who have appeared any way attached to us?

26. The Nabob's undutiful behaviour to the King, proceeded in great measure from his jealousy of the regard we professed for him, and his fears that we should reduce his authority, by subjecting the subahship to its primitive dependency on the Mogul, and obliging him to pay the royal revenues: he therefore set every engine to work to create a rupture between us; he endeavoured to make the King uneasy, and to instill notions into him, of his being in danger from us, in order to get him out of the country; he excited a mutiny in the King's camp, which, had it not been for the timely assistance sent by Major Carnac, might have proved fatal to his Majesty; he repeatedly urged Mr. Vansittart to dismiss him, and forged letters to himself and the President, as from the King, complaining of being forcibly detained by the Major, and expressing his anxiety in not being allowed to leave the country: that these letters were forged, his Majesty hath solemnly declared by an attestation under his own hand, and testified his abhorrence of so infamous a proceeding. The Nabob however at last so far prevailed, by corruption, and intriguing with some of the courtiers, as to bring about what he had so much at heart; the King's being sent away without receiving any assistance from us, or being paid any part of the revenues of this subahship. This rebellious behaviour of the Nabob justly incensed the King, who declared that he would not suffer him to continue in his subahship, whenever he had power sufficient to prevent it.

27. His Majesty, before his departure, gave the most unquestionable proof of his hatred to Cossim Aly Chan, and of his esteem for the English, by the voluntary offer he made them of the dewanny of Bengal. This post is the collection of the revenues of all the provinces subject to the Nabob, which are to be accounted for with the court of Delhy. It differs from the subadarree; the latter being the command of the troops, and the charge of the jurisdiction in the provinces; the expences whereof are paid out of the revenues by the dewan. It was formerly a separate office, but the Nabobs of Bengal, taking advantage of the late commotions in the empire, have assumed it to themselves: from the nature of the office it is evident that the King, distrusting the Nabob, intended that we should be a check upon him, and be answerable for the revenues, no account of which he could get from Cossim Aly Chan, who detained them for his own use. This appointment would have brought the Company about fifteen lacks yearly, exclusive of the lands of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, which his Majesty also offered to confirm to them, and to establish their interest and influence, not only in these provinces, but as far as the city of Delhy itself; to which place our commerce might then, with the utmost safety, have been extended.

28. It is hard to conceive, why so honourable and advantageous an offer should be rejected: it is alledged, it would be the source of continual disputes between us and the Nabob, and occasion too great a diminution of his power; but surely this consideration, admitting it to be true, ought not to stand in competition with the honour and interests of the Company, which would be greatly promoted by such an appointment: what renders this refusal the more extraordinary, is, that it is well known, application was made to the king, soon after Mr. Vansittart's arrival, in Jaffier Aly Chan's time, for the funds or grants of the province of Bengal, which were actually drawn out to be sent to us; but the revolution, in favour of Cossim Aly Chan, taking place in the interim, an entire stop was put to the negociation.

29. The Nabob was so inveterate against all those natives, who were known to be in our interest, that he used his utmost endeavours to prevail on Colonel Coote and Major Carnac, to consent to his proceeding to the most unjustifiable severities against them, particularly against Rajah Ramnarain; having offered the Colonel five lack of rupees, provided he would concur in the destruction of that unhappy man, who has since been given up to him by the Board; the Colonel's refusal of this money, we are well convinced, was the motive of his (the Nabob's) unjust suspicion or resentment against him, which appears not only by the Colonel's letters, on the face of the proceedings of the Board, but also by Cossim Aly Chan's own declaration to him, that he could not be his friend unless he received his present.

30. The same spirit of resentment which actuated the Nabob against Colonel Coote, was equally



equally strong against Major Carnac, whom he also endeavoured to buy over, to serve his ends, but in vain. The Nabob saw, with a jealous eye, the many distinguishing marks of favour the King conferred on him, and would fain have made a breach between them; which not being able to effect, he wrote several letters of complaint against him to the President, who, from prejudice, was too much inclined to believe them, and sought all opportunities of blaming his conduct at the board, and of putting the worst construction upon all his endeavours for the public service, of which many instances could be produced.

31. A flagrant injustice was done Major Carnac, in calling him away from Patna, when the detachment still left there was large enough to render it a command adequate to his rank, and where he might have been of service; whereas his presence was unnecessary at Calcutta, as the Colonel was going down.

32. A very signal insult, offered by Cossim Aly Chan to the English nation, was the intercepting, by his order, a letter which Major Carnac, when commanding the army, had wrote to the King, which the Nabob opened, and sent to the President. This letter, with others from the Nabob, was minuted in consultation of the 5th August, and it was insinuated to contain proof of a plot concerted between the Colonel, Major Ramnarain, and Shitabray, to create a fresh revolution. Much pains were taken to find out mysterious meanings in the letter, and hints were thrown out to prepossess the Board, that such a combination was actually on foot; however, after the closest scrutiny into the letter, and the strictest examination of Shitabray, who was called down from Patna for that purpose, the Board gave it unanimously as their opinion, that there were not the least grounds to suppose any such combination; the ridicule whereof was so conspicuous, that we do not imagine even those, who so seriously promoted the inquiry, could ever have believed it.

33. The material part of this letter related to an application which the Major (by Colonel Coote's directions) made to the King, to be put in possession of some fort in Shujah Dowla's country, upon the Ganges; which, had our troops attended his majesty, as we must have marched through Shujah Dowla's territories, would have been absolutely necessary for a place of arms, and to keep up our communication: the stopping such a letter, or indeed any one, from a person in so public a character as the Major then was, might be of the most fatal consequence, was also a public affront, and one that never was before offered by any Nabob; yet no satisfaction has ever been obtained from him, although wrote to so publicly on that head.

34. You will now, Honourable Sirs, be able to compare the present with the preceding government; so momentous a step, as subverting the former one, we conceive, ought not to have been undertaken till after the most mature deliberation, and from a thorough knowledge of the country, its connections, and interests; but this was far from being the case; Mr. Vansittart had only been three months in Bengal, and in so short a space of time, can hardly be supposed to have acquired so perfect a knowledge of matters as to be able to determine, that it was absolutely necessary to annul a treaty, which had been ratified in the most solemn manner by Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, together with a regularly authorised Select Committee, guaranteed by the credit of the Company, and the honour of the nation.

35. The Gentlemen who were the promoters of this revolution, have coincided remarkably in each others opinion during the last year's consultations; in return, the President has not failed to shew them partiality, of which we will give you a remarkable instance: notwithstanding in your letter to this Presidency, dated 21st January 1761, you were pleased, in the most positive terms, to order the dismissal of Messrs. Sumner, Playdell, and Mac Gwire, yet on the 10th August, when, in consequence of Mac Gwire's dismissal, Mr. Ellis was appointed chief at Patna, Mr. Vansittart proposed in council, that Mr. Mac Gwire should remain in the chieftship till Mr. Ellis's arrival, which could not be effected in less than two months; the question was absolutely put to the Board, but carried in the negative, the other Gentlemen not chusing to be guilty of so glaring a deviation from their masters orders; and at Mr. Vansittart's desire, this proposal of his own was not entered on the face of that consultation. Here it will be necessary also to observe, that Mr. Holwell, after the Honourable Company had shewn him so plain a mark of their displeasure, as to remove him from the Chair to seventh in Council, at first wavered whether to continue in the service or not, till (as he declared) he had a private conference with Mr. Vansittart, after which he remained in both Council and Select Committee, till the very day on which Mr. Vansittart took leave of the Board to proceed to Morshedabad, in order to execute the plan which had been formed; and then Mr. Holwell resigned.

36. The Armenian ministers of the revolution, Cojah Petruce, and Cojah Gregory, are in the highest degree of favour with the Nabob and his adherents; the former resides in Calcutta, retained by Cossim Aly Chan, a known spy upon every transaction of the English; of which he never fails to give his master the most regular intelligence, as was too apparent to both Colonel Coote and Major Carnac, when they were at Patna. The latter of these Armenians has posts of the greatest trust near the Nabob's person; and through the means of these men, the Armenians in general are setting up an independent footing in the country, are carrying on a trade greatly detrimental to our investments in all parts, and commit daily acts of violence, which reflect no small odium on the English, who are supposed to encourage their proceedings.

37. It is this system of administration, which we have constantly opposed, as thinking your

your affairs could not possibly prosper under it ; and you will now be able to account for the many differences at the Board, which will appear through the course of our consultations, and which will doubtless surprize you till the real cause is known ; as we have hitherto denied our assents to measures, because we deemed them contrary to your interests, though the adopting them would have turned out greatly to our private emoluments, so you may rest assured it shall ever continue an invariable maxim with us to make your honour and advantage the sole object of our attention.

38. You have been acquainted, Honourable Sirs, that the King has applied for our assistance to settle him on the throne, and to recover such parts of his territories as are still in the hands of rebels. It is our opinion that we have troops enough to form an army for the enterprize ; and as we have no European enemy to fear, the forces requisite for this service can, without danger, be spared. The Nabob's large army, which is now a burthen upon the provinces, and only kept up to screen him from the King's power, and through his jealousy of us, would afford a considerable addition, and at the same time ease the country of an immense expence ; Shujah Dowlah, one of the most powerful men of the empire, would join with his forces, besides many other considerable powers, friends to the King, from different parts, would flock to the royal standard, should we ever take the field ; and our army, most probably (as the King himself has frequently declared) would march to the gates of Delhy, without opposition ; we most humbly submit to you, whether so glorious an opportunity of aggrandizing the Company in Hindostan, should not be embraced, and leave it to yourselves to judge the reputation and advantages which would result to them, if, through the means of the British arms, his Majesty should be established on his throne : for want of our aid he is now actually at a stand, and unable to prosecute his journey to his capital.

39. But should you be unwilling to extend your connections further up the country, and, instead of accepting the dewanny of Bengal, chuse to confine your views to your new acquisitions, and to the trade of Bengal alone, we beg leave to offer it as our opinion, that we ought to maintain an interest in the country, independent of the Nabob, by supporting in power such men as have proved themselves our friends ; this will serve as a balance against him, should he entertain ill designs against us.

40. We have now given you a fair relation of things ; and, conscious of the goodness of our intentions, we cannot but flatter ourselves we shall meet with your approbation, in the part we have taken ; we shall therefore conclude with the assurance that our endeavours shall never be wanting to promote the honour and interests of our employers, their success being the object of our most fervent wishes.

Fort William,  
11th March 1762.

We are, with the greatest respect,  
Honourable Sirs,

Your most faithful and dutiful Servants,  
EYRE COOTE,  
P. AMYATT,  
JOHN CARNAC,  
W. ELLIS,  
S. BATSON,  
H. VERELST.

## A P P E N D I X, No. 13.

Fort William, the 21st of April 1761.

Extract of a Letter from Major John Carnac, dated Camp at Bockypoor 13th of April 1761, to the Select Committee.

“ I Have long had reason to suspect the Nabob had ill designs against Ramnarrain, and have  
 “ now found my suspicions to be too true. His Excellency made a heavy complaint to me  
 “ yesterday in the presence of Mr. M'Gwire, Major Yorke, Messrs. Lushington and Swin-  
 “ ton, that there was a considerable balance due on the revenues of this province. Ramnar-  
 “ rain has declared to me, that he was very ready to lay the accounts before him ; however,  
 “ as the two parties differ widely in their statement, Mr. M'Gwire and I proposed, that  
 “ they should each make out their accounts, and refer them to your Board, who would  
 “ fairly decide between them. This, which I thought was a reasonable proposal, was so  
 “ far from being satisfactory to the Nabob, that he plainly declared, nothing less could sa-  
 “ tisfy him than the mahrajcs being removed from the naibut of this province before he  
 “ returned to Morshedabad : you are all, I believe, acquainted, Gentlemen, that Colonel  
 “ Clive engaged to Ramnarrain, on the part of the English, that he should be continued  
 “ Subah Naib of this province, as long as he chose to be so ; and the Colonel constantly op-  
 “ posed every attempt of Meer Jaffier or the Chuta Nabob to remove him ; this engagement  
 “ should surely hold equally good against Cossim Aly Cawn, as being prior to any you have  
 “ concluded with him. Thus far justice pleads in behalf of Ramnarrain ; and it is certainly  
 “ good policy to support the weight and influence of a person known to be so attached to the  
 “ English interest, in order to counterbalance the Nabob, who, as far as I can judge, makes  
 “ a point to take all power from out of the hands of those, whom he finds to favour, or be fa-  
 “ voured



“ voured by the English ; of this I have seen more instances than one, and he is now giving  
 “ a fresh proof of it, in the case of the Roy Shitubray, whom he is about to dispossess of his  
 “ jaghuirs, though he deserves particular consideration, both from the Nabob and us, on  
 “ account of the zeal and assiduity with which he served both in the transactions with the  
 “ Shahzadah.

“ I am directed, Gentlemen, by your letter, under date the 9th of February, to  
 “ protect Ramnarrain against all violence and injustice that may be offered against his person,  
 “ honour, or fortune. If you do not mean to include in these the continuance of the  
 “ subahdarree to him, it will be impossible for me to comply with your directions; and the  
 “ moment that all power is taken from himself, he will be reduced to the necessity of seeking  
 “ an asylum elsewhere, from the oppression of the Nabob.”

Instructions to Colonel Coote, Commander in Chief of the Forces in Bengal.

“ Sir,

“ The present tranquillity of these provinces, and the valuable territories the Company  
 “ are possessed of, render the securing that tranquillity, and the confirmation of those  
 “ advantages, the most worthy objects of our attention.

“ The connection betwixt our nation and the Shahzadah, the eldest son of the last  
 “ Mogul, may afford the most effectual means of answering those purposes, if circumstances  
 “ should turn out so, as to put it in our power to assist him in prosecuting his title to the  
 “ throne of his father.—There have been so many revolutions of late in the affairs of Delhy,  
 “ that it is hardly possible for us to describe to you how the several chiefs may stand affected;  
 “ but as far as we have been able to observe, the chiefs who have shewn the most constant  
 “ attachment to the cause of the Shahzadah, are, Sujah Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude, and  
 “ Nazeba Dowlah, the chief of the Rohillas.—The territories of the former extending  
 “ from the Caramassar, very far towards Delhy, it is his alliance that would be most parti-  
 “ cularly useful in promoting the success of an expedition to that capital; nor should we  
 “ think it rash, if the Shahzadah should desire our assistance, to declare openly in his favour,  
 “ whenever Sujah Dowlah should have agreed to the plan, and given assurances of his readi-  
 “ ness to act in conjunction with us.

“ By the latest advices from Delhi, we are informed Abdallah was on his return to his  
 “ own country; and that a very large force of Morattoes was on its march towards Delhy,  
 “ with intentions, after executing their purposes there, to attack Sujah Dowlah’s country.—  
 “ These advices, if true, should, we imagine, have the effect of making the Shahzadah the  
 “ more seriously inclined to ask our assistance, and Sujah Dowlah wish to strengthen himself  
 “ by such an alliance.—It is true you would have a troublesome enemy to deal with in so  
 “ large a body of Morattoes; but we should little doubt of your beating them, if they would  
 “ venture to come to an action; and at the same time such measures might be taken by the  
 “ other Presidencies, as to oblige them to return to the Deccan; such measures we shall  
 “ strongly recommend to the Gentlemen at Madras and Bombay, if this enterprize should  
 “ be carried into execution. Letters are dispatched to Sujah Dowlah, proposing this alliance  
 “ to him; and by the time his answers arrive, we may hope also to see your regiment, with-  
 “ out which reinforcement we are not able to spare troops enough for so distant an expedi-  
 “ tion: another necessary consideration, is a sufficient advance of money for the expences of  
 “ the army on the march; ten lacks at least will be necessary to set out with; and as it is  
 “ a principle with us, that the Company shall bear no part of the burthen, this sum must be  
 “ furnished by the Nabob, out of the revenues of Bahar and Bengal; but whether he has  
 “ the means of doing this, besides discharging his balance to the Company, paying off the  
 “ arrears due to the troops of the late Nabob, and the current expences of the Government,  
 “ seems to us very doubtful.—We recommend to you, Sir, rather to consult with him on  
 “ the means of raising such a sum, than peremptorily to demand it; nor do we in the least  
 “ doubt but, on your representing to him the security and advantage which will accrue to his  
 “ government from the intended expedition, he will exert himself to comply to the utmost  
 “ of his power with whatever you shall think necessary. Such assistance as he may be in  
 “ need of to collect the balance due to the circar, we desire you will be pleased to yield him.

“ We are advised by Major Carnac, that there is a difference between the Nabob and  
 “ Ramnarrain, relative to the accounts of the Patna province: we hope this may be amica-  
 “ bly and reasonably adjusted; and request you will give your assistance towards it as much  
 “ as possible: as Ramnarrain has been remarkably steady in his alliance with the Company,  
 “ and received from Colonel Clive particular assurances of protection, with respect to his  
 “ person, fortune, and government, we recommend to you to secure him against all attempts  
 “ of oppression or injustice: and further, that the government of Patna be preserved to him,  
 “ if it be his inclination to continue it. It is needless for us to add, that it will be far more  
 “ agreeable to all parties if that can be done, by representing to the Nabob the obligations we  
 “ are under to Ramnarrain, and preventing by that means the necessity of any forcible  
 “ measures.

“ The Shahzadah has often been pressing to have siccas struck, and the cootbah to be read  
 “ in his name; but we have hitherto declined, on account of the uncertainty of the expedi-  
 “ tion’s taking place; but whenever it may appear to you, that the giving him these marks  
 “ of royalty will be the means of strengthening our alliance, and bringing other chiefs to  
 “ join us, we leave it to your discretion to act accordingly.

“ Many

“ Many other circumstances may occur, which may require your determination before you can communicate them to us, which we, with the greatest pleasure and confidence, leave to your discretion, assuring you of our most hearty wishes for your success in all your undertakings, being with perfect esteem, &c.”

Fort William, 28th September 1761.

Monday.

At a Consultation; Present,  
The Honourable Henry Vansittart, Esquire, President.  
Culling Smith, Esquire.  
Warren Hastings, Esquire.

The Board being fully satisfied of the Colonel's Conduct, wrote to him the following letter.

To Colonel Eyre Coote.

Sir, We have the honour to transmit to you, inclosed, a copy of the enquiries made from Shitabroy and his answers, with respect to the meaning of the obscure expressions in those letters of his, which the Nabob intercepted; the business which he mentions with so much mysterious caution, he explains to be the obtaining for the Company, a fannod for the dewannee of these provinces; and this agrees with the solution given to us by Mr. Lushington: there is not the least appearance of such a design, as is mentioned by the Nabob's vakeel in the king's camp; viz. the procuring the fannuds for the subadarree of these provinces in the name of Serferaz Cawn's son, or any other in the place of Cossim Ally Cawn; and it is with great pleasure we assure you we are convinced, the Nabob's suspicions on that head are entirely groundless.

We must observe to you, that the making any application for the dewannee in the name of the Company, or the encouraging others to do it, or the people about the court to offer it, was foreign from our intention, as may be seen by our instructions to Major Carnac of the                      and to you of the                      where we sum up all the requests we had to make to the King; we were aware that such a circumstance would be to the Nabob a cause of great uneasiness, the subsidiary being a trust of little authority or value, if the dewannee were in the hands of another.

The President has acquainted the Nabob with the result of these enquiries, and represented to him, that it is highly just and necessary he should make you all possible amends for the groundless suspicions entertained of you; at the same time we think some apology is due from you to him, for the alarm you gave him upon a suspicion equally unreasonable, of his intending to attack the city of Patna.

We hope that no more of our time or yours will be taken up with discussions of this nature; but that a steady pursuit of the most necessary measures, for securing the Company's possessions, and preserving the tranquillity of the country, will, in future, employ all our attention. The instances in which any of us may have erred, will be pointed out, and censured by our superiors; but let us here endeavour to shew an example of good harmony to the society of which we are the chief members; and by preserving ourselves a proper respect for each other, excite the same sentiments in others.

We are, with esteem,  
Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants.

Extract of a Letter from the Honourable the President, &c. at Fort William, to Colonel Eyre Coote, dated 18th June 1761.

We hope your advice has had some effect upon Ramnarrain; it seems however, by his delays in settling accounts upon the footing directed in our joint letter to yourself and Mr. McGwire, dated the 17th of last month, that he is endeavouring, by evading the delivery of his accounts, to preserve his own authority over the subahship, and prevent the Nabob's collecting any money; it is neither equitable nor expedient to suffer any more of the revenues to be lost; but while the old accounts are under examination, let the Nabob place his own people to collect all the growing rents, and to call the zemindars to account for their balances, and let Ramnarrain's powers be suspended until his accounts be settled, and a computation of the rents transmitted us, with the Nabob's proposals for our determination, as desired in our beforementioned letter.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Eyre Coote, to the Honourable the President, &c. at Fort William, dated French Gardens, July 17th 1761.

By the following paragraph in your instructions to me, dated April 21st; viz. “ As Ramnarrain has been remarkably steady in his alliance with the Company, and received from Colonel Clive particular assurances of protection, with respect to his person, fortune, and government; we recommend to you to secure him against all attempts of oppression or injustice; and further, that the government of Patna be preserved to him, if it be his inclination to continue in it: it is needless for us to add, that it will be far more agreeable to all parties, if that can be done by representing to the Nabob the obligations we are under to Ramnarrain, and preventing by that means the necessity of any forcible measures;” also by several other letters since, partly corroborating the beforementioned paragraph,



graph, you continued desirous of giving Ramnarrain your protection, but chose finally to have the differences between him and the Nabob settled by your decision; and though the Nabob was pleased to offer me five lacks and a half of rupees to turn out Ramnarrain, and I was also sensible at that time, from the enmity the Nabob bore him, that the Rajah could not be continued in the subahship, yet so determined was I not to deviate in the least from your instructions, that however great this offer might appear, I refused it, by assuring the Nabob it was not in my power, but must be done by the Board; and I am convinced, ever since that refusal, he looked upon it I could not be his friend.

The following paragraph of my letter to you, dated June 13th, will also shew how desirous I was to have those affairs speedily determined.--“ Ramnarrain is settling his accounts with the Nabob, but goes on so slowly, that I can hardly say he has made a beginning: I most sincerely wish this affair was settled one way or other.” And on receipt of your letter of the 18th June, wherein you ordered that unfortunate Rajah to be suspended from having any power in the country, till his accounts were settled; I immediately sent to acquaint him, that till he settled his accounts, you had suspended him from the government of the province; and in consequence the catcherry was removed to the Nabob's encampment.

## A P P E N D I X, No. 14.

Extract of a Letter from the Directors to the President and Council at Fort William, dated London, 10th April 1771.

Par. 43. **H**AVING already apprised you of the purposes to which we mean to appropriate the saving above mentioned, we have only to direct, that when the navy and army donations, the debt due to Bolackidass, and the stipulated payment to Juggatseat, shall have been wholly satisfied and reimbursed to us out of the aggregate reductions before mentioned, such further sums as shall arise therefrom, are to be applied from time to time, to clear the balance unpaid to the claimants of the restitution fund, and the donation of two lacks to Colonel Munro, in such proportions as the respective claims may bear to each other, until the whole shall be discharged; but you are to take notice that the principal only of the sums due from the firca are to be considered and allowed in the payments here ordered.

A Letter of Thanks to Major Munro.

Fort William, the 16th November 1764.

Tuesday. At a Consultation; Present,  
The Honourable Henry Vanlittart, Esquire, President.

John Spencer,  
Cha. Stafford Playdell,  
Warren Hastings,  
John Johnstone,  
Samuel Middleton,  
Ralph Leicester,  
John Burdett, Esquires.

A Letter of Thanks, addressed to the Commander in Chief.

Agreed that we address, on this occasion, the following letter to Major Munro.

Sir, We have received, with great pleasure, the first news of your success of the 23d October, against Shuja Dowla, by your note to the President from the field of battle, and yesterday we were favoured with your letter of the 26th, containing the detail of the action, which from the great force of the enemy, and the number of their artillery, is one of the most interesting that ever was fought in India. The signal victory you gained, so as at one blow utterly to defeat their designs against these provinces, is an event, which does so much honour to yourself, Sir, in particular, and to all the officers and men under your command, and which, at the same time, is attended with such important advantages to the Company, as calls upon us to return you our sincere thanks. We shall regard it at once as our pleasure and duty, to set forth to the Court of Directors, how much they are obliged to you for your skill and activity in the care of the army, before the opening of the campaign; your judgement in leading them into the field in the earliest of the season, and your conducting the disposition you made for receiving or attacking the enemy. We request that you will return our thanks to the other field officers, and the commandant of the artillery, for their care and vigilance in preserving this disposition, and taking every advantage over the enemy; and to the officers and men in general, for their bravery and good behaviour on this important occasion.

Lieutenants Nicoll, Harper, and Bevan, mentioned in your letter to us, and Captains Grant, Winwood, Hay, Stables, and Kinlock; Mr. Hamilton, your aid de camp; Lieutenant Duff, of the artillery; Mr. Stuart, your secretary; and Mr. Sage, who acted as Major Pemble's aid de camp, mentioned in like manner in your letter to the President, as meriting your particular notice, have gained great honour. They may be assured that your recommendation shall not be forgot; that they shall receive, upon all occasions, every encouragement  
the

the rules of the service will admit of. We shall also take the first opportunity of writing to the President and Council of Bombay, of the good services of Major Pemble, and Captains Hamilton and Mac Pheron, belonging to that establishment, and shall request of them to take every opportunity of rewarding their merit.

For the further operations of the army we refer you to our separate letter of instructions of this date, and are with great esteem, Sir,

Calcutta,  
6th Nov. 1764.

Your most obedient humble servants,  
H. VANSITTART, &c.

## A P P E N D I X, No. 15.

Paragraph from General Letter to Bengal, 27th April 1763.

Par. 5. **W**ITH respect to the jagueer given by the late Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan to Lord Clive, arising out of the lands granted by the said Nabob to the Company, we direct that you do not pay any further sums to the attornies of Lord Clive on that account; and we further direct, that whatever shall arise in future from the said jagueer be carried to our credit. You are to cause exact accounts to be made out and transmitted to us, not only of what shall go come into our cash, but also of all the sums Lord Clive's attornies have already received on the said account, together with the dates of the several payments; his Lordship's pretensions to the said jagueer will be settled here.

Copy Letter from the Secret Committee, dated 30th December 1763, to the President, &c. of the Select Committee.

To the President and the rest of the Select Committee at Fort William.

Soon after the general letter of the Court of Directors of the 27th April last, containing orders to the Governor and Council to suspend all future payments of the rents claimed by Lord Clive as a jaghire, his Lordship thought fit to commence a suit in the court of Chancery against the Company, insisting on a title to those rents. A copy of his bill and the Company's answer we send you herewith, by which you will learn how he makes out his claim, and how we controvert it: if the plaintiff should be advised to proceed in his cause, the next step to be taken in it, we are told, will probably be a commission to issue out of the said court here, but to be executed in Bengal, in order to ascertain the facts insisted on, and the constitution, usage, and laws of the empire, as far as regards this question; and for that purpose to examine and take the depositions in writing, of the several witnesses either side may think fit to produce to prove or disprove the several allegations contained in the bill or in the answer. Whenever such a commission issues, proper instructions will be sent out with it, respecting the manner of executing it. In the mean time it is our desire (and it is for this purpose we write you now) that you will immediately take the proper steps to inform yourselves of the real state of the facts material to the discussion of the several questions upon which the plaintiff's claim appears, by the bill and answer, to depend; particularly that you will immediately make proper enquiries into the authenticity of the pretended patent from the Mogul, creating the plaintiff an Emir or Omra of the empire, which he makes the foundation of his title, deriving from it a capacity to accept a jaghire, and, as he pretends, a right to expect one. If no such patent ever issued (as we have great reason to believe) or if any of the usual forms necessary to make it valid and effectual were wanting, this will be decisive against him. You see therefore the importance of this enquiry, and cannot be too attentive to it. The manner of obtaining the supposed grant of the jaghire from Jaffier Aly Khan, the Nabob's motives, intentions, &c. must be likewise particularly enquired into, and in case there should have been (as the plaintiff's own letters lead us to suspect) any imposture in any of the instruments supposed to have formerly issued, or if any thing of that kind should be attempted now, you are to spare no pains or expence to detect it; and above all it is our desire that you will instantly make effectual applications to the courts of Delhi and Muxadavad, to prevent the issuing any new grants or confirmations, by which the plaintiff might supply the defects of his present title, or acquire a new one, though he should have none at present; for though we have no reason to desire to prevent a fair discussion and decision of the plaintiff's present pretensions, yet we are so fully sensible of the many inconveniences to the Company, which such a title, should it be established, would occasion, that we think it our duty to make the strictest enquiry into the foundation of the claim, and if there be no title at present, to use our best endeavours to prevent the acquiring one. We think it equally contrary to the honour, and to the interest of the Company, that it should thus become tributary, as it were, to its own servants; and the soliciting, or even accepting, a grant of the sovereignty of the Company's possessions appears so inconsistent with that relation, that we trust it will be found as illegal, as we are sure it is improper. If those rents must be paid, we think it, upon many accounts, much more for the interest of the Company to pay them as usual to the Nabob, for the use of the Mogul, than to any pretended grantee of theirs, whose receipts we fear would be of little use to the Company, when those princes should be disposed to consider the rents as in arrear; which we doubt not will be the case, if ever they find themselves in a condition to compel the payment of them. Circumstanced, however, as things were at Bengal, at the



time the late Nabob was induced to make the grant, which gives occasion to the pre-claim, we think the Company had a right to expect to be released from this tribute altogether; and that the present claimant, then Governor of the Company's settlements, and Commander of their troops, ought to have employed the influence this station gave him in procuring this concession, for the Company's benefit instead of his own. The present situation of things there encourages us still to hope, that both the Mogul and the reigning Nabob may be prevailed upon to relinquish these rents in favour of the Company: and as well for the sake of the revenue, as to prevent the Company's being ever embarrassed with a claim like the present, we direct you to solicit and use your best endeavours to obtain that concession, in case you find, as we trust you will, that those rents are still in their disposal.

As it will be necessary, for the purpose of carrying these orders into execution, that some person, in whom we can confide so great a trust, should be sent to Muxadavad and Delhi, we think it necessary that one of you should undertake this negotiation. We recommend Mr. John Spencer, if he can be spared, otherwise Mr. Warren Hastings; and whoever goes, is to take with him such of the Company's servants as are best qualified by their capacity, integrity, and knowledge of the language, to give him the necessary assistance.

We have only to add, that in case the plaintiff should think it necessary, as it is probable he may, to employ an agent in Bengal to assist him in any thing relative to the matters in dispute between him and the Company, it will be obviously improper that any of you, with whom we now correspond, or of the council to whom instructions may perhaps be sent hereafter on this subject, should accept that office. This last circumstance you will privately communicate to the rest of the Council.

We are

Your loving friends,  
The Secret Committee of the East India Company.  
H. CRABB BOULTON, J. DORRIEN,  
JOHN BOYD, LAU. SULIVAN.

London,  
30 Dec. 1763.

Fort William, the 23d April 1764.  
At a Consultation; Present,  
The Honourable Henry Vansittart, Esquire, President.  
Warren Hastings, Esquire,  
Randolph Marriott, Esquire,  
Samuel Middleton, Esquire,  
Ralph Leycester, Esquire,  
John Burdett, Esquire.

The Nabob's Letter to the Governor and Council, in Consequence of the Company's Orders regarding Colonel Clive's Jagheer.

The President lays before the Board the following Letter, which he has received from the Nabob, addressed to himself and the Council.

Dated 27th March 1764.

From the Nabob to the Governor and Council.

" I am informed by Major Carnac, that the Gentlemen of Council at Calcutta, in conformity to the directions of the counsellors in Europe, have taken possession of, and propose paying into the Company's treasury, the rents of the jagheer, which I assigned to my son Colonel Clive, in consideration of the great services he performed for me, and which God is my witness I gave him, without his desiring it, merely as a reward for his dutiful and affectionate behaviour to me. This affair surpris'd me greatly, because no other Gentlemen have any right to what I have given to my son Colonel Clive. If therefore it is not agreeable to them to continue the jagheer to my said son, the right and property thereof reverts to me. I will resume it. Whatever money now is, or may hereafter be due, on account of the said jagheer, you will be pleas'd to pay it into the hands of Mr. Vansittart, that so I may receive the full amount thereof. Let these my orders be faithfully complied with."

The reversion of it to him esteem'd incontestable.

Since the Company have been pleas'd to forbid our continuing to pay this jagheer to Lord Clive, we are unanimously of opinion, that the Nabob's right to the money is incontestable.

Order and Resolution in Consequence.

Ordered therefore, that the accomptant to the Committee of Lands, do prepare, and lay before the Board, an account of what is due to this time; the same may be brought to the Nabob's credit.

And agreed, that the President do advise the Nabob accordingly.

Fort William, the 7th May 1764.  
At a Consultation; Present,  
The Honourable Henry Vansittart, Esquire,  
Warren Hastings, Esquire,

Monday.

Randolph

Randolph Marriott, Esquire,  
Ralph Leycester, Esquire,  
John Burdett, Esquire.

Account of money due on Lord Clive's jagheer.

The accomptant to the Committee of Lands lays before the Board the account money due on Lord Clive's jagheer to the 11th April last, amounting to — S<sup>a</sup>. R<sup>s</sup>. 1,25,655 7 3

Entered, and an Order to the Sub Treasurer.

Ordered, It be entered, and that the sub-treasurer be directed to pass the amount to the credit of the Nabob's account, and the debit of the Company's zemindary.

Particulars of the sums on which Roydolub received his commission in three payments.			
To the Company	_____	_____	4683595 11 7
Army and Navy	_____	_____	2341797 8 3
Inhabitants	_____	_____	3606368 — 6
			106,31,761 4 4
Deduct army and navy, on which no commission was drawn		_____	2341797 8 3
			8289963 12 1
			5
			4,14,498 1 5
Committee 1150000 5 per cent.	_____	_____	57500
A present from Colonel Clive, being 5 per cent. upon 25 lacks	_____	_____	1,25,000
			596998

An Account of Money agreeable to the receipts of Raja Dolevaram, received account commission, viz.

5 sun ficas	_____	7400
Muxadavad sonauts	_____	94991
Dacca sonauts	_____	10513
Patna sonauts	_____	148770
Arcot good	_____	41330
Patna lefs rupees	_____	54903
Arcots lefs	_____	85144½
Sonauts of forts lefs	_____	153178

Rs. 596229½

N. B. The above sums are given to Rajah Dolevaram by Coja Petrusse, the bags containing some onethousand, and some two thousand; the said bags were sealed with a mohur of Nabob Surozut Dowlah, and regularly the above sums were received by Dolevaram; but those bags that were lefs to the amount of 767 Z. Rs. which was likewise received by him.

Lord Clive observed, concerning the account laid before the Governor and Council by Roy Dullub, in which is an article of 5 per cent. received by him (Roy Dullub) on a present of 25 lacks of rupees given by the Nabob to his Lordship, that to the best of his recollection Roy Dullub, who was the Nabob's prime minister and treasurer, received a commission of 5 per cent. upon all the treaty money (except that to the navy and army) upon all the committee money, and also upon all the separate donations to those individuals, as well Blacks as Europeans, who had been particularly useful in the revolution; some of whose names were mentioned in his Lordship's evidence on the 28th of April; that those separate donations must be included in the 25 lacks specified in Roy Dullub's account.—Lord Clive having been the principal person, he imagined was the reason, why the whole of that money was put under his name, although his proportion was only what has been already declared by his Lordship. And it is certain, that the deduction of 5 per cent. commission for Roy Dullub was made from every body's proportion as well as from Lord Clive's.

A motion was made, and the question being put, That the said report be printed; It passed in the negative.

Ordered, That the said report do lie upon the table.

Colonel Burgoyne also reported from the said Committee, That the Committee had examined the matter of the petition of Gregore Cojamaul, late of Bengal, in the East Indies, on behalf of himself and others, referred to their consideration; and had directed him to report the same, as it appeared to them, to the House; and he read the report in his place; and afterwards delivered it in at the clerk's table: where the same was read; and is as followeth, viz.

The committee who were appointed to enquire into the nature, state, and condition, of the East-India Company, and of the British affairs in the East Indies, and to whom the petition of Gregore Cojamaul, late of Bengal, in the East Indies, on behalf of himself

*Sum of 1150000  
on 4075*



himself and others, was referred, have, pursuant to the order of the House, examined the matter of the said petition; and considering the lateness of the present sessions and the importance of the subject, beg leave to lay before the House the whole of the evidence upon their proceedings thereon.

Veneris, 8<sup>o</sup> die Maii, 1772.

Colonel Burgoyne in the chair; Present,  
 Mr. Johnstone, Sir John Turner,  
 Mr. Sutton, Mr. Ongley,  
 Mr. Vane, Mr. Hotham,  
 Mr. Strachey, Mr. Pitt,  
 Mr. Curzon, Mr. Cornwall,  
 Mr. Fuller, Mr. Ellis.

Read, the petition of Gregore Cojamaul; as follows:

“ To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled.

“ The humble Petition of Gregore Cojamaul, late of Bengal, in the East Indies, on behalf  
 “ of himself and others,

“ Sheweth,

“ That your petitioner, who is an Armenian christian, and native of Isphahan in Persia,  
 “ has for many years resided in India as a merchant, particularly in the provinces of Bengal  
 “ and its dependencies, where those of his nation have ever been allowed to carry on trade,  
 “ according to the ancient usages of those countries, and even were indulged with certain  
 “ privileges in that respect.

“ That your petitioner, who has ever strictly conformed himself to the usages of those  
 “ respective countries, has, with many others of his nation, of late, been greatly impeded  
 “ in their business as merchants, by the most cruel, destructive, and injurious regulations, and  
 “ grievously oppressed by long and cruel imprisonments, and otherwise, by the nominal nabobs,  
 “ and other servants of the English East-India Company in Bengal, notwithstanding  
 “ your petitioner never in any degree injured the said Company, nor was ever guilty of any  
 “ breach of the laws, either of India or this nation; to the known justice of which last, he  
 “ has already applied for satisfaction for the great losses and injuries he has sustained.

“ That, when your petitioner, and others, have been injured and oppressed by such im-  
 “ prisonments within the districts to which His Majesty's most gracious charter of justice,  
 “ granted to the said Company, is not allowed to extend, they have applied to the said no-  
 “ minal nabobs of Bengal for justice, who have referred them and your petitioner to the  
 “ President or Secret Committees of Calcutta in Bengal, alledging such imprisonments to  
 “ have been effected by their orders; and when, on the part of your petitioner and such  
 “ other persons, application has been made for justice at Calcutta to the said Company's  
 “ governor and president of the secret committees, they have been referred back to the said  
 “ nabobs; and in this grievous situation, without ever being able to know of what crime he  
 “ was accused, your petitioner, by such evasions, has been ruined, and left without any  
 “ other remedy than the precarious redress which he may possibly obtain from the courts of  
 “ law in this country, under all the disadvantages of seeking justice in a foreign land, at such  
 “ a distance from the scene of action, without friends or money.

“ That your petitioner, upon his arrival in England, was advised to apply to the Directors  
 “ of the East India Company for redress, in consequence of the injuries he had sustained by  
 “ their servants abroad, which your petitioner did accordingly in the most humble manner,  
 “ but has never yet been able to obtain any satisfactory answer from that Honourable Board.

“ That your petitioner is about to return to his family and business in Bengal, where,  
 “ under the present double government, he is apprehensive his person, property, and family,  
 “ as well as the rest of his nation, will be exposed to greater hardships than before, on account  
 “ of his having applied for justice in England, unless protected by some effectual regulations  
 “ of government by the British Legislature.

“ Your petitioner therefore humbly prays this Honourable House to take this case into  
 “ consideration, and grant such relief in the premises, with respect to the future  
 “ security of persons and property in Bengal, as to the wisdom of this Honourable  
 “ House shall seem meet.

(Signed) “ GREGORE COJAMAUL.”

The Committee then read parts of a letter written by Lord Clive, upon his leaving Bengal, to Mr. Verelst and the rest of the Gentlemen of the Select Committee, dated the 16th January 1767; as follows:

“ The first point in politics which I offer to your consideration, is the form of govern-  
 “ ment. We are sensible that since the acquisition of the Dewanny, the power formerly  
 “ belonging to the soubah of these provinces, is totally, in fact, vested in the East India  
 “ Company. Nothing remains to him but the name and shadow of authority. This name  
 “ however, this shadow, it is indispensably necessary we should seem to venerate; every mark  
 “ of distinction and respect must be shewn him, and he himself encouraged to shew his  
 “ resentment upon the least want of respect from other nations.

“ Under

“ Under the sanction of a soubah, every encroachment that may be attempted by foreign powers can effectually be crushed, without any apparent interposition of our own authority; and all real grievances complained of by them, can, through the same channel, be examined into and redressed. Be it therefore always remembered that there is a soubah, that we have allotted him a stipend, which must be regularly paid, in support of his dignity; and that though the revenues belong to the Company, the territorial jurisdiction must still rest in the chiefs of the country acting under him, and this Presidency in conjunction. To appoint the Company’s servants to the offices of collectors, or indeed to do any act by an exertion of the English power, which can equally be done by the Nabob at our instance, would be throwing off the mask, would be declaring the Company soubah of the provinces. Foreign nations would immediately take umbrage, and complaints preferred to the British court might be attended with very embarrassing consequences. Nor can it be supposed that either the French, Dutch, or Danes, would readily acknowledge the Company’s soubahship, and pay into the hands of their servants the duties upon trade, or the quit-rents of those districts which they may have long been possessed of by virtue of the royal prerogatives, or grants from former Nabobs.

“ To what I have urged in general upon the subject of regulations, I beg leave to add a few words in relation to one particular point: all the Company’s servants at the aurungs, all those at the out factories, except such as are fixed at the subordinates, and are necessarily employed in the silk business, all free merchants, must be recalled, and their place of residence confined to Calcutta. Orders for this purpose have already been issued, and the time for their being obeyed is limited. Herein no consideration whatsoever, scarcely humanity itself, except in any very extraordinary instance, should tempt you to relax; for be assured, that until these regulations take place, the Company cannot be properly said to enjoy their just rights and privileges, nor the natives to be masters of their own property.

“ Another growing evil, which requires a speedy remedy, is the number of vagabonds that infest the Presidency. All those must be apprehended and embarked on board ships for Europe without delay. In their native country they may become useful to the public, but in Calcutta they are worse than idlers. Our police is not perfect enough to prevent their being guilty of many outrages, of which I need only mention the oppressing the poor inhabitants, and the retailing of spirituous liquors, which destroy the constitution and lives of many of our soldiers.”

The Committee then read part of a minute of Mr. Verelst, who succeeded Lord Clive in the government of Bengal, as recorded in the proceedings of a select committee held on the 5th February 1767, at which were also present Colonel Richard Smith, Francis Sykes, Claud Ruffell, and Alexander Campbell, Esquires; viz.

“ Lord Clive, in his letter to this Committee, has been so very explicit on the present state of affairs, and has fixed on so judicious and so wise a plan of politics, that I consider it as my duty to recommend in the most earnest manner, our strictly adhering thereto, from a conviction that it is a plan the best calculated to insure stability to the affairs of the Company, to preserve harmony and concord amongst ourselves, and to establish that order, regularity, and subordination, without which the greatest and most opulent kingdoms cannot long subsist.—Though his Lordship is no longer present to assist us in those salutary measures for the welfare of the Company, which he had so much at heart, and in the prosecution of which he risked his health, his life, and every thing dear, yet the legacy he has left us will serve as a guide for our future conduct, in the weighty and important concerns of this government.”

The petitioner, Gregore Cojamaul, was then called upon to give an account of the circumstances of his being taken up and confined, to the time of his releasement and embarkation for England; which he did in the following words:

On the 14th March 1768, Rajah Bulwanting’s officer seized me at Bara Fort, and told me it was in consequence of an order that the Rajah had received from the Calcutta governor, Mr. Verelst. Then I was taken to different forts under forty men, who guarded me. On the 17th they put me in a boat, where was another prisoner, an Armenian Gentleman, called Melcomb Philip. We were carried to Chowah, where I received from the Rajah and his ministers, letters of condolance on my imprisonment, and approbation of my conduct. After some days we were carried to Patna, where we arrived the 30th March, and we were carried before the Company’s collector named Shitabroy, who confined us in his catcherry till the 6th April. He then sent away Rajah Bulwanting’s guards, and put English Sepoys over us. As soon as the guard was changed, they carried us into a boat in such a hasty manner, that we could not know what we were accused of; one day we heard there was an order of Mr. Verelst, the governor of Calcutta, that we should be carried to Murshedabad, before Mahomed Reza Khawn. We arrived at Murshedabad on the 26th April 1768, and we were carried before Mahomed Reza Khawn, who was the superior of the English collectors. He ordered us to be carried to a place called Ferrahbag. On the 27th April, the first Sepoys guard was sent away, and other English Sepoys were put in their place, under the command of Major Christian Fischer.—While we were prisoners, our relations and friends applied to the Nabob to release us, who told them he had wrote to Calcutta for orders. At Calcutta our relations presented a petition to the Governor and Council, which was presented to Mr. Verelst himself, who told them to go and apply to the Nabob at the city of Murshedabad. On



the 23d May we were released. We went to Calcutta, where we arrived the 8th June. On the 10th we waited on Mr. Verelst, to know his pleasure. He insisted we had not been prisoners. I told Mr. Verelst that I had transacted business for some English gentlemen, under a purwannah, sealed with the Company's seal; he said, If this is the case, then you are blameless: bring the purwannah and shew it me—I did not bring my purwannah to shew him, being advised not to do it, because the other gentleman, Melcomb Phillip, told me that he had carried his, and that Mr. Verelst had detained it. Afterwards I was distressed, from an order that no Armenian or Portuguese should go out of the English dominions, so I remained without having my goods, or being able to collect my money, which determined me to come to this country to seek for justice.

Q. To what value do you suppose the goods and debts you left behind you amounted to?

A. In all £. 5,000.

Q. Was that belonging to yourself?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you leave no goods or debts with which you was intrusted by other people?

A. I did.

Q. Whose goods?

A. Mr. Bolts's and Mr. Hare's. I guess, about 10 or £. 12,000 worth.

Q. In what part of the country were those goods and debts?

A. In Bulwantsing's dominions.

Q. Since that time have you received no account of your own debts, or those belonging to Mr. Bolts or Mr. Hare?

A. I have had no account—I have been in England since August 1769.

Q. Did you never hear that the Company's servants were forbid to trade in Bultwantsing's country?

A. No—I think the Company's servants were allowed to trade in that country, because I have often seen goods there belonging to the English, and have seen English gomastans in that country.

Q. Do you think your goods and debts, together with those of Mr. Bolts and Mr. Hare, are lost, so that you shall never receive them?

A. I don't expect a farthing.

Q. Of the £. 5,000 you left, what part was in goods, and what in debts?

A. Rather more in debts than goods.

Q. When you left that country, did you look upon your debts as good?

A. At that time every one was good.

Q. What part of Mr. Bolts's and Mr. Hare's property, left behind, was in goods, and what in debts?

A. As I guess, rather more in goods than in debts.

Q. Did you apprehend that their debts were good when you left that country?

A. They were good.

Q. Do you know of any goods of English manufactory being sold in Bulwantsing's country?

A. No.

Q. Do you know of any English broad cloth and copper, or other English commodities, being sold in Bulwantsing's or Sujahal Dowlah's country?

A. I never saw it, but have heard of it.

Q. At what time was it that you have heard of English goods being sold in Bulwantsing's country?

A. Between 1767 and 1768.

Mr. Cojamaul's original purwannah was then produced and declared by Mr. Rumbold to be the purwannah issued by him when he was chief of Patna—It was interpreted by Gonyshamdafs as follows:

S E A L.

The Magnificent Merchants of  
the English Company, the Dewans  
of the Magnificent Provinces of  
Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, Ser-  
vants of the bold King Shah Allum.

The governors, zemindars, chowdries and canongoes, of the districts belonging to the province of Ghazipore, which belongs to the great province of Owd, may observe—Since Gregore, gomastah, being appointed by Mr. Francis Hare, gentleman, to buy and sell goods, he going into that country, that he may carry on trade for the above-said Gentleman, for the space of six months, it is necessary that nobody shall interrupt him, that he may carry on trade by uprightness with an easy mind; it is necessary, that they, having observed the power of this order, may put it in execution—Dated the 30th October 1767, in the 9th year of the King.

Mr.

Mr. Cojamaul was then asked, Had you ever any warning or notice either from the servants of the English Company or Bulwantfing, or any of his officers, that you was conducting yourself improperly, before you was seized and imprisoned?

A. I never had any notice.

Q. Did you think that purwannah gave you authority to trade for Mr. Bolts?

A. No.

Q. Had you any purwannah to trade for Mr. Bolts?

A. No.

Q. Had you a right to trade for the English without a purwannah?

A. I had, being a merchant settled in that country.

Q. If you had a right to trade without a purwannah, what use was there in having one?

A. I was advised if I did any business for English Gentlemen to get one—I had liberty and permission from the Rajah Bulwantfing to do business in that country, and never was molested; the rajah and the people were satisfied.

Q. Was Ghazipore part of Bulwantfing's country?

A. It was.

Q. When you came to this kingdom, did you apply to the East India Company?

A. I arrived in London the 18th August 1769—I presented a petition to the Court of Directors on the 12 September, and I never had any answer—In October the Secretary sent me a letter that he would be glad to speak with me any morning. I employed Mr. Bolts because I could not talk English myself.

Q. Did Mr. Verelst ever desire you to give him a list of your goods, and say he would assist you in recovering them?

A. No.

Q. When you carried on trade in Bulwantfing's country, did you ever make use of the English name?

A. I did not, I had no occasion, because I was a merchant—I traded for English Gentlemen, but did not call myself an English gomastah, nor said I traded by English authority.

Thomas Rumbold, esq. being then called, said, with regard to purwannahs, they are of very different kinds. When they are issued in the manner of that produced, for the purchase of goods, the servants of the Company have only been intitled to them—They exempt the possessor from all duties or impositions of the officers of the country government, and no man residing in Bulwantfing's country, without them; or within the provinces, could have carried on their business without being liable to frequent interruption, and demands of duties from the farmers of the districts. I believe there has been no Armenians residing in Shujah Dowla's country, till the influence obtained by the English, and they were after that, in common with other gomastahs, employed by the servants of the Company. It was some time doubtful whether we had a right to grant those purwannahs for the purchase of goods within his dominions: it had however been for some time done, and no notice taken of it, probably from Shujah Dowla's being afraid of offending the English after being put in possession of his country. In course of time, complaints came that the gomastahs of the English were guilty of many oppressions in that country. Many letters were wrote by Shujah Dowla; some I received myself, and General Smith, who was at the court of Shujah Dowla, often made representations to me how disagreeable it was to the Nabob to have those gomastahs residing with such a protection within his country; this occasioned orders from the President and Council of Fort William, that no purwannahs should in future be granted; that all the gomastahs should be recalled, and, that when goods passed the boundaries of the Bahar province, whether belonging to the natives of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, or not, should be subject to the duties collected by Shujah Dowla's officers from other merchants.—In short, that the English privilege should be withdrawn. I believe, that those orders from the President and Council were in consequence of some directions from home.—All men who had those purwannahs were intitled to particular privileges, and exemption from all duties of the country government. When the orders came for recalling the gomastahs, several gentlemen at Patna represented, that they should suffer greatly by the immediate recall of their gomastahs, before they could have time to adjust their concerns, and several who made this representation were indulged with a longer time; but there appearing no end to that indulgence, another order was sent for their immediate return, and to deliver up their purwannahs. This order was signified to the several gentlemen I had granted purwannahs to; many of the purwannahs were redelivered to me. I cannot speak particularly to the purwannah of those Armenians, why it was not given up, or whether the time was elapsed.—Several gomastahs still remained in Shujah Dowla's country, and took the names of English Gentlemen: three in particular took my name, and were seized either by Shujah Dowla, or the troops acting under Captain Harper: Mr. Verelst, President at Calcutta, wrote to me, that he was surprised there should be men acting for me in that country, when the orders from the Presidency had so frequently been repeated against it. I wrote him for answer, I was very glad they had been taken up, and hoped they would meet with a due punishment for acting in my name without any authority from me. The only gomastahs that I kept in the country at that time, were for the service of the Company, and by permission of Shujah Dowla, to provide timber at a place called Gorruekpore, for building barracks for the troops. I never had any complaint from Mr. Hare, who was the second at Patna, of those people who by that purwannah had acted as his gomastahs, being seized.



feized.—I cannot recollect the time, but Mr. Bolts wrote to me, mentioning these Armenians being in Shujah Dowla's country, and recommending to me to employ them as my gomastahs; he particularly mentioned to me the advantages that would arise by carrying on a particular trade by them. I declined employing them.

Q. At what time did you receive those complaints from Shujah al Dowla?

A. I cannot charge my memory with the particular time.

Q. Did not Mr. Johnstone present the purwannah now produced, to you several days ago, to look at the date, that you might be master of the subject?

A. Certainly.

Q. Did you understand this purwannah was both to buy and sell?

A. Undoubtedly.

Q. By what stipulation of treaty or other regulation, did the exemption of duties arise in consequence of the English purwannah in Bulwantsing's and Shujah Dowla's country?

Refers back to the former part of his evidence.

Q. Do you remember the date when orders were sent to you not to grant any more purwannahs?

A. I have many copies of transactions abroad, which I keep for my own satisfaction—If on looking over my papers, I shall find the copy of the order, I shall certainly bring it to the Committee.

Q. In what light do you consider Shitabroy?

A. I consider Shitabroy, as a man appointed by the Nabob and ministers, to collect the revenues, with the approbation of the Company's agents, as having the dewanny in their possession.

Q. Who do you conceive the Nabob and ministers to be appointed by?

A. I believe the Company's records will shew.

Q. Have you any belief or knowledge concerning that yourself?

A. I never had the honour of being concerned in the appointment of any nabob or minister.

Q. When you was chief at Patna, was Shitabroy under your direction?

A. No.

Q. Was he perfectly independent of your authority?

A. Intirely independent of my authority.

Q. Do you consider him as a servant of the East-India Company or not?

A. No more than I consider Mahomed Reza Cawn.

Q. Do you consider Mahomed Reza Cawn as a servant?

A. I consider him as the minister of the Nabob.

Q. Does Mahomed Reza Cawn receive his directions upon the affairs of government from the Nabob?

A. I never was present at any directions that were sent to him.

Q. Did you ever send or give any order to Shitabroy?

A. I never gave an order to him in my life, but I have made many requests to him as chief of the factory.

Q. Was he always so civil as to grant your requests?

A. He was one of the best bred men I ever met with, and I never gave him an order.

Q. What would have been the consequence to Shitabroy, if he had refused the request?

A. If it had been on behalf of the East-India Company, I should have represented it to the Governor and Council of Calcutta.—If of a private nature, I must have satisfied myself.

Q. Do you suppose, in consequence of such representation, Shitabroy would have been removed from his office?

A. I suppose, if it had been any thing that materially affected the interests of the Company, the Nabob would have shewed a proper resentment to the officer who had charge of his business in that province.

Q. Do you believe Shitabroy would have dared to refuse any request coming from you officially as a public officer of the Company, and upon a public account?

A. Except the request had been very improper, I don't believe he would.

Q. Who pays Shitabroy his salary?

A. He is paid out of the revenues, the same as other officers employed in the collection of them.

Q. Who is it that pays him, the Nabob or the Company?

A. Certainly the Nabob; he receives it out of the revenues, and makes up his accounts every year to the Nabob, at Murshedabad.

Q. Was it paid out of the gross revenue, or out of the particular revenue assigned to the Nabob by treaty?

A. Out of the gross revenue.

Q. About what time were these purwannahs first issued?

A. There were purwannahs issued before I was chief of the factory, which was in December 1766.

Q. Were any purwannahs ordered by Lord Clive?

A. I don't recollect.

Q. Were purwannahs of the same effect as those produced, issued in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa?

A. There were, to the Company's servants, mentioning the name of the gomastahs employed by them.

Q.

Q. Could a gomastah, acting under such a purwannah, send goods free of duties without a dustuck?

A. Certainly not—The dustuck passes the goods by the different custom-houses, which are called chokies; but there is a duty upon almost every species of goods that is paid to the farmer where those goods are manufactured, which the dustuck has nothing to do with, and which all the country merchants are subject to, but which the purwannah given to our merchants exempts them from, as I have always understood. I am not sure, whether the duty is paid by the purchaser or manufacturer, but which ever it is, the purwannah exempts him—I have traded in Shujah Dowla's country, in opium and some little saltpetre.

Q. Do they pay duties in Shujah Dowla's country?

A. I always traded as a servant of the Company, and consequently my agents were furnished with purwannahs and dustucks, and therefore I cannot speak positively to the duties—When those orders came to me, every gomastah of mine was recalled.

Q. Had you ever any complaints against Cogee Gregore, Cogee Melcomb, Cogee Johannes, Padre Rafael, or Ramfunker?

A. Never particularly; the complaints that I heard were in general against the English gomastahs.

Q. Did you ever hear or know the causes for confining those gomastahs?

A. I never heard any thing in particular about them.

Q. Had you ever any complaint from any of the princes of the country, while you was chief at Patna, against Mr. Bolts?

A. No; not to my recollection.

The Committee then proceeded to read part of the proceedings held at a consultation of the 18 May 1768, in Calcutta; at which were present Harry Verelst, Esquire, President; Colonel Richard Smith, Richard Becher, James Alexander, Claud Russell, William Alderfer, and Charles Ffloyer, Esquires; as follows:

“ The Select Committee lay before us the following extract from their proceedings of  
“ the 27th ultimo.

“ Extract from the proceedings of the Select Committee, the 27 April 1768.

“ This Board being sensible of the great disadvantages resulting from an immediate recall of gomastahs of individuals, at present trading in the countries of the Nabob Shujah al Dowla and Bulwantsing, under the sanction of the English, it is resolved to allow them to reside there for the space of two months, for the adjustment of the affairs of their constituents, and the collection of their outstanding balances, and shall on no account what- ever be allowed to engage in any new concern, and that they shall quit those countries immediately after the expiration of the term limited for their residence.

“ And in order to facilitate the adjustments of their affairs, as well as to prevent the frauds and other abuses to which such a restriction might otherwise expose them; it is further resolved and agreed, that the President do inform the Nabob Shujah al Dowla and Bulwantsing, of these injunctions laid upon all gomastahs in their countries, and to request they will grant them every reasonable assistance they may require, for the speedy regulation of their concerns.

“ Agreed, that the foregoing resolutions be laid before the President and Council, and that we do recommend to them to issue their orders for effectually preventing, in future, any trade being carried on beyond the provinces by gomastahs assuming the English name.

“ A true extract. (Signed)

“ CHARLES FFLOYER,

“ Secretary of the Select Committee.”

“ The same having been read, and we concurring in opinion therewith, it is agreed and resolved, that after the expiration of two months, from the 27th April, no gomastahs employed by the English shall be permitted to remain in any part of India, out of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and after that period, that no Company's servant, free merchant, or other European residing under the Company's protection, shall be suffered to carry on any inland trade directly or indirectly, beyond those limits, under penalty, if a Company's servant, of being immediately dismissed the service; if a free merchant, or other European, of forfeiting the Company's protection. And it is further agreed and resolved, that if any European whatever shall attempt to transport any merchandize beyond the provinces, all such merchandize shall be seized and confiscated, and the gomastahs having charge of such contraband trade shall be punished with the utmost severity.

“ All Armenians, Portuguese, or the descendants of Armenians and Portuguese, are included in the above restrictions, it being intended that none but the natives of the country (Musselmans and Hindoos) shall in future enjoy this privilege.

“ Ordered, That public notice be given of this resolution, and agreed, that we acquaint the Gentlemen at the subordinatates of the same, and send them a copy of the publication made here, that it may be issued at their respective residencies also.”

Mr. Rumbold was then asked, Do you remember any public orders for prohibiting Armenians, their descendants, and others, from trading in Shujah Dowla or Bulwantsing's dominions before the edict of the 18 May 1768, which has now been read?

A. I do not recollect any, but should there have been any order at that time which may have slipt my memory, I hope the Committee will not suppose that I had any intention of secreting it.



- Q. Was it not your practice at Patna to enter in a book all your letters of correspondence with the country powers ?
- A. I believe they mostly were, but I have no copies.
- Q. Are those books transmitted from the subordinate factories to the Presidency ?
- A. I do not believe the books of country correspondence have been so transmitted.
- Q. Were those general orders for withdrawing the gomastahs and purwannahs, issued by you, entered ?
- A. I believe they are.
- Mr. Cojamaul was then asked, When you purchased goods for Mr. Hare, did you pay the duty to the zemindar ?
- A. I know of but one duty, and that goes to the souzdar or his officers : I never purchased any thing without paying a duty.
- Q. Why did you not produce the purwannah to excuse Mr. Hare from paying the duty ?
- A. Because I did not chuse to act as a gomastah, but as a merchant ; I told Mr. Hare, I would not do it.
- Q. Why did you take the purwannah ?
- A. I was advised by my friends, but I never used it.
- Q. Do you know nothing of any duties whatsoever, from which the producing that purwannah would exempt you ?
- A. The force of this purwannah, as I have heard, is to hinder the duty in the English or any other dominions ; but I never made use of it ; the duty is trifling.
- Q. Did you charge Mr. Hare with the duties ?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Why did you, when you had a purwannah that would have exempted them ?
- A. Because I told Mr. Hare at first, that I would not be employed as a gomastah for the English, but as a merchant.
- Q. What is the force of the dustuck ?
- A. To pass the goods by the chokies.
- Q. Is there not a duty paid in the place where the goods are manufactured ?
- A. Yes—where they are bought or manufactured.
- Q. Have you your account with Mr. Hare ?
- A. No, it remains in India.
- Q. Is it any disgrace to be an English gomastah ?
- A. A merchant is always respected more, and has more credit, than a gomastah.
- Q. Is a merchant more respected than an English gomastah ?
- A. It is a character of more respect.
- Q. Did you ever apply to Mr. Verelst for redress ?
- A. I never applied myself, but my friends did.
- Q. What was their application ?
- A. It was for redress. I have heard of no answer from my friends, that they could get.
- Q. Who were those friends ?
- A. Melcomb Philip ; he said he could get no answer.
- Q. Did you ever send any goods to Mr. Hare ?
- A. I have sent things of little consequence.

Lunæ 11<sup>o</sup> die Maii, 1772.

Colonel Burgoyne in the Chair ; Present,	
Mr. Johnstone,	Mr. Trecothick,
Mr. Vane,	Mr. Ongley,
Mr. Pulteney,	Lord Clive,
Mr. Strachey,	Mr. Pitt,
Sir G. Elliot,	Lord Folkestone.

The Committee proceeded to read the following extract from a letter of the Governor and Select Committee in Bengal, to the Directors of the East India Company, dated 31st January 1766, signed, Clive, Wm. B. Sumner, John Carnac, H. Verelst, and Francis Sykes, viz.

“ To us it evidently appears there remained but the alternative, to advance as we have done, and grasp at the whole power, or to shrink back into our primitive condition of simple merchants ; to abandon our possessions, disband our forces, and rest our future hopes on the clemency of princes, who will not easily forget or forgive the superiority we have so long maintained.—In a word, this last measure was in itself impracticable ; for we must observe, although with much regret, that the misconduct of individuals hath rendered the English name so odious, that we are no longer secure, than while our hands are armed for the defence of our lives and property.”

Read, part of the proceedings of the Select Committee in Bengal, held at Barasut, the 31 December 1766, at which were present Lord Clive, Harry Verelst, Esquire, Brigadier General Carnac, and Francis Sykes, Esquire, as follows :

“ Mahomed Reza Khawn representing to us the great expence which he necessarily incurs in supporting the dignity and influence of his station, an expence which he has hitherto defrayed by receiving those perquisites and emoluments usually annexed to his office, and desiring that we will now assign to him a stated salary and provision, which he thinks will prove more honourable to himself and advantageous to the revenue :

“ And

“ And the Committee taking into serious consideration the great importance of Mahomed Reza Khawn’s particular station, which is that of naib dewan and prime minister, the extraordinary zeal and ability he has shewn in the discharge of his office, the expediency of maintaining him in the full influence due to his rank, and the benefit to the revenue that will accrue from cutting off all secret advantages and perquisites, which so evidently open a door to manifold acts of fraud and oppression :

“ Resolved, That in lieu of all perquisites and emoluments hitherto received by Mahomed Reza Khawn, and the other ministers, agreeably to the custom of the country, there shall in future be assigned for their maintenance and support, an annual salary of twelve lacks of rupees, the same to be deducted from the monthly collections, and divided between Mahomed Reza Khawn, Roy Dullub, and Shitabroy, in such manner and in such proportions, as shall be settled by the Right Honourable the President and them, payment to commence on the last day of January next.”

Read, Part of the proceedings of the Governor and Council at Fort William, in Bengal, dated the 10th December 1767; at which were present Harry Verelst, Esquire, President; John Cartier, Richard Becher, Claud Russell, William Aldersey, Charles Floyer, and Alexander Campbell, Esquires: also part of the proceedings of a Select Committee, held the 11th December 1767, at which were present Mr. Verelst, Mr. Cartier, Mr. Becher, and Mr. Campbell, viz.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Richard Smith, to the Select Committee, dated at Lillahabad, the 24 November 1767.

“ The nature of the intelligence transmitted from Calcutta, by Shujah Dowla’s vaqueel, is without limits. The Nabob is almost as fully acquainted with the parliamentary proceedings concerning the Company’s affairs as I am. How far the importance and dignity of the Company, and the weight and influence of the administration, is lessened in his esteem by this communication, may be easily conceived. Whilst a vaqueel is so ready and so sure a channel to communicate intelligence, few men will be found so hardy as to maintain a direct correspondence with the Nabob; but there is a man who has obliquely offered so great an insult to our President, that was I present at the Board, I would move for the exertion of our authority to the utmost extent, to free the settlement from so dangerous an inhabitant—I mean Mr. Bolts, and the inclosed copy of a letter (the original in my possession) to Mr. Gentil, residing in Sujah Dowla’s court, wherein he asserts an absolute falsehood, which tends to lessen that essential dignity and necessary influence of our President, is surely deserving of your severest resentment. Nor is this the only letter he wrote; for the Nabob acquainted a person of undoubted honour, that Mr. Bolts had wrote the same to Meer Mefalah (formerly physician and confidant of Cossim Aly) from whom the Nabob heard it. Hereafter I may lay before you other proofs of the extent of the intelligence communicated through the vaqueel.”

#### Letter to Mr. Gentil.

“ Dear Sir,

“ It is a long time since I heard from you, which has made me a little uneasy. I have long intended to come from hence to have the pleasure of seeing you, as also to pay my respects to the Nabob, but my affairs have not as yet permitted me; nevertheless, it is what I hope to be able to do in a short time.

“ In regard to the salt petre, I hope the disputes on that subject are ended, but it is not possible for me to abandon my right for the advantage of other Gentlemen, who have no other pretensions than what are founded on injustice, and who would take the advantage of my absence for to deprive me of the advantage of my contracts, which have existed a long time, and which were drawn out with all propriety and justice, conformable to the customs of merchants. If that had been for the Nabob, it would have been another thing. But before I give up the point to Gentlemen who are not in any way my superiors, I assure you, I will follow the affair to the last court of justice, where I can have recourse. Next year I will give over all further commerce, but in the mean time, I hope you will help me with your assistance. My gomastah Goadas writes me you had informed him, that Colonel Barker had wrote letters to stop all my business, and to drive away my people; I shall be obliged to you for your information on that subject, for that Gentleman is not authorized to act in such a manner.

“ I have taken the liberty to send you a letter for Cogee Rafael; I beg you will deliver it to him and send me his answer. I am surpris’d the Nabob has not as yet paid (as they write me) the amount of the broad cloth which my people sold him; if that is true, be so good as to represent the same to him. Melcomb writes me, that he also has sent some cloth from Dacca to the Nabob’s camp: I do not doubt of your favourable assistance for the sale. I shall be very glad when you give me an opportunity of rendering you any service here in return for the trouble I have given you. I shall never be convinced of your friendship, unless you give me some opportunity or other of testifying mine; but you, who are a naib subah, and immersed in business, are perhaps above these trifles. Let it be as it will; I assure you, my dear Sir, that nobody wishes you better than I do.

“ I have wrote a letter to the Nabob, to whom I beg you will give my humble respects. There is arriv’d an English Europe ship, and another French one. The affairs of our Company are in great agitation, and are laid before the King and Parliament of England, and

“ according



“ according to the letters I have received, there is a great likelihood that my associate Mr. Johnstone will come out Governor from the King. I shall be glad from time to time to hear from you, who am with a most perfect esteem, dear Sir,  
 “ Calcutta, Your most humble servant,  
 “ the 19th June 1767. WILLIAM BOLTS.  
 “ P. S. I need not recommend Mahomed Ashruff Cawn to your notice.”

Copy of the President, Mr. Verelst's Minute, on Consultation, the 10 December 1767.

“ The President acquaints the Board, that he some time since received information of the improper correspondence carried on by Mr. Bolts, with Shujah al Dowla, Mr. Gentil, and many other persons; that he desired a gentleman residing up the country to endeavour to procure a particular letter written by Mr. Bolts, which he effected, and delivered the letter to Colonel Smith, who inclosed the same to the Committee; that he can assert from undoubted authority, that Mr. Bolts continues his correspondence with persons residing at the courts of the country princes, and with his Armenian agents, endeavouring by false reports and representations to lessen the respect due to the present administration, and to destroy the harmony and confidence subsisting between us and the powers of Hindostan.

“ The President is further informed, that Mr. Bolts has an Armenian agent at Fyabad, named Cogee Raphael, another at Banaras, Cogee Melcomb, and a third residing near Ghazipore, by name Cogee Gregory. Through these people he ungratefully endeavours to injure the interest of those, in whose service he raised an independency: and these Armenians, under the characters of English gomastahs, are striving to establish themselves in Shujah Dowla's dominions, upon the footing they formerly were at Murshedabad, notwithstanding the Nabob, on account of some mal-practices, has lately forbidden them his presence. The President has, however, desired his Excellency to banish all such as are in his country, under the pretext of being gomastahs to the English.

“ Mr. Bolts, whilst he was in the Company's service, procured a number of dustucks, pretending he wanted them to pass his goods; but he laid them by, unused, until his resignation of the service; since when he has availed himself of them to carry on his trade duty free. The President, upon being informed of it, wrote to the ministers, desiring them to issue orders to the chokies for stopping all dustucks of a very old date; a measure which he hopes will put a stop to so dishonest and unlawful a proceeding.

(Signed) “ HARRY VERELST.”

The Committee then read a paragraph of a letter from the Select Committee at Calcutta, of the 22d December 1767, to Colonel Richard Smith, in answer to his letter of the 24th November; as follows:

“ We much approve of the information you have sent us regarding Mr. Bolts's conduct in the carrying on a correspondence with Mr. Gentil, at the court of Shujah Dowla, and have laid the same before the Council, whose sentiments, as well as ours, we with pleasure observe, entirely concur with those you have expressed on that subject. We request you will use your endeavours with the Nabob to remove Mr. Bolts's gomastahs from his dominions.”

The Committee then read the translations of several Persian letters, written or received by Mr. Verelst, to or from the rajahs or nabobs of the country, as stated on the records of the Company, together with several other letters; as follow:

Read, a letter written by Mr. Verelst on the 19 February 1768, to Rajah Bulwanting, marked B. N<sup>o</sup> 12.

“ I cannot help being astonished to find, from Colonel Smith's letters, that dustucks and purwannahs under the English name are current in your districts, and that gomastahs commit frequent extortions and oppressions under that sanction. After the plain directions which I gave your vakeel at Murshedabad, I am very much surpris'd that you should have neglected to inform me of these practices. I now therefore positively write to you that I will neither grant myself, nor suffer others to grant, any dustucks with the English seal, for the conveyance of any goods, to any part of the Nabob Shujah al Dowla's territories, only for such necessaries as may be occasionally going to the army; and I must further direct you to transmit me a copy of all dustucks for necessaries, the instant they come to your hands, that no room for evasion or pretence may remain. As I have frequent complaints from the Nabob, Shujah al Dowla, that divers people assume the name of English gomastahs, I therefore desire that you would issue positive orders throughout your districts for all such offenders to withdraw themselves without delay; and you will immediately cause Choajee Melcomb, and Choajee Gregore, and a Bengally named Ram Setker, to be sent down under confinement to Meha Rajah Shitabroy, for none of these people have any title to residence within the territories of the Nabob Shujah al Dowla.”

On a rukah.

“ I am informed that Monf. Canonge, a Frenchman, is now resident, and carrying on a trade in French commodities, at Mirzapore. I am astonished that you should permit French merchandize to pass without duties, and French gomastahs to reside without authority. I therefore write to you to send down the aforesaid Frenchman, without delay, to Patna, and levy the established duties. You must give proper attention likewise, to prevent any of your people from embezzling the effects and goods which he may leave behind him.”

Read—

Read—also a letter written by Mr. Verelst, on the 27 Feb. 1768, to the Nabob, Shajah al Dowla, marked B. N<sup>o</sup>. 14.

“ I am much surpris'd to learn from Colonel Smith, that divers people, taking the name of English gomastahs, have been guilty of great violence and extortions in your Excellency's country. Of this I was before entirely unacquainted, or I would have endeavour'd to have remedied it; nor has any one authority from me, nor will I in future give any, either for trade or residence, in your Excellency's country. I must therefore make it my particular request, that should any one take the English name as a screen for his mal-practices, you will immediately cause him to be apprehended, and sent hither, that his falsehood may meet with due punishment. You cannot oblige me more than by detecting these impostors. I write this so positively and strongly, that you may see how ever attentive I am to cut off all occasion of uneasiness to you.”

On a rukah.

“ I learn that two Armenians, named Cojah Rafael, and Cojah Estevan, are resident at Fizeabad, and carrying on a trade there. As this tribe are of a bad cast, and their principles only falsehood and imposition, I request that you will give them no countenance, but cause these men to be speedily apprehended and sent hither, or issue your orders to Captain Harper for that purpose. As there is no separation between us, I doubt not you will oblige me in this matter.”

Read—also the translation of an extract from an original letter in the Bengal language, from the said Ramsunker to Mr. Bolts, as produced by him, dated the 17 March 1768; which was proved by Mr. Bolts; viz.

Extract of a Letter from Ramfoncore, dated at Chowfah, the 17th March 1768; to Willjam Bolts.

“ What shall I write you of the news from Banaras? I have received a letter from the person I left at Banaras, dated the second Choytro; he has wrote to me, that a purwannah has come from the Governor of Calcutta, upon the rajah; ordering him to confine under a guard, whatsoever people of Mr. Bolts's are in those parts, and send them to Calcutta. On this account, on the first Choytro, a peon of the rajah's came to demand Cogee Melcomb and me; upon his not finding me there, he took Cogee Melcomb and confined him. They were seizing my people who are there, and going to carry them away; but Mr. Jekyll, and Mr. Alexander's gomastah, named Soobharam Paulit, who was there, said, these people can give no account of affairs, they are only here to watch the warehouse; upon hearing of which, they then desisted. After hearing what passed afterwards, I shall write you the news. If I go to Banaras, they will certainly confine me under a guard; and if I am stigmatized, all outstanding debts, wherever they lie, will vanish. I therefore desire you will procure and send a purwannah from the Governor there, upon the rajah, that I may remain at Banaras for one month, settle all outstanding affairs, and come away. If this is not done, there will be great difficulties. I am your servant; what was requisite I have set forth. You are master; whatever is proper, do it quickly. If they carry me away under the confinement of a guard, it is matter of no shame to me; for I have not beat any body, neither have I robbed any body, that I should fear to go to Banaras: but if I go, and, with or without justice, am put into confinement, and sent to Calcutta, your business will suffer much, and there will be losses. Understanding this, you will please soon to furnish the necessary.”

Read—also a Persian letter from Captain Gabriel Harper; the translation of which was proved by Gonyshamdafs; as follows:

Translation from the Persian, of an original Order, under the Hand and Seal of Captain Gabriel Harper, at Feyzabad, upon the sending Cogee Johannes Padre Rafael Prisoner, under a Guard of Sepoys, to Colonel Sir Robert Barker, at Allahabad.

Directed “ to Rafael,” sealed, “ Captain Gabriel Harper.”

“ Trusty, among friends, greeting.—I have received and am acquainted with the purport of your letter about your going—send your necessaries to such place as you think best; and if you yourself are ready for going, it is necessary that to-morrow morning, two hours before day-light, you mount and come to me, under charge of Colonel Barker's Sepoys, that I may send you to Allahabad.—Those, appointed Sepoys only for this, are staying with impatience in this place, that they may deliver you to the Colonel, with themselves. What more shall I write? (Signed)

“ GABRIEL HARPER.”

Read—also a letter from the Rajah Bulwantsing, to Mr. Verelst, received the 22d March 1768, in answer to his of the 19th, marked C. N<sup>o</sup> 98.

“ After acknowledging the receipt of Mr. Verelst's letter, (B. N<sup>o</sup> 12.) your servant is always devoted to your high will and pleasure. Cojah Melcomb, who was in Banaras, is apprehended, agreeable to your commands. People are already sent to seize upon Monsieur Canonje, in Mirzapore. Cojah Melcomb declares that Cojah Gregore has been some time gone to Patna. I have sent proper people in quest of Senker Churnn, who I hear is in the districts of Ghazepore, and I will immediately disperse the purwannahs you have commanded throughout all my dependencies. Hereafter the particulars shall be duly represented.”



Upon a rukah.

“ It was signified that Monf Canonje is refident at Mirzapore, for the fale of French merchandize, and carries on a trade there, and that your fervant permits goods to pafs without duties, and French gomastahs to refide without authority. The truth is this, your fervant detained four French boats for the fpace of two months, but a duftuck arriving at that time from the Vizier Shujah al Dowlah, forbidding any interruption to be offered them, I fuffered them to proceed. Now your fervant will execute your orders.”

Read—also a letter written by Mr. Verelst on the 27 March 1768, to the Nabob Shujah al Dowlah, marked C. N<sup>o</sup> 28.

“ It is with the greateft furprife I learn from certain intelligence, that Mr. Bolts has procured from Fyzeabad, copies of a number of letters I wrote your Excellency. This matter is of the moft ferious moment, and plainly proves there are fome traitors about your perfon who difcover the fecrets they are intrufted with. As you may certainly depend upon this, I particularly defire you will make ftrict enquiry into the affair, and punifh the offenders in the moft exemplary manner—feeing if a perfon of fo little confequence as Mr. Bolts can thus penetrate into the fecrets of your correffpondence, how much more eafy can it be for men of fuperior influence and importance to do the fame? I again recommend this matter to your ferious attention, and, as a guide to your enquiry, have fome reafon to believe that Meer Mufhallah and the Armenians have been the chief inftrument in effecting this.”

Read—also a letter written by Mr. Verelst on the 27 March 1768, to the Rajah Bulwantfing, marked C. N<sup>o</sup> 31.

“ I am lately informed that you have ftopped feveral boats, even with military ftores, though they had Englifh duftucks, and have demanded duties from the merchants felling diamonds, to Mr. Chamnier, though he has the Nabob’s purwannah to exempt him therefrom. A refpect to the Englifh feal is due from you on all occafions, and whenever therefore any duftucks fhall come, you will pafs the boats without delay, and fend a copy of the duftuck to me, and I will take care no abufe is made. The Nabob has a right to your obedience in every thing, and it is therefore a high offence to act in contradiction to his commands. You will therefore abftain from fuch behaviour, and pay a due regard to all his orders in future.”

Read—a letter produced by Mr. Bolts, as written by him to Mr. Verelst, dated the 30 March 1768; viz.

“ The extraordinary intelligence which I have lately received from Oud, Illahabad, and Banaras, puts me to the neceffity of troubling you with this letter addreffed to you in your public character.

“ I am informed from the beft authority and moft fubftantial proofs, that Shujah al Dowlah and Bulwantfing have feized and confined a number of people under the denomination of Mr. Bolts’s agents and gomastahs, not for any caufe of complaint they have againft them, but folety, as they declare they do it by virtue of orders received from Calcutta.

“ The confequence thereof is, that many people, who have all of them no other fault than that of having formerly ferved me, have been confined and ill treated, fome who are merchants and inhabitants of that country, on their own account; many that are now in the fervice of other merchants and Englifh Gentlemen, and fome few who are actually my gomastahs, and have charge of the recovery (and that only) of my outftanding debts, amounting to about one hundred and fifty thoufand rupees. The concerns of other Gentlemen, and thofe of the Merchants themfelves, who are thus innocently oppreffed in confequence of thefe orders, muft amount to a much more confiderable fum.

“ As thofe who execute them difavow thefe unheard-of acts, which would even difgrace a Moorifh government, I am as yet willing to imagine it muft have been occafioned by their mifconffruftion of the orders given from hence.

“ If any act of government had made it neceffary to feize and bring down all Englifh gomastahs indifcriminately, from the dominions of Shujah al Dowlah, I fhould have no reafon to wonder at, or remonfftrate to, the proceedings againft thofe who are really my gomastahs; while there would yet be reafon for furprife at the feizing thofe who are not fo, and independent merchants.

“ But while your own gomastahs for diamonds, and others for falt petre, opium, &c. who call themfelves gomastahs of Colonels Smith and Barker, with thofe of Mefffrs. Rumbold, Ruffell, Alexander, Floyer, Maddifon, Chamier, and many others, both civil and military Gentlemen, are not only permitted, but protected, even with force, in carrying on their trade in thofe parts; the thus fingling out mine, with extraordinary acts of feverity, would feem to imply, that they have been guilty of fome extraordinary faults to deferve it.

“ If therefore my gomastahs have been guilty of any mifbehaviour to deferve fuch fevere orders being iffued from hence, I requett you will pleafe to acquaint me therewith, and who are the tranfgreffors, that I may immediately difmifs them, and appoint others in their room, to fuperintend the collection of my balances outftanding.

“ But if it be only a mifunderffanding (on the part of Shujah al Dowla and Bulwantfing) of the orders which have been fend from hence, I requett a letter to both thofe princes, that thofe who are my gomastahs may have the fame protection as yours, and thofe of the  
“ before-

“ before-mentioned gentlemen, or of other subjects, and my property be equally as secure :  
 “ and, in the mean time, so well am I persuaded of their good behaviour, that I will be an-  
 “ swerable (and even, if required, enter into a bond) for the good conduct of all such as are  
 “ mine, not only for any their acts of transgression of the laws of Great Britain, but of those  
 “ of the country government also; which, as it appears to me all that can be required, I  
 “ hope will be satisfactory.

“ In the mean time, whatever may have been the orders from hence, as I am very appre-  
 “ hensive they may have been occasioned by the misrepresentations which may have been  
 “ made to you by the gentlemen competitors for the salt petre trade, particularly by Mr.  
 “ Robert Maddison, and his agent, Mr. John Chamier, the former of whom, during his  
 “ visit to Shujah al Dowlah’s court, has been trying every method (in consequence of the in-  
 “ fluence gained over Shujah al Dowlah, by his post in the munfykhaneh) to engross as  
 “ much as possible of the salt petre made in that Prince’s dominions, it may not be amiss to  
 “ give you information of the real state of my concerns.

“ Having, during my stay at Banaras, perceived, from the aptitude of that country to  
 “ produce salt petre, that great improvements might be there made in that branch; I ap-  
 “ plied myself with some attention to the cultivation of it, and with such success as soon  
 “ made it the object of men more powerful than myself. After my quitting Banaras, dis-  
 “ putes soon arose among the competitors, whereby I became a very great loser, notwith-  
 “ standing I was the only person who satisfied the country government for their duties. Ag-  
 “ grieved by those proceedings, I addressed myself to Colonel Smith, in a letter so long ago  
 “ as the 13th May 1767, to which however I never received any answer, owing, as I have  
 “ reason to believe, from what I have since discovered, to his being a party concerned, who  
 “ could not give me redress without injuring his own concerns.

“ This salt petre concern was one of those of which I formerly gave an account to the  
 “ Select Committee. In the mean time foreseeing, from the behaviour of the different  
 “ gomastahs, that the interest of the country, and of the Company, would be greatly in-  
 “ jured by their quarrels, and apprehensive that they would in the end occasion complaints  
 “ from Shujah al Dowlah and Bulwantsing, of the same pernicious nature as those formerly  
 “ made by Cossim Ally Khawn, and thereby make it necessary for our government at Calcutta  
 “ to withdraw all gomastahs from those quarters: I say, apprehensive of those evils, and  
 “ forced by other oppressions, of which I shall hereafter in due time take notice, I thought  
 “ it best to withdraw my said salt petre concerns.

“ And accordingly I have totally desisted from the prosecution of that branch for many  
 “ months past; my said gomastahs having only charge of the recovery of the outstanding  
 “ debts arisen on last year’s transactions.

“ All the rest of my other concerns likewise consist in outstanding debts arisen on the sales  
 “ of the Company’s outery goods, exported from Calcutta before I resigned the service, so  
 “ that my gomastahs there have not at present charge of any purchases or sales whatever.

“ Moreover, I have the most authentic proofs in my hands, that during the abovesaid  
 “ transactions, the King, the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah, and the Rajah Bulwanting, were  
 “ perfectly satisfied with my carrying on the said trade, being also satisfied for their duties;  
 “ which makes it needless for me to speak to the right I had in common with others, either  
 “ in the light of a country merchant, a Company’s servant, or other subject residing under  
 “ the British government.

“ So that it is hard even to guess what just reasons can be alledged for the present im-  
 “ prisonment of people, under the denomination only of my gomastahs, by virtue of orders  
 “ from hence, unless, as aforesaid, it be in consequence of the misrepresentations of those  
 “ Gentlemen who are struggling for salt petre, and who (though without foundation)  
 “ apprehend that I may continue the trade this season, and thereby hurt their concerns.

“ Yet even in that case, as many others with me are so immediately concerned, and as it  
 “ is the indispensable obligation of your station to watch for the security of the property of  
 “ all subjects under the protection of the British flag in this country, I can hardly imagine  
 “ that orders would have been issued from hence upon the private information of any persons,  
 “ without first giving notice, taking measures to secure the property of the concerned, and  
 “ fixing a certain time for transferring the business to others.

“ Since it is always better to prevent, than redress evils, I have chosen first to apply to  
 “ you alone, rather than to address the whole Board on subjects, which, if scrutinized, might  
 “ involve and hurt the business of many other persons, especially as you having the entire  
 “ direction of the country correspondence, matters of this nature are best and most easily  
 “ redressed by you.

“ I therefore request the letters before mentioned to Shujah al Dowlah and Bulwanting  
 “ to release my gomastahs (and property if detained) who may be directed, if you think it  
 “ necessary, to come down, after four months; in which time, I am sure, they will be able  
 “ to collect in all outstanding balances. At the same time it would be equally as agreeable  
 “ to me that they should come down immediately, if you can think of any method of ob-  
 “ taining for me either the immediate payment or security for the amount of my balances,  
 “ which are all good, and afford not the least apprehension of their not being duly recovered.

“ At the same time it appears practicable to put a stop to the present wranglings about salt  
 “ petre, in a manner that may be very beneficial to the Company, and at the same time per-  
 “ fectly



“fectly satisfy the country government and their ryotts, upon a plan which I would humbly  
“recommend for the Company’s interest, as follows:

“To contract with merchants for all the salt petre that can be made in those districts on  
“the Company’s account, the said contractors satisfying the princes of the country for their  
“duties, and also reserving for them such a quantity as they might require for the use of  
“their own households, and the consumption of their own countries.

“I will engage to find very responsible merchants who will undertake to execute such a  
“plan, and engage to deliver, on the Company’s account at Patna, for the first year 25,000  
“maunds of refined petre, which shall be near three times finer than that they have generally  
“received from Patna, at a price to be hereafter stipulated; upon which the Company might  
“be sure of gaining at least fifteen thousand pounds sterling per annum clear, if they were  
“even to sell it again in Bengal.

“Other advantages, which would likewise accrue from such a plan, are obvious; the  
“foreign companies might be supplied with their allowances from this petre, and our Com-  
“pany be thereby freed from those large drawbacks on that branch of their trade. And it  
“would also prevent the French or Dutch from manufacturing it themselves in those parts,  
“which they will certainly attempt whenever the English gomastahs are totally recalled. At  
“the same time it must be remembered, that though the gomastahs of private Gentlemen  
“be all recalled; yet while our armies continue in those parts, there is a great rique, that,  
“however strict the orders of the Board be, some or other Gentlemen of influence with the  
“army will find means to evade them, and to engross the whole of this article in conse-  
“quence of their influence over, and the ignorance and fears of, the country Princes  
“that it does not appear possible so advantageously to obviate the evils apprehended by any  
“other than this plan, which I have submitted to your consideration.

“I am, Sir,

“Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) “WILLIAM BOLTS.”

Read—also an original letter, dated the 31st March 1768, from Mr. Verelst to Mr. Bolts,  
in answer to the foregoing; viz.

“To Mr. William Bolts.

“Sir, I have received your letter of the 30th instant, and am to acquaint you that I know  
“of no orders for impeding the business of your gomastahs in particular, in the dominions of  
“Shujah al Dowlah and Bulwantsing. Repeated complaints have been received from those  
“two Princes of the oppressive conduct of gomastahs taking the English name, and carrying  
“on trade in their countries. The Honourable Company have been pleased to express their  
“orders for the positive prohibition to their servants of all trade whatever in those provinces,  
“and the Presidency of Fort William have resolved to put a stop to it in future, by a recall  
“of all such gomastahs. How far, or by what right, your gomastahs can be allowed to  
“continue there after the time already allotted you for the adjustment of your concerns, must  
“be determined by the government here. I am, Sir,

“Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) “H. VERELST.”

“March 31st, 1768.

Read—also copy of a letter from Mr. Bolts to Mr. Verelst, dated the 2d April 1768; as  
follows:

“To Hary Verelst, Esquire,

“President and Governor of Fort William.

“Sir, I received yesterday your favour of the 31st, in answer to mine of the 30th past,  
“acquainting me of your ignorance of any orders having been given respecting my gomastahs  
“in particular.

“You must therefore, I fear, have been grossly abused by those who penned the Persian  
“letters from hence; for, by authentic copies of them, which I have this moment received  
“from Oud, my gomastahs are particularly mentioned by name.

“I cannot perceive upon what principle the government here can undertake to determine  
“what time shall be allowed me for the adjustment of my concerns in those parts; however,  
“as I have already said as much, I shall, without discussing that point, willingly submit, as  
“others do, to every general order; and, as it is your opinion that the time to be allotted  
“must be determined by the government here, I request you will inform me of their deter-  
“mination, after acquainting them with the circumstances I have laid before you, that I  
“may know what to do.

“In the mean time I apply to you in the character of an injured complaining subject, and  
“request letters to the Nabob Shujah al Dowlah, and to the Rajah Bulwantsing, inclosing to  
“them an arzdahit of my complaints, of which the following is the purport.

“That Mr. William Bolts having had certain mercantile transactions in your dominions,  
“as he represents with your permission, by virtue of purwannahs given by you, and in  
“consequence of duties paid, which business he avers has been transacted by his gomastahs  
“in the most peaceful manner, and according to the custom of those countries; on which  
“transactions, large outstanding balances have arisen, to the amount of one hundred and  
“fifty thousand rupees. That notwithstanding this, the gomastahs of him, the said Wil-  
“liam Bolts, have been lately seized and imprisoned, in a sudden manner, without any cause

“or

“ or complaint being alledged, that he William Bolts can discover; while, at the same time, the agents and gomastahs of Governor Verelst, Colonel Smith, Mr. Russell, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Rumbold, and many other British subjects, are unmolestedly permitted to transact their constituents affairs. That Mr. William Bolts, living under British protection, is intitled to every privilege others are intitled to: that, therefore, it is required, that those his gomastahs be released, and allowed the same protection, and for the same space of time, as may be allowed to the gomastahs of the aforesaid gentlemen, and that satisfaction be made to him and them, in case it be proved that they have been unjustly imprisoned, not only in violation of the treaties subsisting between you and the English, but also against the laws of Hindostan, and of nations in general.

“ At the same time, Sir, should it be insisted that they have merited this treatment, I request they may be summoned, after a moderate time to be allowed me, before the Board of Calcutta, to have the same enquired into. But should they be enquired into upon the spot, I request you will order the enquiry to be postponed, until either I myself can arrive there, and be present, or appoint others.

“ I observe, Sir, what you inform me, that the Honourable Company have been pleased to prohibit all trade whatever in those provinces, and that the Presidency of Calcutta have resolved to put a stop to it in future, by a recall of all such gomastahs. It is the first time I ever heard of it, nor had I the least conception of it, knowing that even lately you was pleased to give a letter to the Rajah Bulwanting, in favour of Mr. Alexander's business there; however, such a prohibition of trade would not affect me; for as I have before acquainted you, I have nothing depending there but the collection of outstanding debts.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) “ WILLIAM BOLTS.”

“ Calcutta, the 2d April 1768.

Read—also a letter from the Nabob Shujah al Dowlah to Mr. Verelst, as received by him the 3d April 1768, marked C. N<sup>o</sup> 118, viz.

“ I received your friendly letter by the hands of Captain Harper, and was rejoiced thereby: it is plain that my friendship with the English serdars, and particularly with your Excellency, is firm; neither does it need the common phrases of the world to set it off. You also have shewn yourself so profuse of favours towards me, that I cannot find any expressions equal to my sense thereof. I can only wish that the Almighty may give our connection daily strength, and our friendship hourly warmth. Considering what you write on the subject of the Armenians, as proceeding from your perfect cordiality, I am delighted therewith: what can be more suitable to our interest than that we should mutually exert ourselves in disarming all such as may be the abettors or authors of evil? In the affair of the salt petre, which was the first, every inquietude was removed, and every thorn extracted at once, by even a momentary adversion of your Excellency's regard. And now that you have written concerning Rafael and Estevan, that matter is done. As they have some outstanding debts incurred in the course of their business here, they petitioned earnestly for two or three days respite to settle their accounts. After that they will no more presume to reside here. Rajah Bulwanting has acquainted me with your Excellency's orders about the Armenians in those districts, and I have instructed him to pay implicit obedience to what you shall signify on the occasion, as whatever is agreeable to you, cannot fail of being satisfactory to me.—For the rest, consider me as one solicitous after your welfare, and favour me with frequent accounts thereof.”

Read—also the following letter from Mr. Bolts to Mr. Verelst, viz.

“ To Harry Verelst, Esquire, President and Governor of Fort William.

“ Sir, As some days have elapsed, and I have not been favoured with an answer to my last letter, which it is of the greatest consequence for me to have as soon as possible, to enable me to take the necessary measures for the security of my property, I request you will be pleased to acquaint me what you have determined thereupon. I am, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) “ WILLIAM BOLTS.”

“ Calcutta, 7th April 1768.

Read—the following original letter from Mr. Verelst.

“ To Mr. William Bolts.

“ Sir, I have your letters of the 2d and 7th instant, and am again to repeat to you, that the resolutions taken, and the orders given, for recalling the English gomastahs in the dominions of Shujah al Dowlah and Bulwanting, were general, not particular; but that as the names of such persons came to my knowledge, it became necessary to point them out.

“ I am also to acquaint you, that letters have been written, desiring that the gomastahs may be allowed to collect in their constituents outstanding balances; what time may be deemed proper for that purpose, will be determined by the Committee, which would have been done before now, had not my indisposition prevented my having a meeting with the Gentlemen.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) “ H. VERELST.”

“ Fort William,

“ April 9th 1768.



Read—the following letters to and from Mr. Bolts; viz.

“ To Harry Verelst, Esquire, President and Governor of Fort William.

“ Sir, The last letter you was pleased to send me yesterday, neither affords the answer which I flattered myself I should receive to mine, nor redress of the grievances I complained of. The people I have wrote to you about, have been sent down under confinement to Shitabroy, the Company's collector at Patna, who has kept them under confinement.

“ In consequence of your last letter, I have ordered them back to their stations, but in the mean time, as that is not sufficient, I must request immediately three letters: one to Shitabroy to release them, one to Rajah Bulwantling, and one to the Nabob Shujah al Dowlah, at least to acquaint them of my people's being ordered back, to continue upon the same terms as other English agents. I am, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ Calcutta, 11th April 1768.

(Signed) “ WILLIAM BOLTS.”

“ To Mr. John Knott.

“ Sir, As the multiplicity of affairs upon Mr. Verelst's hands may make him forget the letter I wrote him the 11th instant on the subject of my imprisoned agents, and to avoid continually troubling him on that subject, I request you will on the first vacant moment put him in mind of it, that I may receive the Persian letters in time, to prevent many unexpected and disagreeable consequences. If you find I am not to expect those Persian letters, a note signifying Mr. Verelst's refusal will be sufficient; and an answer procured, (if possible, to-day) either in the affirmative or negative, will be esteemed a favour by,

“ Sir,

“ Your most obedient, humble servant,

“ Calcutta, the 13th April 1768.

(Signed) “ WILLIAM BOLTS.”

“ To Mr. William Bolts.

“ Sir, This moment your letter of to-day's date is presented me, the purport of which rendering it necessary to be communicated to Mr. Verelst, he desires me to let you know that your several late letters to him (on the subject of your present address to me) as well as his answers thereto, having been laid before the Select Committee, you will receive their sentiments thereon from the secretary to that department. I am, Sir,

“ Wednesday noon,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ 13th April 1768.

(Signed) “ JOHN KNOTT.”

“ To Charles Floyer, Esquire. Secretary to the Select Committee at Fort William.

“ Sir, Having lately wrote to Mr. Verelst several letters regarding his having ordered into confinement sundry persons and merchants, who are my agents and gomastahs, who, in consequence of those orders, have been seized in the Nabob Shujah al Dowlah's dominions in a sudden manner, by force, plundered, imprisoned, and sent down under confinement to Shitabroy, the Company's collector at Patna, who has there received them as prisoners, and continued them under confinement, whereby I am likely to be a loser of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees, exclusive of the loss accruing to those injured persons in particular; in answer to those my applications, I am now referred to the Secretary of the Select Committee for their determination thereupon. I therefore apply to you, and request you will please to send me, without loss of time, a copy of such proceedings as concern me, particularly mentioning the members present at this transaction. As one hour's delay may be of the most ruinous consequence to my affairs, I hope you will excuse my earnestness.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ Calcutta, 13th April 1768.

(Signed) “ WILLIAM BOLTS.”

“ To Mr. William Bolts.

“ Sir, The opinion of the Select Committee on the subject of your letters to the Governor, shall be made known to you as expeditiously as may be in my power to transmit it to you.

I am, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ 13th April 1768.

(Signed) “ CHARLES FLOYER.”

A Letter from Mr. Verelst to the Rajah Bulwantling, written on the 14 April 1768, marked C. N<sup>o</sup> 32. viz.

“ The Nabob Shujah al Dowlah had so frequently and strongly complained of European gomastahs residing in his territories, and particularly within your jurisdiction, that I could not refuse my consent and encouragement in getting them withdrawn. My last letter was therefore meant to cut off, if possible, all future causes of complaint against our gomastahs, and to quiet the uneasiness of our ally the Nabob, by my zeal for the ease and happiness of his country. You had made particular objections to the conduct of Mons. Canonge before, but it astonishes me to hear the rigour with which you have treated him, in hurrying him away without a moment's respite to settle his concerns. Mons. Chevalier, the French governor, has himself large concerns in Mons. Canonge's hands, which are now at stake, and he has given me such an account of your seizing, imprisoning, and mal-treating him, that I cannot conceive any provocations could justify, or any consequences arise from it,

“ but

“ but enormous losses of private property without benefit to the country. I must therefore  
 “ desire of you to pursue these matters with another temper, and more moderation; and as  
 “ Mr. Chevalier has engaged himself responsible for Mons. Canonge removing all future  
 “ dealings in that country, and Mons. Canonge has given protestations to the same purpose  
 “ himself, you will grant him a month’s indulgence for the adjustment of his former con-  
 “ cerns, seeing he is to contract no new engagements during that time. I am further in-  
 “ formed that you are collecting duties upon all goods which have been formerly transported  
 “ into your districts; I really can see no reason for this, unless you mean to make use of  
 “ public pretences for your private emolument; and, as I wish rather to serve our ally Shu-  
 “ jah al Dowlah really and essentially, than gratify private interest or private passions, I  
 “ desire you will desist from this practice in future, and facilitate, as much as in your power,  
 “ the conclusion of concerns now existing, and no more exact duties on goods either bought  
 “ or sold in your districts before this time.”

Your Committee then read part of the proceedings of a Select Committee held at Fort William in Bengal, on the 15th April 1768, at which were present Harry Verelst, Esquire, President, John Cartier, Richard Becher, and Charles Floyer, Esquires; viz.

The President lays before the Committee the late correspondence between him and Mr. William Bolts, on the subject of the latter’s concerns in the countries of Shujah Dowlah and Bulwanting, and requests that the two following paragraphs of Mr. Bolts’s letter to him, under date the 2d instant, may be recorded upon these proceedings, as in one of them he acknowledges what the President has long since had intimation of, his carrying on a correspondence with the princes and others of the country; a circumstance which he, the President, deems highly detrimental to the interest of our honourable employers, and an absolute defiance of their orders.

Extract of a letter from Mr. William Bolts to the President, dated the 2d April 1768.

“ I received yesterday your favour of the 31st, in answer to mine of the 30th past, acquainting me of your ignorance of any orders having been given respecting my gomastahs in particular.

“ You must therefore, I fear, have been grossly abused by those who penned the Persian letters from hence; for by authentic copies of them, which I have this moment received from Oud, my gomastahs are particularly mentioned by name.”

The President also acquaints the Board, that in his reply to Mr. Bolts’s last letter to him, he referred him to the resolutions of the Select Committee, before whom he proposed to lay his correspondence for their consideration; in consequence whereof the secretary received two letters from Mr. Bolts, dated the 13th and 14th instant, which are now produced and read. The secretary begs leave to observe, that the last letter he received was in reply to one he wrote to Mr. Bolts, assuring him that as soon as the Committee came to any resolution concerning him, he should be made acquainted therewith.

Ordered, That the two letters from Mr. Bolts be entered after the proceedings, and that the following letter be wrote to him from our secretary.

“ To Mr. William Bolts.

“ Sir, I am directed by the Select Committee to inform you, that they, nor the President, know of no orders for the confinement of any of your gomastahs. That representations from Shujah Dowlah and Bulwanting have made it necessary for the Committee to determine on the recall of all gomastahs taking upon them the English name in their countries. That they think you have no right to call upon them on this occasion, having long since had the usual time allowed you for the adjustment of all your concerns, having already been ordered to leave the country, and advised that no further protection would be given you.

“ The Committee are therefore determined not to interfere, or in any shape charge themselves with any of your concerns. I have laid before them your letters to me under dates the 13th and 14th instant. I am, Sir,

“ Fort William,  
 “ 15th April 1768.

“ Your most obedient servant,  
 (Signed) “ CHARLES FLOYER,  
 “ Secretary of the Select Committee.”

Read—also the following letters to and from several persons; viz.

A Letter from Shitabroy to Mr. Verelst, received by him the 16th April, 1768, marked C. N<sup>o</sup>. 134.

“ Your servant, with all faithfulness, is at no time wanting in the discharge of your high commands; but may it please your Excellency, when the Nabob Mahomed Reza Cawn was in Calcutta, and the affair of Carruchpore was taken notice of in your conferences, your servant imagined you would have issued your gracious orders on the subject to him. It is true, the affair is settled, but your servant has not been honoured with your illustrious letter concerning it. For some days there have been two officers stationed, one at Monor on the Dewah, the other at Choufah, for the examination of English boats and the dustucks of the Company; and the Colonel informed me that your Excellency’s orders had been signified to your servant for the stationing deputies, on the part of the Government, in the same places; but your servant made answer, that your orders on that head had not reached him. Thirdly, your servant has received advice from Rajah Bulwanting of your directions for his seizing on the persons of Coja Melcomb and Gregory, Armenians, and Mons. Canonje, a Frenchman, and conveying them down to your servant; neither have  
 “ you



“ honoured your servant with any intimation of this. As these three high commands, all  
 “ relative to your servant, have been issued without his receiving any direct orders from your  
 “ Excellency, so that he might be duly informed and ready in the execution thereof, he there-  
 “ fore humbly desires your Excellency would apprise him of your venerable commands, and  
 “ not subject him to such disagreeable alternatives in future. It is highly necessary for your  
 “ Excellency to incline your attention hereto.”

A Letter from Mr. Verelst to the Nabob Shujah al Dowlah, written the 26th April 1768,

C. N<sup>o</sup> 34.

“ I am sorry to inform your Excellency, that in consequence of my letters to you con-  
 “ cerning the English gomastahs and your orders thereupon, I find your officers have exercised  
 “ a severity beyond what either of us intended. They have seized and sent away many,  
 “ without allowing them the shortest time to adjust their affairs, and others, from this kind  
 “ of treatment, find it impossible even to receive the debts lawfully due to them. As those  
 “ losses must fall heavy on many individuals, I think it but just to request your Excellency  
 “ to indulge them with two months licence, to withdraw their effects and settle their affairs,  
 “ and at the same time give such orders to the officers of your dominions, that they may lend  
 “ them all assistance for the more speedy dispatch of this matter. In the mean time, should  
 “ any of them misbehave or interfere in any thing regarding your country, I request you  
 “ would order Mr. Rumbold to be made acquainted with it, as he is nearer than myself, and  
 “ as he is a Gentleman in whose justice I have the most perfect reliance, he will punish them  
 “ in the most exemplary manner. For this purpose he has full instructions from me.”

A Letter from Mr. Verelst to the Rajah Bulwanting, written the 26th April 1768,

marked C. N<sup>o</sup> 35.

“ I before wrote, that the gomastahs of the English Gentlemen should be allowed, as  
 “ before, to dispose, duty free, what they had imported, or to carry away goods they might  
 “ have already provided. I now acquaint you that it is determined that they shall be allowed  
 “ two months from the receipt of this, for the settling their affairs; and I desire you will  
 “ afford them every assistance herein, that the business may be speedily brought to an issue.  
 “ In this interval, should you have any cause of complaint against any gomastahs, you will  
 “ represent it to Mr. Rumbold at Patna, and he will give you immediate redress.”

A Letter from Mr. Francis Hare, second in Council at Patna, to Mr. Bolts, dated the  
 19 April 1768, which was proved by Mr. Bolts; viz.

“ I have received your favour of the 10th instant, inclosing a letter for Ramcantobose,  
 “ which I immediately sent him, acquainting him with your instructions relating to Mel-  
 “ comb and Gregory, though I do not see what effect they can have, as they cannot be  
 “ released but by the power that confined them. They both left this place some time ago,  
 “ and must have arrived at the city, I think, long before this, so that their enlargement must  
 “ be obtained by you. As for me, as I was ordered to deliver them up to Shitabroy, under  
 “ pain of forfeiture of the service, though not permitted to put that order in execution (for  
 “ they were sent here prisoners by Bulwanting) I think I cannot venture on a further ap-  
 “ plication.”

“ P. S. I answered your two favours of the 5th and 26th ult. the 4th instant.”

A Letter under the Hand and Seal of Cogee Abraham, a very principal Merchant at the  
 City of Murshedabad, to Mr. Bolts, dated the 4 Zelhedge, which was proved by Mr.  
 Rafael and translated by Gonyshamdafs; viz.

“ After the usual compliments. I received your favourable letter, with one inclosed for  
 “ Moyeen Dowla (Mahomed Reza Khawn) and one for Rajah Dullubram, on Monday  
 “ the 30th Zilcade, at eight in the evening; and you desire that I will learn from them and  
 “ write you the particulars or reasons of Cogee Melcomb's being imprisoned. Kind Sir, I  
 “ delivered the letters to the said Nabob and Rajah. The Nabob read the letter, but I have  
 “ not got an answer; the said Cogee Melcomb has been dispatched from up the country, in  
 “ the morning or evening he will certainly arrive. After his arrival I shall write to the  
 “ Committee, and will speak to you conformable to the orders which I may receive from  
 “ thence. The Rajah gave for answer, that he knew nothing of the affair, and I myself am  
 “ certain that he knows nothing about it. As soon as I receive the Rajah's answer I shall  
 “ forward it—And when Cogee Melcomb arrives here, I shall not be deficient in friendship  
 “ towards him, and he shall not find trouble—I am remediless, I have no more in my power.  
 “ What shall I write more?”

Translation of Part of an original Letter, under the Hand and Seal of Cogee Abraham, at  
 Murshedabad, dated the 10th Zilhedge, to William Bolts, proved by Gonyshamdafs.

“ On the 8th of this month Cogee Melcomb arrived in town, and he waited on the Nabob  
 “ Moyeen al Dowlah Bahader. The said Nabob ordered the coming down of Cogee Mel-  
 “ comb in the garden called Ferrahbag. He is in the said garden, but is under a guard.  
 “ My Sir, it appears that the said Nabob is waiting for the orders of the Committee, that he  
 “ may do according to the order whatsoever comes from thence. If Mr. Hare shall speak in  
 “ the cause of his deliverance, I suppose the deliverance will appear soon, because the said  
 “ gentleman is master of the business. This is the subject which is written to you, for to  
 “ give you the knowledge of it. What shall I write more?”

A Letter from Mr. Bolts to Harry Verelst, Esquire, President; John Cartier, Richard Becher, James Alexander, Claud Russell, William Aldersey, and Charles Floyer, Esquires, Members of the Council for the Affairs of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies.

“ Gentlemen, I have been now thirteen days waiting for an answer to my application to your Board of the 18th April, regarding my imprisoned agents. They have now been forced down to Morshedabad, where they are also kept under strict confinement, whereby, exclusive of the losses accruing to me, not only their property and characters, but their lives also are endangered. In answer to the applications which have been made to the Nabob, he says he is waiting for your orders from Calcutta respecting them.

“ As they are christians, men of substance, and good character, householders of Calcutta, and in every way intitled to the protection of the British laws, it is incumbent on me, in whose service, and on whose account, they innocently suffer those evils, to repeat my representations to you on their behalf; at least so far, that though they lose their property as well as me, they may yet escape with their lives, and thereby have an opportunity, by their future industry, of preserving their families from utter ruin.

“ Thus far I petition on behalf of those innocent and oppressed merchants.

“ With respect to the redress which I myself have required, by your long silence on so important and delicate a point, it is beyond a doubt, that you, Gentlemen, mean to avow the proceedings of your President and Select Committee, as referred to in my address of the 18th April, and to give me no redress: however, I request the favour you will let me be acquainted with your resolution by letter, in the manner usual on applications to your Board, especially as I have a right to expect such a formal avowal of public resolutions wherein I am so much interested.

I am, Gentlemen,

“ Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) “ WILLIAM BOLTS.”

“ Calcutta, 2d May 1768.

Your Committee then proceeded to read part of the proceedings of the Governor and Council of Calcutta, at a consultation held on the 4 May 1768, as follows.

“ Mr. Bolts sends in a letter repeating his representations to us in behalf of his imprisoned agents.

“ Ordered, That it be entered after the consultation.

“ Colonel Smith delivers in the following minute.

“ Colonel Smith having perused the proceedings of the Select Committee, as well as the resolutions of the Council, concerning Mr. Bolts, he now takes this first opportunity of expressing in person to the Board those sentiments which he wrote to the Committee in his letter of ———.

“ It appears from the consultations of the 5th November 1767, that you determined to repeat the former orders for Mr. Bolts to proceed to England, and that in case of disobedience to those orders, and contempt of your authority, that his person should be seized, and sent home prisoner in one of the ships of the last season.

“ I have carefully examined your records, in order to discover if the posterior conduct of Mr. Bolts had been such as to induce you to postpone or annul your former resolution, but I find your resolution stands unrevoked and unexecuted.

“ It appears also from the proceedings of the Select Committee, that Mr. Bolts, ever since this your resolution of the 5 November, has been corresponding with the country powers. This correspondence is wisely and expressly prohibited to individuals by the orders of our honourable masters.

“ If you had not already entered into a resolution of sending Mr. Bolts to Europe, most undoubtedly I would have made such a motion; but when I read an unanimous decree of your Board for taking such measures on this occasion as appears absolutely necessary for the public service, I cannot but conjure you, Gentlemen, to support the dignity of government, by enforcing obedience to your own resolutions; for should we suffer Mr. Bolts with impunity to bid defiance to your authority, the consequences are so very obvious, that to mention them is unnecessary. I do therefore move that the resolution of the 5 November 1767, shall be carried into execution, and in case of disobedience to your orders on the part of Mr. Bolts, that he shall positively be sent prisoner to Europe in the first ship which shall be dispatched from this Presidency. Signed Richard Smith:—Fort William, the 4 May 1768.

“ The Board still adhere to their former resolution of sending Mr. Bolts to England. It is therefore agreed and resolved that he shall be sent to Europe, by the first ship that is dispatched this season.”

Read a letter from Mahomed Rheza Khawn to Mr. Verelst, received by him the 3d May 1768, marked C. N<sup>o</sup> 146, viz.

“ Acknowledging the receipt of Mr. Verelst's letter (C. N<sup>o</sup> —) concerning Mons. Ca-  
nooge, and inclosing copies of the purwannahs signed by Mr. Rumbold, which the Ar-  
menians sent down by Bulwantung, had, as gomastahs to Mr. Hare.”

Read part of a letter from Shujah al Dowlah to Mr. Verelst, received by him the 15th May 1768, marked C. N<sup>o</sup> 161.—viz.

Upon a rukah (or postscript).

“ In regard to secrets being betrayed, and your letters exposed which you wrote me con-  
cerning



“ cerning the case is this, That from the first till now we never corresponded on any secret  
 “ except the affair of the Vizirate, and my being invested with the privileges thereof,  
 “ and upon this subject I have received divers of your letters; besides this, no other subject  
 “ has been wrote upon; the friendly diligence you have used in this affair, and the frequent  
 “ correspondences we have had on this subject being notorious; I do I own frequently enlarge  
 “ on your goodness and favour in public, on your taking so much trouble for your friend;  
 “ but it is impossible, and God forbid that the secrets of the Company and Council should  
 “ be discovered, either in past or future; whatever letters I receive from you, after having  
 “ read them in private, I seal them up and keep them with all care: I do not understand in  
 “ what manner you have wrote me this, I have taken an obligation from Meer Mufhallah  
 “ on this matter, and have sent it by the hands of Captain Harper, who will transmit it to  
 “ you. You will make due enquiries from Mr Bolts, who is with you on the spot, and  
 “ get the copies of the letters from him which he says he has in his possession. If it is  
 “ proved on Meer Mufhallah, he shall be punished according to the obligation I have sent  
 “ you from him, and I have also given positive orders, that nothing concerning the affair of  
 “ the vizirate, or other matters, shall be made known to any one. Seeing what necessity is  
 “ there for others to be made acquainted, I will enforce these orders, and you will make the  
 “ strictest enquiries; for if Meer Mufhallah shall have heard any thing concerning the affair  
 “ of the vizirate which is on foot, and wrote the same, I will punish him also for that; what  
 “ business has he with it, and why should he write about these things?”

Upon a rukah (or postscript)

“ I have just received intelligence, that Cossim Ally Cawn has taken his leave of the Ro-  
 “ hillahs, and intends going to the Decan; though I don't think it practicable to get him  
 “ into our hands, yet I think he might be easily cut off. Caution and care is necessary in  
 “ such cases; for it is notorious Cossim is a complete villain, and should he go there what  
 “ disturbances will he not raise? It is a proverb, that an enemy should be never considered as  
 “ weak; whatever you shall write me on this subject, as yours and the Council's determina-  
 “ tion, I will act agreeably thereto, but a speedy and determined answer is necessary.”

Translate of Meer Mufhallah's Obligation, sent by Captain Harper.

“ I Meer Mufhallah, finding that divers evil-minded people have reported that I sent copies  
 “ to Mr. Bolts, of the letters which come from the English serdars to his Excellency the Na-  
 “ bob Vizire, (whom God long preserve) and as I never even took a letter of the English  
 “ serdars in my hand, much less could be acquainted with the purport of them, or take cop-  
 “ pies, do therefore agree, and here by these presents covenant, that if this thing shall be  
 “ proved, that I have sent copies of the letters of the English serdars to Mr. Bolts, or any  
 “ other; or if ever I discovered to any one, any secret communicated by his Excellency to  
 “ me, I shall be deemed guilty before his Excellency. If any letter under my seal appears  
 “ concerning the aforesaid matter, let his Excellency destroy me and my family, and punish  
 “ me as a guilty person; and, if this is not proved, let the evil-minded be put to death, that  
 “ such wicked and abominable people may take warning: I have therefore (Meer Mufhallah)  
 “ given these presents as an obligation, this ninth day of Zihijah, in the year of Higiry 1187.”

Seal.

L. O. S.

Read—also a petition of the relations of the Armenians, as addressed to the Governor and Council of Fort William in Bengal, dated the 15 May 1768, proved by Mr. Bolts, viz.

“ To the Honourable Harry Verelst, Esquire, President and Governor, &c. Gentle-  
 “ men of the Council at Fort William.

“ Honourable Sir and Sirs,

“ We the subscribers to this humble address, relations of Cogee Malcum Phillip, and  
 “ Cogee Gregore Cojaumaul Caulder, beg leave to represent to your Honours, that our said  
 “ relations have, for six or seven years past, been constantly employed by different English  
 “ gentlemen in the Honourable Company's service, as agents in the transaction of their mer-  
 “ cantile affairs, with honour and credit to themselves, and to the satisfaction of their em-  
 “ ployers, without having ever interfered in any affairs of other nature than mercantile, on  
 “ the transaction of which they were latterly left by their constituents to conclude and col-  
 “ lect in their outstanding concerns in the districts of Banaras, Patna, &c. That they have  
 “ been lately seized by force, and have now been kept in great distress under confinement by  
 “ the Nabob and his officers, first at Patna, and now actually at Muxadavad, ever since the  
 “ thirty-first March past, without the least cause for complaint that we can discover: that,  
 “ by the said confinement, the prisoners are exposed to great distress, loss of their health or  
 “ lives, the ruination of their families, and of us your Honours, &c. humble representants:  
 “ that, on applications which have been made to the Nabob for their releasement, he refuses  
 “ to grant it without express orders from your Honour, &c. which makes us extremely  
 “ sorry

“ sorry and apprehensive lest they should have justly incurred the displeasure of your Honour  
 “ &c. In the mean time we humbly beg leave to represent, that should they have been  
 “ guilty of any misdemeanors, we are ready to give such security, either for money, or their  
 “ appearance when called for, as the Nabob can justly require, or to your Honours may ap-  
 “ pear reasonable; and, as they are householders of this city of Calcutta, and have long en-  
 “ joyed the benefit of the protection of the Honourable Company, to whose interest we will  
 “ venture to affirm they never acted contrary; we therefore humbly hope your Honours  
 “ will please to grant an order for their release, which will be a lasting obligation con-  
 “ ferred on, Honourable Sir and Sirs,

“ Your most faithful, and devoted servants,  
 “ Mother—MARY COJAMAUL CALDER,  
 “ Wife—CATHARINE GREGORY } Of  
 “ Brother—ZACHARIAH COJAMAUL CALDER } COGEE  
 “ Uncle—AVIATT MARCAR } GREGORY.  
 “ Relations { AVIATT CALDER } Of  
 { ARRATOON CALDER } COGEE  
 { MELCOMB.”

“ Calcutta, the 15th May 1768.”

The Committee then read a protest on the part of Mr. Bolts against the Governor and Council of Calcutta, for all losses and damages consequent of their imprisonment of the Armenians, as the same was presented by John Holme, notary public, to the said Governor and Council, and stands recorded on their proceedings of the 18 May 1768.

Read—also the translation of a letter from Shitabroy at Patna to Mr. Bolts, dated the 9th May 1768, the original of which being produced was proved by Gonyshamdafs as follows:

“ After the accustomed Persian compliments. The receipt of your most favourable and  
 “ friendly letter gave me great pleasure and satisfaction, therein you write me that Cogee  
 “ Melcomb and Cogee Gregory, your gomastahs, had wrote that I had imprisoned them  
 “ and sent them down to Murshedabad, and you request to know what crimes they had com-  
 “ mitted to merit such punishment: favourable Sir, the Rajah Bulwantfing, under guard of  
 “ his own people, sent Monsieur Canonge, a French Gentleman, Cogee Melcomb and Cogee  
 “ Gregory, down from Mirzapore and Banaras to me, and at same time wrote to me,  
 “ that I must send them down to Murshedabad in the very same manner as they were brought  
 “ to Patna; according to the writing of the said Rajah, Monsieur Canonge, the French  
 “ Gentleman, with Cogee Melcomb and Cogee Gregore, were dispatched to Patna. At  
 “ that time it was not known to me that the said Cogees, kind Sir, were your gomastahs.”  
 Concludes with the usual compliments.

Read—also the translation of a letter from Juggutanund, a man of great consequence at the city of Murshedabad, to Mr. Bolts, dated the 24th May 1768, the original of which was produced and proved by Mr. Bolts; viz.

“ On the 2d of the month Joystee, I received your favourable letter of the 31st of By-  
 “ facek, and am acquainted with the contents, and perceive, that on account of two of  
 “ your gomastahs, who have been imprisoned and sent here, you had written a letter to the  
 “ great Nabob (meaning the Nabob upon the throne, in distinction from the acting Naib,  
 “ Mahomud Reza Khawn) of which you inclose me a copy: after informing myself of  
 “ every particular, I sent the letter by a trusty person of my own to the Nabob, with the  
 “ necessary respects and greetings on your part: two days after, he said, I do not know  
 “ what answer I can give to this letter; I have no people I can trust; who can I speak to  
 “ upon this affair, or who will mind what I say? Mr. Bolts understands well the present  
 “ situation of affairs, that I am nobody, and nothing can be done by me.

“ As you did me the favour to write to me, I would that in any manner your business was  
 “ done; but according to the present turn of the times, nothing can be expected. I kept  
 “ your people to see if I could do any thing, but find it is impossible. Sir, you are wise,  
 “ you comprehend all the affair.—Dated the 14th Joystee, or 24th May 1768.

“ P. S. After reading and keeping your letter four days the Nabob returned it, and I  
 “ herewith inclose it to you.”

Read—also the abstract of a letter written by Mr. Verelst on the 29 May 1768, to the Rajah Bulwantfing, marked C. N<sup>o</sup> 46; viz.

“ Desiring him to release some boats belonging to Mr. Alexander, which he had de-  
 “ tained, and warning him against such proceedings in future.”

Read—also the translation of a Persian letter from Boyenautfing, principal minister of Rajah Bulwantfing, to Cogee Gregore; the original of which was proved by Gonyshamdafs; viz.

After many compliments in the Persian style, he proceeds,

“ I have received your favourable letter, and am acquainted with the contents; my  
 “ brother, as God Almighty would have it, was sick at Gungapore, and therefore, for my  
 “ brother’s business, I staid at the village Coruna, where I was twelve days, and settled all  
 “ my business, and was myself also out of order. Yesterday I arrived at Puttyla, and my  
 “ dear friend was not the least acquainted with your case, till the receipt of your letter in-  
 “ formed me; nothing of which you complain of has been done by the Maha Rajah  
 “ Bahadar,



“ Bahadar, but solely and wholly by the orders of the Gentlemen of Calcutta: in this  
 “ respect there is no help; accordingly Bukhtsing has been wrote to, to do every thing for  
 “ you that is becoming of friendship, and I shall represent to Maha Rajah Bahadar such  
 “ things as are proper, and the Almighty will be gracious. On your arrival in those parts,  
 “ please to write to me, that I may have encouragement in my mind. For the rest, may  
 “ happiness attend you.”

Read—also the following letters; viz.

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob Shujah al Dowlah to Mr. Verelst; received by him the  
 4th July 1768, marked D. N<sup>o</sup> 209.

“ I wrote you in a prior letter a full and particular answer about Mr. Bolts and Meer  
 “ Mufhallah, and I have now repeated the same circumstances anew to Rajah Purfed Roy,  
 “ from whom you will be informed. I have written my whole heart without omitting or  
 “ disguising any thing, or deviating the breadth of a hair: agreeable to your own desire, I  
 “ some time ago returned your Excellency all those letters of yours which related to that sub-  
 “ ject; Meer Mufhallah has given an obligation under his own hand, which if he has vio-  
 “ lated, I will immediately bring him to the punishment contained therein.”

An original note from the Rajah Bulwanting, inclosed for Mr. Bolts, in a letter to the  
 Rajah's ambassador at Calcutta, Maharage Miffier, dated the 24 April 1768, produced and  
 proved by Mr. Bolts.

On the cover sealed, “ Rajah Bulwanting, Bahudur, directed to the Brammin Effegy of  
 “ Brimha Mahrage Miffier.”

“ The following you are to acquaint Mr. Bolts with.”

“ I have received your letter. As to what you have wrote about Mr. Bolts's gomastahs,  
 “ you know that I have a regard for Mr. Bolts's business, and a friendship for him from my  
 “ heart, and always complied with whatever his gomastahs requested. When the Nabob,  
 “ Harry Verelst's letter came, for sending them, agreeable to that order I was obliged to send  
 “ them to Rajah Shitabroy; before the arrival of Mr. Bolts's and your letters, I had told  
 “ them, there is no impediment on my part.”

An original letter, written by Rajah Shitabroy to Mr. Bolts, dated the 31st July 1768,  
 proved by Gonyshamdass, viz.

“ After the usual compliments—I received your favourable letter wherein you write, that  
 “ it appeared to you, my favourable friend, that another of your gomastahs, named Cogee  
 “ Rafael, who was in those parts, has been imprisoned and brought down to me, and that I  
 “ had continued the said Rafael under confinement, and with my own people sent him down  
 “ to Murshedabad; and that as you, kind Sir, are unacquainted with the crime the said Ra-  
 “ fael has committed, to merit my confining and putting a guard upon him, you therefore  
 “ request I will acquaint you with the said Rafael's crime. My dear Sir, I did not know  
 “ that Rafael was your gomastah, nor am I in the least acquainted with any fault he has  
 “ committed. Colonel Barker, Bahader, wrote to me that he had dispatched to me Cogee  
 “ Rafael and two other Armenians, who in the Nabob Shujah al Dowlah's country had been  
 “ in confinement under Captain Harper, who had sent them to him, Colonel Barker; ac-  
 “ cordingly I dispatched them to the Nabob Khane Khanan Mobazez al Mulk Bahader, at  
 “ Murshedabad: the particulars of their faults or their innocence must be well known to  
 “ Mr. Harper himself; with respect to me, kind Sir, do not believe me capable of any thing  
 “ contrary to the strictest friendship towards you, you shall know me your own friend.”

Your Committee then proceeded to read the memorial of the Armenian gentlemen, Gre-  
 gore Cojainaul and Johannes Padre Rafael, as presented to the Court of East-India Directors,  
 dated London, the 12th September 1769, viz.

“ To the Honourable the Court of Directors for the Affairs of the Honourable the  
 “ United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies.

“ The humble Petition of Cogee Gregore Cojainaul and Cogee Johannes Padre Rafael,  
 “ Armenian Merchants, late of Bengal,

“ Humbly sheweth,

“ That your petitioners, who are natives of Isphahan in Persia, have, for many years,  
 “ resided in India, particularly in the provinces annexed to Bengal, and in the dominions of  
 “ the different Princes bordering upon those provinces, where they have carried on for them-  
 “ selves, and others, a very extensive trade always with the permission and approbation of the  
 “ different Princes, in whose dominions your petitioners resided, always paying the duties  
 “ exacted by such Princes, and always cheerfully submitting themselves to the laws of such  
 “ countries.

“ That it has ever been the custom, from time immemorial, for Greeks, Georgians,  
 “ Turks, Persians, Tartars, Cashmeerians, Armenians, and other nations, to resort to,  
 “ and traffic in, India, where the country nabobs, sensible of the benefits arising from the  
 “ resort of foreign merchants, and the increase of trade, have, at all times, encouraged such  
 “ persons to the utmost of their power.

“ That besides their own traffic, your petitioners likewise, for about seven years last past,  
 “ have been honoured with business upon commission from sundry English gentlemen, several  
 “ of whom are now in England.

“ That your petitioners, in such transactions, have ever acted to the satisfaction of their  
 “ constituents, and with credit to themselves, having ever studiously avoided interfering in  
 “ any

“ any other than their own mercantile affairs; and as they have ever been well-wishers to the Honourable English East-India Company, having never, in the most distant manner, acted contrary to the interests of that Company.

“ That your petitioners were lately resident in the dominions of the Nabob Shujah al Dowlah, and the Rajah Bulwanting, who, to the great surprize of your petitioners, received orders from your Presidency of Calcutta, or Fort William, to banish your petitioners out of their countries.

“ That those Princes communicated the orders which they had received from your said Presidency to your petitioners, who had the honour to be favoured with the friendship of the said Princes, who proposed various expedients to screen your petitioners from violence, as your petitioners can shew by authentic documents in their hands, to the satisfaction of this Honourable Court.

“ That the friendship of those Princes having induced them to evade the immediate execution of such tyrannical orders, for which they knew no cause, your President, Mr. Verelst, wrote again in repeated letters, and in the most peremptory terms, to have your petitioners seized, imprisoned, and sent down into the Company's provinces to Patna and Murshedabad, and, for fear of further delays or evasions, orders were given to the immediate servants of the English Company, who were employed to seize and imprison your petitioners, as they are likewise ready to prove, to the satisfaction of this Honourable Court, by authentic documents and writings, under hand and seal of the said Company's servants.

“ That accordingly your petitioners were seized in the most sudden, cruel, and inhuman manner, and brought down to the Company's factories at Patna and Murshedabad, being obliged to quit instantly all they were possessed of in that country, to a very considerable amount, together with their books and papers, and the effects of many other persons with which they were intrusted, and for which they are amenable.

“ That during the confinement of your petitioners, the relations of your petitioners did deliver to your President, Mr. Harry Verelst, sundry petitions, particularly one of the 15th May 1768, and one of the 13th June 1768 (which your petitioners imagine stand recorded upon your Calcutta consultations) requesting the releasement of your petitioners, and offering to give any such security for money, or the appearance of your petitioners, as might appear reasonable to your said President and Council.

“ That the said petitions were paid no regard to, but your petitioners were continued under confinement; your petitioner Cogee Gregore Cojamaul having been confined from the 14th March 1768 to the 23d May 1768, being two months and nine days; and your petitioner Cogee Johannes Padre Rafael, from the 27th March 1768 to the 28th August 1768, being five months; during which time they were treated worse than convicted felons; Cogee Rafael being first imprisoned in a horse stable, and afterwards both kept in close confinement, under a strong guard of the Company's sepoy, with fixed bayonets, who never suffered your petitioners to stir out of their sight.

“ That being at last released from confinement, your petitioners and their friends waited upon your President, Mr. Harry Verelst, not only to be acquainted what were the causes of his displeasure, and why they had been confined; but requesting leave to return up the country, to secure their effects and outstanding concerns, thereby to preserve themselves and families from ruin; but to the misfortune of your petitioners, all their applications were paid no regard to, nor could they ever obtain any satisfaction, or be acquainted why they had been thus capriciously imprisoned for so long a time, and then set at liberty, without being accused of even a fictitious misdemeanor.

“ That to the great astonishment of your petitioners, upon their arrival in Calcutta, they were informed that your Governor, Mr. Harry Verelst, and his Council, had been pleased to publish an edict, under date the 18th May 1768, prohibiting all Armenians and Portuguese, and their descendants, from residing or trading in any part out of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, or from attempting to transport any merchandize beyond those provinces, under penalty of the utmost severe corporal punishment, and the confiscation of such merchandize; an attested notorial copy of which most extraordinary public edict is in the hands of your petitioners, for the inspection of this Honourable Court.

“ That your petitioners were hereby not only deprived, among others, of those rights which were due to them as men from the law of nations, but were deprived of that freedom of trade which their nation had always enjoyed in the times of the worst of the ancient black Nabobs, and, in particular, were also deprived of all hopes of ever recovering those effects, from which they had been thus forcibly and capriciously taken.

“ That your petitioners, who have been therefore necessitated at a great expence to come to England for justice, now appeal to the equity of this Honourable Court, requesting that they will either indemnify your petitioners for the great losses they sustain, or that they will please to order home to answer for themselves, the President, Mr. Verelst, and such of the Company's servants, as to this Honourable Court may appear to have been the acting persons in the oppressions complained of:

“ And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

“ London, the  
“ 12th Sept. 1769.”

“ COGEE GREGORE COJAMAUL,

“ COGEE JOHANNES PADRE RAFAEL.

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Your



Your Committee then read a letter from the petitioner, Gregore Cojamaul, to the Court of East India Directors, dated the 29th Feb. 1772, together with the answer thereto; as follows:

“ To the Honourable Court of Directors for affairs of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies.

“ Honourable Sirs, Being acquainted by Governor Johnstone, that he was informed by one of the Directors of the East India Company, upon presenting my petition to Parliament, that the Court of Directors had officially transmitted the memorial I delivered to them of the 12th September 1769, to their President and Council of Bengal, and that they had received a full and explicit answer from thence with specific charges by the last ships; in consequence of such information, I now make my most humble application to the Court, that they will be pleased to furnish me with a copy or copies of such answer and charges, which I hope in common justice cannot be denied me, as I must ever presume the Directors are equally inclined to blame their servants when culpable, as to defend them when innocent; and that the protection of the inhabitants of Bengal is a principal part of their consideration. I am, with great respect,

“ Honourable Sirs,

“ Your most obedient, humble, and devoted servant,

“ London, 29th Feb. 1772.

“ GREGORE COJAMAUL.”

At a Court of Directors of the United East-India Company, held on Wednesday the 11th March 1772;

The Court, on consideration of a letter from Gregore Cojamaul,

Ordered, That the following answer be given to the same, and transmitted to him accordingly:

“ Our general letter, in answer to what we wrote to our Governor and Council, on the subject of the Armenians petition, laid before the Court of Directors in 1769, contains many matters very improper to be communicated on the present application made by the Armenian, Gregore Cojamaul; but so much as materially concerns the justification of our Presidency with respect to those persons, is to this effect; they refer to the country correspondence transmitted to us in 1768, and to their proceedings in December 1767, for the particulars of this matter; that these Armenians were discovered in carrying on intrigues at the court of Sujah Dowlah, and that there was strong presumption, that they were the instruments of obtaining for Mr. Bolts, copies of our President's correspondence with the Vizier, not to mention the experience they before had of the intriguing spirit of the Armenians during the government of Cossim Ally Cawn.

“ That at this very time, notwithstanding an order in force, prohibiting the residence of gomastahs of English gentlemen in the territories of Sujah Dowlah and Bulwantsing, or indeed any where without the provinces, Mr. Bolts, in defiance of this order, would presume to continue his agents; and that, as it should seem, not merely to wind up his old concerns in trade, but to engage in new ones. From these considerations, they hope it will clearly appear their removal did not proceed from a motive of resentment, either against Mr. Bolts, or the Armenians themselves.

“ That it does not appear to the Council, that the late President Verelst was the immediate instrument of their removal, as had been insinuated, but that it was an act of the Princes themselves, and entirely optional on their parts; but admitting even that the order should have come immediately from the President, or that the Company's sepoys had been employed, they presume they should stand fully justified for such an exertion of authority, against persons who not only set their orders at defiance, but were likewise busied in these schemes and intrigues of the most dangerous tendency to government.”

Mr. Johannes Padre Rafael, another Armenian merchant, being called upon to give an account of his being taken up to the time of his releasement, said,

I was in Fysabad the 27 March 1768, when Captain Harper sent two parties of sepoys, and they took me prisoner, and carried me to Captain Harper's tent. He sent his munshy to know the reason why we came at such an improper hour. I said, Your master knows the reason why your sepoys brought me here. As soon as I spoke to the munshy, Captain Harper came out, and said, I must send you to Calcutta—I answered, For what reason? he said, angrily, That Mr. Verelst had sent a letter, and you must go immediately. I represented the distress my affairs would suffer, if I had not three or four months time to settle them, and entreated some delay; he said, I shall give you three days. I represented, that I should be ruined if I had not more time allowed me. I was put under confinement in my own house, and kept from the 27 March to the 1st May, strictly guarded by sepoys. On the 2d May I was sent to Illahabad, and arrived there the 10th May. I was kept till the 30th in the open air. I applied by Captain Gravely to be released, but without success. The 2d June (still under confinement) I was sent to Patna, where I arrived the 28th; I was ten days at Patna under confinement. I applied to Shitabroy to be released, but without success. On the 15th July I arrived at Murhadabad. I was brought before the Nabob. I pleaded, that as a merchant, I apprehended I might go where I pleased, paying the duties. The Nabob said, there was now a new regulation and that could not be, and then demanded an obligation that I would not go up to the high country to trade, under the pain of confiscation

cation of my goods. I refused to give the obligation, and was confined in a stable, without meat or drink, for twenty-four hours. I was then imprisoned in a dark dirty place, worse than a stable, till the 22d August. I made application to Mahomed Reza Khawn to be released: he said, He could do nothing without orders from Mr. Verelst. The subahdar, or commander of the sepoy, told me some days after, that the Nabob had been to wait on Mr. Sykes, to know whether he had any orders from the Committee, and upon his return I was ordered to be released. The subahdar demanded sixty rupees, which I not being able to pay, was by his authority detained three days longer, when, upon payment of the money, I was released; but directions were given me not to go to the upper country, and accordingly I went to Calcutta. During my confinement, money was frequently extorted from me by the sepoy: it cost me, during my imprisonment, two thousand rupees, the greatest part of which was forced from me by the sepoy.

Martis, 12<sup>o</sup> die Maii, 1772.

Col. Burgoyne in the Chair; Present,  
 Lord Folkestone, Mr. Johnstone,  
 Mr. Vane, Mr. Rice,  
 Sir G. Elliot, Mr. Strachey,  
 Mr. Trecothick, Mr. Sutton.

Read a paper as sent up, pursuant to order, by the East-India Directors, intituled, “ An Agreement between the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies, and the Armenians, dated the 22d June 1688; as follows, viz.

“ The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies

“ Agreements with the Armenians, dated the 22d June 1688.

“ The Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies, to all to whom these presents shall come, send greeting. Whereas representation hath been made to us by Sir Josia Child, Baronet, our deputy governor, that upon long conferences by him had with Coja Panous Calendar, an Armenian merchant of eminency, and an inhabitant of Ispahan in Persia; as also with Sir John Chardin, of London, Knight, they had on behalf of the Armenian nation proposed to him several particulars for carrying on a great part of the Armenian trade to India and Persia, and from thence to Europe, by way of England; which will redound greatly to his Majesty’s advantage in his customs, and to the increase of the English navigation, if the Armenian nation might obtain such licence from this Company as will give them encouragement so to alter and invert the ancient course of their trade to and from Europe: and we being always willing to increase and encourage the public trade and navigation of this kingdom, after a serious debate of all the propositions relating to this affair, have thought fit to agree and resolve as follows; viz.

“ First, That the Armenian nation shall now, and at all times hereafter, have equal share and benefit of all indulgences this Company have, or shall at any time hereafter grant to any of their own adventurers or other English merchants whatsoever.

“ Secondly, That they shall have free liberty at all times hereafter to pass and repass to and from India, on any of the Company’s ships, on as advantageous terms as any freeman whatsoever.

“ Thirdly, That they shall have liberty to live in any of the Company’s cities, garrisons, or towns, in India, and to buy, sell, and purchase land or houses, and be capable of all civil offices and preferments, in the same manner as if they were Englishmen born, and shall always have the free and undisturbed liberty of the exercise of their own religion. And we hereby declare, that we will not continue any governor in our service, that shall in any kind disturb or discountenance them in the full enjoyment of all the privileges hereby granted to them; neither shall they pay any other or greater duty in India, than the Company’s factors, or any other Englishman born, do or ought to do.

“ Fourthly, That they may voyage from any of the Company’s garrisons to any other ports or places in India, the South Seas, China, or the Manilhas, in any of the Company’s ships, or any permissive free ships allowed by the Company; and may have liberty to trade to China, the Manilhas, or any other ports or places within the limits of the Company’s charter, upon equal terms, duties, and freight, with any free Englishman whatsoever.

“ But whereas all persons in England do pay for bullion outwards two per cent. for freight and permission; and three per cent. homewards for diamonds and other precious stones; it is hereby declared and agreed, that the Armenians shall pay three per cent. outwards for bullion, and two per cent. homeward for diamonds; for coral and amber beads they shall pay six per cent. for freight and permission, and for coral, amber, raw cochineal, quicksilver, sword blades, fire arms of all sorts, haberdashery wares, iron of all sorts, wrought or unwrought, paper, all sorts of stationary wares, English looking or drinking glasses, and for all sorts of Norimberg wares and merchandizes, ten per cent. for permission, and six pounds per ton, freight. That all sorts of leather, Venetian wares, and merchandizes, may be shipped out permission free, paying only six pounds per ton, freight; for all cloth or woollen manufactures, of what kinds or sort soever, they shall pay twelve and a half per cent. in lieu of all charges whatsoever, excepting only the freight and the Company’s customs in India; for lead, ten per cent. permission, and three pounds per ton, freight; for provisions of all sorts, for eating and drinking, six pounds per ton freight, but no permis-

“ sion;



“ fion; and for all forts of goods, homeward bound, they fhall pay in manner and form following; viz.

“ For diamonds, pearls, rubies, all forts of precious ftones and ambergreafe, two per cent. freight, and permission as aforefaid; for mufk of any kind, fix per cent. for freight, and permission; for pepper, one penny per pound, and for coffee ten per cent. permission, befides freight; for all raw filk of Perfia, twenty-one pounds per ton freight, but no permission, custom, or any other charges whatfoever, excepting only two and a half per cent, towards demurrage of our fhips; for all goods whatfoever, of the growth and manufacture of Perfia (red Carmentia wool excepted, which is hereby totally prohibited) ten per cent. permission, and the fame freights as the Company themfelves pay, without any other charges whatfoever; for all forts of China and Bengal goods, during the Company’s indulgence for thofe kinds of goods, and no longer, in what place foever loaden, thirteenth per cent. for permission, and all other charges whatfoever, over and above the fame freight as the Company pay, and the customs hereafter mentioned; viz. All goods outward and homeward bound are to pay the Company in Eaft India, five per cent. custom on the firft coft, as per invoices of the faid goods, whether they be laden from, or delivered into, any of the Company’s ports or places, or into any other ports or places whatfoever, excepting only from this article, a bullion, diamonds, and other precious ftones, ambergreafe, mufk, and raw Perfian filk. And it is agreed, that the permission money and freight for all goods outward bound, to be paid in India as aforefaid, fhall be accounted for at eight and a half rupees per pound fterling upon hypothecation of the goods to the Company in London; and we do declare, that for eafe of accounts, the custom due to the Company in Eaft India, is to be included together with the other charges; viz. freight and permission, according to the premifes, and all inserted in one fum, upon the refpective bills of loading, which fum is always to be paid before the delivery of the goods to the perfons mentioned in the faid bills of loading, which is the true intent of the hypothecation before expreffed. That all goods which have once paid custom, are not to pay any again either upon importation or exportation of the faid goods, to the place where they firft paid it, or to any other port or place belonging to us in the Eaft Indies. That every perfon that fhall take paffage on any of the Company’s fhips, fhall pay in Eaft India twelve pounds fterling for his permission outwards, at the rate of eight rupees and a half per pound fterling; and the like fum to be paid here for every perfon that fhall take paffage homeward, befides eight pounds per head for fea provifions, which it is hereby agreed fhall always be paid in London; and for fuch perfons who fhall board at the Captain’s table, they fhall pay ten guineas each to the captain for the fame. But the fervants fhall be miffed apart by themfelves, and always have the fame allowances of fhip provifions as the officers and feamen of the fhip have, or ought to have. And it is alfo granted to the faid Armenians, that the paffengers fhall be allowed, both out and home, to carry with them their wearing clothes, furniture, and provifions, not exceeding one quarter of a ton for each man, freight free. And whereas the faid Armenians have ufed to drive a great trade from India to Turkey, overland, by the way of Perfia and Arabia, and are now defirous to drive that whole trade by the way of England: it is hereby declared and agreed, that the faid Armenians have liberty to fend, upon any of the Company’s fhips for England, any forts of goods of Eaft India, configning them to the Company by true invoices and bills of loading, and not otherwife, paying ten per cent. permission on the value of the faid goods in London, befides the fame freight as we ourfelves pay. And it is hereby declared, that the Company have liberty to detain and keep in their poffeffion all fuch goods as fhall be configned unto them as aforefaid, until they have fhipped them off upon Englifh fhipping bound for Turkey, Venice, or Leghorn, and taken fecurity; yet they fhall not be landed in any other ports or places of Europe, except the place to which they fhall be configned, according as they fhall be directed, by the faid Armenian proprietors, or their agents. And laftly, it is declared and agreed, that notwithstanding any thing aforefaid, it fhall and may be lawful for the faid Company to referve and keep for their own ufe, any of the faid goods fo intended for Turkey as aforefaid, paying the Proprietors one third part clear profit on the firft coft of the goods as aforefaid, all freight, charges, and difburfements whatfoever, being firft deducted and fore-prized, eight rupees in India being in this cafe to be accounted for one pound fterling. In witness whereof, the Governor, Deputy Governor, and three of the Committee of the faid Company, have hereunto fet their hands, and caufed the larger feal of the faid Company to be affixed this two-and-twentieth day of June, anno Domini 1683, and in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, James the Second, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

(Signed)

“ BENJAMIN BATHURST, Governor,  
 “ JOSIA CHILD, Deputy Governor,  
 “ . . . . WORCESTER,  
 “ JOHN MOORE,  
 “ GEORGE BOUN.

“ The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the Eaft Indies,  
 “ to all whom it may concern, fend greeting: Whereas Coja Panous Kalendar, an Arme-  
 “ nian

“ nian merchant of eminency, and an inhabitant of Ispahan in Persia, hath taken great  
 “ pains in making an agreement with the said Company, for a great trade to be carried on in  
 “ English shipping, by himself and others of the Armenian nation; the said Governor and  
 “ Company, in consideration thereof, do by these presents (at the request of the said Coja  
 “ Panous Kalendar) freely grant unto him and his family, the sole trade of garnate, he  
 “ paying ten per cent. custom for the same, and the usual freight paid by the Company.  
 “ And the said Company do hereby declare, that they will neither trade in the said com-  
 “ modity themselves, nor suffer any other persons, English, or strangers, for the future, to  
 “ trade or traffic in that commodity. Given under the Company’s larger seal, as also  
 “ under the hands of the Governor, Deputy Governor, and three of the Committee of  
 “ the said Company, this two-and-twentieth day of June, anno Domini 1688, and in  
 “ the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord James the Second, by the grace of  
 “ God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

(Signed)

“ BENJAMIN BATHURST, Governor,  
 “ JOSIA CHILD, Deputy Governor,  
 “ . . . . WORCESTER,  
 “ JOHN MOORE,  
 “ GEORGE BOUN.

“ The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, to  
 “ all to whom it may concern, send greeting: Whereas it hath been represented unto us, that  
 “ the Armenian nation have a great desire to carry on a trade and commerce with our people  
 “ in the East Indies, we do, for the better encouragement of that nation, to settle and  
 “ cohabit in the several garrisons, cities, and towns, in the East Indies, under our jurisdiction,  
 “ by these presents, declare, grant, and agree, that whenever forty or more of the Armenian  
 “ nation shall become inhabitants in any of the garrisons, cities, or towns, belonging to  
 “ the Company in the East Indies, the said Armenians shall not only have and enjoy the free  
 “ use and exercise of their religion, but there shall be also allotted to them, a parcel of ground  
 “ to erect a church thereon, for the worship and service of God in their own way; and that  
 “ we will also, at our own charge, cause a convenient church to be built of timber, which  
 “ afterwards the said Armenians may alter and build with stone, or other solid materials, to  
 “ their own good liking; and the said Governor and Company will also allow fifty pounds  
 “ per annum, during the space of seven years, for the maintenance of such priest or minis-  
 “ ter, as they shall chuse to officiate therein. Given under the Company’s larger seal, as  
 “ also under the hands of the Governor and Deputy Governor, and three of the Committee  
 “ of the said Company, this two-and-twentieth day of June, anno Domini 1688, and in  
 “ the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord James the Second, King of England,  
 “ Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. (Signed)

“ BENJAMIN BATHURST, Governor,  
 “ JOSIA CHILD, Deputy Governor,  
 “ . . . . WORCESTER,  
 “ JOHN MOORE,  
 “ GEORGE BOUN.”

Your Committee then proceeded to read part of the proceedings of the Governor and Council at Calcutta, at a consultation held the 3d March 1766; at which were present Lord Clive, General Carnac, Harry Verelst, Francis Sykes, Randolph Marriott, Hugh Watts, Claud Russell, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, and Charles Floyer, Esqrs. viz:

“ It appearing from undoubted authority, that one Coja Mockil, an Armenian, has  
 “ filed, in the Mayor’s court, a fictitious suit against Johanna Marcat, an Armenian  
 “ widow, merely with a view to evade the demands of the country government, with which  
 “ she has large accounts, and has therefore taken refuge here without our knowledge, and  
 “ as nothing is so difficult as to investigate collusion of parties to the satisfaction of law,  
 “ the Court may not have the power of redress, though convinced of the fact—Agreed there-  
 “ fore to put a stop to practices so prejudicial to the Company’s affairs, as they must necessarily  
 “ interfere with the revenues; that the Board interpose their authority, as President and Council,  
 “ and withdraw the Company’s protection from both parties, turning the complainant im-  
 “ mediately out of the settlement, and the defendant as soon as she may be regularly released  
 “ from the Sheriff’s custody.

Read also the 59th and 60th paragraphs of a letter from the Court of East India Directors to their President and Council at Bengal, dated the 4th March 1767; viz.

Par. 59. “ As to the collusive suit you mention to be brought in the Mayor’s court, by  
 “ Coja Mockil against Johanna Marcat, with a view to evade the demands of the country  
 “ government: the charter empowers the Mayor’s court to entertain suits between natives, if  
 “ the defendant does not object to the jurisdiction, and after judgment the plaintiff has a right  
 “ to the common process of the court, for obtaining satisfaction against the defendant’s body  
 “ or goods; and upon commencing every suit, if the plaintiff makes oath of his debt, he may  
 “ hold the defendant to bail; and in that case, where he is imprisoned for want of bail, or is  
 “ taken in execution after judgment, he must remain in custody, as in ordinary cases.  
 “ Where no suit is depending, and parties seek refuge in our settlements who have de-



“frauded the country government, you may, on a proper representation, withdraw our protection, and suffer the country powers to apprehend and deal with them according to their own laws; but we are of opinion, you have no right to banish any party, plaintiff, or defendant, who may be guilty of these collusions. If there is no debt really due from the defendant to the plaintiff, most certainly the action or suit is an abuse of the process of the court, and the Mayor’s court may, as the courts of law and equity do here upon proof of such collusion, imprison the parties for a contempt of the court; but we know of no law that will justify a sentence of banishment in cases of this kind.”

Par. 60. “The best method we can advise, as a means to prevent these collusive suits, is, that the Mayor’s court do immediately publish a rule of practice to this effect; viz. That in every case where a suit is brought in that court by Indian against Indian, wherein the defendant is held to bail, it shall be fully specified and set forth in the plaintiff’s affidavit of the debt, where the same was contracted, the time when, and the nature of the debt, whether upon bond, note, or how otherwise, and for what consideration, actually and *bona-fide* given or paid; and in every case where the cause of action is not sworn to arise within the limits of the settlement, the Mayor’s court ought to refuse to issue process for arresting the defendant.”

Mr. Verelst was then called, and asked,

Q. What do you know with respect to the imprisonment of the Armenians, the cause of it, and by whose authority they were confined?

A. I should be very glad to give any account in my power to the Committee of those transactions; but as the petitioner Cojamaul, and Rafael, another Armenian, have commenced suits against me, both in Chancery and the Court of Common Pleas, to which I have a defence, and don’t doubt a full justification; and as those suits are now depending, I am advised by my council not to answer, before this Committee, matters which are the subjects of those suits; I therefore wish to decline answering the question.

Mr. Bolts.

Q. What time did you resign the Company’s service?

A. I believe in November 1766.

Q. When was it first notified to you, by the Governor and Council, that you should return to England?

A. A few months after I resigned the service, but while I was a magistrate of the Mayor’s court.

Mr. Cojamaul.

Q. After you had got the purwannah, and was in Sujah al Dowlah’s country, did you do any business for Mr. Bolts?

A. I did no new business for Mr. Bolts after the date of that purwannah.

Q. What business did you?

A. I gathered in some money for him, and sold his remaining goods.

Q. Do you know of Mr. Verelst’s applying in writing to the Nabob, Mahomed Rheza Khawn, at the request of Cogee Melcomb, for him to proceed to Patna, in order to receive his effects in Sujah Dowlah’s country after your arrival in Calcutta?

A. I know of no application.

Mr. Bolts.

Q. Was you forced out of the country?

A. I was, by a party of 28 armed soldiers, by an order of Mr. Verelst, and the rest of the council: I had refused to go. Captain Coxe came to me early in the morning of the 23d September 1768; kept his guard at a distance; shewed me the order that he had from the Governor and Council, and told me that he must take me away if I did not consent to go voluntarily.—I told him that I did not conceive those gentlemen had any right to send me away; that I had long been persecuted, and that they had long threatened it, but that I never thought they would have dared to execute their threats—I sent to my friends, and in about ten minutes there were 20 or 30 gentlemen assembled.

I petitioned the Captain for a little time to throw my books and my wife’s clothes into a couple of chests, and he was kind enough to grant me two hours, but then said he could stay no longer with safety. I went into my wife’s bedchamber to see if she had sent her things away, when the Captain, and one of his sepoy, came into the bedchamber and took me out by the shoulders; they marched me through the streets to a boat that was prepared for me, in which they conducted me on board a sloop prepared for the purpose.—My wife followed me afterwards.—In that sloop we were conducted down the river, and kept seven days and nights under confinement in the sloop, with the sepoy at the cabin-door.—When the ship *Valentine* was under way, we were taken out of that sloop to sea, and forcibly put on board the *Valentine*, and brought to England.

Q. When the first sentence of banishment was pronounced against you, had you any intimation of your crime, or was you called before the Governor and Council that pronounced it, to make any defence?

A. I had no intimation whatever, nor was ever called before them.

Q. Do you remember when you received the first sentence from the Secretary of the Governor and Select Committee?

A. I think it was in April 1767.

Q. Did you ever know for what reason you was thus sent home?

A. I never knew more than what was written in the paper delivered me as my sentence, after I was banished in April 1767.

The said paper was then ordered to be produced, and was read as follows; viz.

An Extract from the Proceedings of the Select Committee, dated the 18 April 1767.

“ That Mr. William Bolts appears, from many circumstances, to be deeply concerned in the conspiracy to ruin Nobekissen’s character, and attempt his life; in which opinion the Committee are confirmed, by his violent and declared resentment to Nobekissen, by the share he took in stirring up, and instigating a prosecution against him in the zemindary court, upon an imaginary and false accusation; and particularly from his taking, at this juncture, into his service, Ramnaut, a man who stands publicly convicted of perjury, with a view of forging and publishing farther aspersions upon Nobekissen’s character.

“ That Mr. Bolts having, upon this and many other occasions, endeavoured to draw an odium upon the administration, and to promote faction and discontent in the settlement, has rendered himself unworthy of any farther indulgence from the Committee, and of the Company’s protection.

“ That therefore he be directed to quit Bengal, and proceed to Madras by the first ship that shall sail for that Presidency, in the month of July next, in order to take his passage from thence to Europe in September.

“ A true extract.

(Signed) “ C. W. BOUGHTON,

“ Assistant Secretary Select Committee.”

Q. Did you ever hear of any other reasons except what are specified in the above paper?

A. I never heard of any, excepting that I had wrote a letter to Mr. Gentil, acquainting him with the parliamentary proceedings, which has been read—common, general news.

Q. Did you never hear that one reason of your being sent away, was, your evading signing the new covenants, relative to receiving of presents?

A. I never heard of any such reason.

Q. Did you sign the new covenants?

A. I did not sign them myself, but I did by my deputy, which was equally as valid, and which I always acknowledged to be so.

Q. Why did you not sign them yourself?

A. Because it was my pleasure.

Q. Did you ever give any other reason for not signing yourself?

A. I don’t remember I ever did.

Q. Who was the deputy that signed them for you?

A. My own book-keeper, in my name, and for me; he was a native of the country.

Q. Did you not give as a reason for not signing the covenants, that you had taken an oath you never would?

A. If I have, it will appear upon the public records.—I believe I did.

Q. Did you enter into any new contracts or concerns in trade after you had resigned the service?

A. I did, because I had a right to do it.

Q. Do you know any instance of any other person, who had resigned the service of the company, forced out of the country in the manner you was?

A. I know of none in the civil service of the Company, but I know of several gentlemen, who had been in the military service, being seized and ordered for England; but I know of none that were seized so suddenly, and with so much violence as I was.

Q. Is it not usual for civil servants to go when they receive notice?

A. I never knew of any such custom among any of the civil servants, though I have known many instances of such arbitrary orders.

Q. Have those orders been obeyed?

A. Sometimes they have, and sometimes not.

Q. What is done with the civil servants when they do not obey?

A. I have not known of any civil servants sent away by force.—Sometimes their residing was dispensed with; but I suppose they would have been sent away if they had not gone voluntarily.

Q. Do you know of any civil servants going away when they were ordered?

A. Yes.

Q. When did that custom begin of ordering people to be seized and sent home by force?

A. I never knew of any instance before 1765 or 1766.

Q. Did you ever know of any civil servants refusing to go when the orders were not dispensed with?

A. I don’t remember any of the civil covenanted servants of the Company refusing to go; but I know of several British subjects being forced, upon such orders, to seek that protection in the foreign settlements that they could not enjoy in their own.

Q. Did you never know of any British subjects, covenanted or not covenanted, who continued to reside in Calcutta after ordered to quit, and that order not dispensed with?

A. None in my time; but have heard of others in former times.

Q. What



Q. What instances have you heard of in former times?

A. There was a Gentleman named Cooke, and several others, whose names I don't recollect. Mr. Cooke was in the Company's civil service at Dacca, and, as I heard, dismissed for embezzlement, and ordered home by the Directors, but refused to go, and remained in the country;—the Governor and Council, at that period, did not think themselves safe to execute such orders.

Q. Were there not orders repeatedly issued for two years, for you to go away before you was forced away?

A. There were; but I always considered them as illegal, and in my case, as particularly void in law, because I was an Alderman of the Mayor's court.

Q. Was you an Alderman of the Mayor's court at the time the first order for your departure was issued?

A. I was.

Q. Did you ever assign that as a reason to the Governor and Council for not going?

A. I never entered upon the legality of the orders with the Governor and Council—I don't remember I assigned that as a reason.

Q. How long was it after you received your sentence of banishment, that you heard the objection against you for not signing the covenants?

A. The sentence of banishment was dated in April 1767; and I first heard of the other charge concerning the covenants, in September 1768.

Q. When this charge respecting the covenants was stated against you, did you offer to find security to any person who should alledge you was not equally bound by the deed of your clerk done by your order, as if done by yourself, or to the Company, to stand any prosecution for receipt of presents while you was in the Company's service?

A. I did.

Q. Was it ever alledged by any person, that you had received any presents when in the Company's service, after the covenants were ordered to be signed?

A. It never was alledged against me, either when in or out of the service.

Q. How long had you resigned the service before September 1768?

A. About two years; and I had ordered my clerk to sign the covenants three years preceding that date.

Q. Had or had not the Governor and Council directed you to be dismissed from the Mayor's court before such charge of not signing the covenants was suggested?

A. They had ordered me to be dismissed.

Q. What was the answer to the Court in consequence of that order?

A. That there was no legal vacancy in the Court.

Q. How long is it customary in the East Indies to allow civil servants resigning the privilege of the Company's dustuck?

A. Twelve months.

Q. If most of the servants, who went away upon being ordered, would not have naturally returned to their own country without such orders?

A. I believe they would all have returned.

Q. Who were the agents you employed in those concerns you entered into after your resignation?

A. I had above 150, and amongst others the two Armenians who have given evidence, but these were only employed in collecting outstanding debts, and disposing of goods and contracts which were on hand before my resignation.

Q. What settlements do you mean that several British subjects went to, to get that protection they were refused in their own?

A. The French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Danes—they employed themselves in trade.

Q. What are their names?

A. One named Duffield, another Byrn, another Burslem; and several others, whose names I cannot recollect.

Q. Give an account of the nature of purwannahs, when they first took place; and what effects they are supposed to produce?

A. Purwannahs of the nature of that which was produced to the Committee, were never thought of till 1766. I, as well as all the native merchants I ever conversed with upon it, considered it as a scandalous regulation to monopolize trade, as may be understood from the very tenor of it, as it was explained to the Committee.

Q. Did it exempt from duties?

A. I never understood that it did.

Q. What then was the effect of it?

A. The Select Committee had made an order in February 1766, which was renewed in October following, that none should buy or sell without these purwannahs; and this purwannah was to give the Committee's sanction for trading.

Q. What was the greatest amount of duties payable on the spot, upon goods in Bulwanting's country?

A. I know of no duties but those which are paid upon the transportation of goods from one place to another, either by land or water in Bulwanting's country, except on piece-goods, upon which a duty or fee called cutwally is collected on the spot; and this cutwally is

no more than the charge of a tacka (that is, about the 25th part of a rupee) which the cutwal collects for fixing his seal to the corner of the piece; all other duties are paid upon the transportation, for which a dustuck is requisite.

Your Committee then proceeded to read the following extracts from the proceedings of the Select Committee at Bengal; held under dates the 22d and 31st October 1766; viz.

“ Resolved, That in future the trade of all Europeans whatever be confined to the articles specified in the annexed list, and considered as returns to, or exports from, the Presidency and factories; and that no trade shall henceforward be carried on from one auring to another, or from one part of the interior country to another, in any of the articles contained in this list, or in any other articles whatsoever, on pain of confiscation of the goods, to be appropriated at the pleasure of this Committee, and forfeiture of the Company’s service, or of free merchants indentures, or licence of the Governor and Council; according as the trespasses shall be committed by persons in or out of the Company’s service.

“ And it being now the intention of this Committee to fulfil, in the most effectual manner, the Honourable Company’s instructions respecting the inland trade, and to remove all cause of disturbance and oppression committed in the interior country, under sanction of the English name,

“ Resolved, That in future all gomastahs, whether employed on account of the Company, or of individuals, shall strictly refrain from interfering in any matters that may tend to interrupt the collections, or disturb the business of the Government.

“ That they shall scrupulously avoid taking cognizance of any disputes or differences they may have with the country people, or assuming to themselves any degree of judicial authority.

“ That in all such points of difference and dispute, whether with respect to trade, or otherwise, they shall appeal first to the nearest officer of the Government; and in case of delay or refusal of redress from him, they shall then lay their complaints before Mahomed Reza Khawn, or the Resident at the Durbar, or the Council, or Select Committee.

“ That whoever shall be found deviating from the evident meaning and intent of this resolution (a copy of which will be sent to the Resident at the Durbar and to Mahomed Reza Khawn) shall immediately forfeit their employments, and the Company’s protection, and likewise be subject to such further punishment as the Council or Committee may think proper to inflict.”

The Committee then read a licence from the Rajah Bulwantsing, which was produced by Mr. Cojamaul; and proved by Gonyshamdafs; viz.



“ Settlement of the farm of salt petre of the province of Ghazipore, in the name of the favourable friend Gregore; that is, the farm of the salt petre of the said province, for the sum of 1001 rupees for the year 1174 fully according to the obligation of the before-mentioned, having settled, and being given in his charge, it is necessary that the mentioned sum, according to the established payments of the rabuliat, he shall pay into the treasury, and with easy mind he may employ himself in the business of the said salt petre farm, please God there shall be no difference in this agreement:

“ 1201 rupees for the year 1174 fully.

“ Written on the 1st Shabaan 1174 fully.

“ Entered in the Seah account book of the dewan, the 1st Shabaan fully 1174.

“ Entered in the dewan duster the 1st Shabaan 1174 fully.”

Likewise a licence from the cutwal, or collector of Bulwantsing’s duties, produced by Mr. Cojamaul, of the farm of the opium in Ghazipore, for the years 1766, 1767, and 1768; proved by Gonyshamdafs; viz.

“ Agreement for the farms of the opium of the sircar Ghazipore, that is, since the farm of the opium of the abovesaid sircar, for the sum of six thousand and three Banaras rupees, for the whole of three years, from the beginning of the year 1174 fully to the end of 1176 fully, according to the obligation of the favourable friend Cogec Gregore, having settled and being given, it is necessary that the mentioned sum, according to the payments, year by year, he shall pay, and with easy mind apply to the business of the farm of opium, please God there shall be no difference, and other merchants shall not buy it.



S E A L.

Mahomed Zummum.

“ Dated the 12th of the month Shabaan, the year 1174 fuffully.”

General Richard Smith being then called, the following questions were asked him; viz.

Q. What do you know of the imprisonment of these three Armenians, what the cause of it, and by what authority they were confined?

A. I have a cause depending with the two Armenians, and yet I am willing to give the best account I can to this Committee.

Q. Do you know of any general orders or regulations for restricting the trade of the English and their agents, in the provinces belonging to the King and Shujah Dowlah?

A. I do.

Q. Did you at any time hear any complaints made of the conduct of such agents by the King, Sujah Dowlah, Bulwanting, or others; and what were such complaints?

A. I have; and they appear in my letter to the Select Committee of the 3d January 1768.

The following extract from the said letter was then read; viz.

“ The Nabob represented to me the great inconveniences which arise from the gomastahs and dependants of English Gentlemen residing in his dominions, particularly at Garrackpoor, Mirzapoor, and in the zemindary of Benaris and Gazapoor; that he was extremely tender in exerting his authority over any of those who even assumed the English name, notwithstanding that these people were guilty of many impositions and extortions on his subjects, as well as defrauding him of his duties; now, as he had received repeated assurances from the Presidency that no private trade should be carried on in his dominions, so he requested that I would not only exert my power to free his country from the Armenians and natives of Bengal in the service of individuals, but that I would also represent the same to you, so that effectual means might be taken for their expulsion: sensible of the justice of this representation, I did not hesitate to assure him, that nothing was further from the design or approbation of the English serdars; that I had heard our President made it a point, neither to grant dustucks or purwannahs into his Excellency's dominions;—that no consideration whatsoever could induce the English chiefs to suffer the advantages or emoluments of individuals to be a means of giving him the most distant cause of uneasiness or concern—I assured him of my ready concurrence in every measure to suppress this growing evil, and would represent it in the strongest manner to the Committee, that effectual measures might be taken to remove it—desired he would apprehend all those who were guilty of any impositions on our name, which, so far from giving umbrage to the English serdars, would be esteemed a favour conferred on us. I further added, that to convince his Excellency how desirous I was to strike at the root of this evil, on my return to Allahabad, it should be my care that the purwannah, he himself had granted to Ismael Beg (one of his own subjects, for the exclusive privilege of making salt petre upon account of English Gentlemen, and upon condition that he furnished the Nabob with whatever quantity he wanted at prime cost) should be returned, that he might be convinced no private advantages whatsoever could weigh with an Englishman, which might in the remotest degree affect the public. The Nabob said, in answer, that he esteemed this as a fresh instance of attention and regard.

“ As I have been informed of these circumstances, not only from the Nabob, but as Rajah Bulwanting has also represented the late frequency of English dustucks and English purwannahs, it is but too apparent, notwithstanding the resolutions at the Presidency, that there is an abuse in this matter; I do therefore most earnestly recommend to the Committee, that they will enter upon the most vigorous measures for entirely abolishing a system so fraught with pernicious consequences, and which very system had so lately proved almost fatal to the Company's welfare in Bengal. I have the honour to subscribe myself, with great respect, Gentlemen,

“ Head Quarters, near  
“ Kierabad, the 3d January 1768.

“ Your most obedient, humble servant,  
“ RICHARD SMITH.”

Q. Do you know whether such agents were made acquainted with such orders for restraining trade, and did they pay obedience thereto?

A. There was a general publication of those orders, I believe some time in 1768, long after my letter, and which will appear upon the Company's books.—I think the publication was after my return to the Board at Calcutta in April.

Q. Did you know of Cojamaul, an Armenian, or other Armenians, agents for Mr. Bolts, residing in those districts?

A. It was impossible for me to know any gomastahs—I don't recollect I knew him particularly—there were 500 gomastahs.

Q. Did

Q. Did this measure of restrictive orders proceed principally from the Governor and Council on complaint of the Princes?

A. I may say it originated from the substance of my letter above mentioned.

Q. When Sujah Dowlah desired you to inform the Governor and Council of those irregularities, what answer did the Governor give?

General Smith then read the following extract of a letter which he received from Mr. Verelst; viz.

“ Sir,

Fort William, 31st Jan. 1768.

“ I have received your letters of the 10th and 20th December, with returns of the army for the month of November, and of the 6th and 9th instant, with the draughts of three surveys made in the subah of Oud; as soon as the other two you mentioned are copied, I shall be obliged to you for them.

“ It is with some astonishment, as well as concern, that I observe the representations you have been pleased to make to the Committee, in your letter to them of the 3d instant, respecting the private trade carried on by English gomastahs in the circars of Gauzypur and Mizzapur, and other parts of the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah’s dominions; I therefore have taken this method to acquaint you with my sentiments thereon; for, notwithstanding I am at all times determined to preserve and support my prerogative in its due extent, and to endeavour at conducting all affairs of a public nature to the best of my abilities, upon what I esteem the most steady, uniform, and solid plan, yet no difference of opinion, in those points, shall have any sway with me, when matters of private concern are under my consideration.

“ The orders of the Company, and the resolutions of the Committee, are positive, that no private trade shall be carried on without these provinces, and the penalty to those who shall disobey them, no less than dismissal from the service; yet, it appears by your letter, that they are disobeyed, and that too, in such a manner, as to oblige the Nabob Sujah al Dowlah to complain to you of the oppressions and extortions of English gomastahs; the truth of which was confirmed by Bulwantling.

“ You have expressed your apprehensions of fatality to the Company’s possessions, unless the most vigorous measures be pursued by the Committee, to annihilate these complaints, so fraught with pernicious consequences; and informed the Committee of your having assured Sujah al Dowlah how desirous you are to strike at the root of this evil, and that it should be your care that the purwannah for an exclusive privilege to make salt petre on account of the English, granted to Ismael Beg, should be returned.

“ Called upon, as the Committee are, in this public manner, were they to content themselves with only recording your letter upon the face of their proceedings, the Court of Directors might very possibly conceive an idea of your attentive and faithful services at their expence, or perhaps see cause to suspect their disinterestedness and integrity; if, on the contrary, they second your remonstrance with that degree of vigour you tell them it should, by resolving to detect and punish every aggressor, may not your name happen to stand recorded at the head of the list?—You have particularized Ismael Beg; should they enquire by whom he has been employed, will it not be found that he was employed by you?—Employed, not only in carrying on a trade prohibited by the Company, but even to raise that trade into a monopoly throughout the greatest part of the dominions of our friend and ally.

“ You say, in your public letter, you have heard I made it a point neither to grant dustucks nor purwannahs into Sujah al Dowlah’s dominions; I imagined you had known it was a point established with me, and invariably adhered to—however, Sujah al Dowlah having repeatedly written to me on this subject, on reading your letter I had my answers recorded on the Committee proceeding; as well as my assurance of never having granted either dustuck or purwannah beyond the provinces since my coming to the government, except for the baggage of officers going to camp.

“ However hardly you may have conceived of my conduct towards you on any public account, it is very far from me to wish you an injury, and on the present occasion I am sorry you have acted in so unguarded a manner. If any English Gentlemen have been led to extend their trade beyond the provinces, and their gomastahs been culpable in their conduct, a representation thereof to me should immediately have removed every cause of complaint, and a private reprehension corrected the indiscretion of the offenders; but your accusation being public and general, those who have transgressed, must abide by the consequences.

“ Being sensible that the emoluments of your office are inadequate to your station, you may remember I recommended your entering into trade, which you might engage some of your friends to manage for you; how far you have declared your concern herein I know not, but it has been matter of general complaint, that the attention of most of the officers of the army has, of late, been taken up with commercial matters more than is consistent with their duty; and when reprehended upon this head, they have not scrupled to quote the example of the commanding officer. As the very being of the Company, in the present posture of affairs, depends in great measure upon the state of our army, I wish to see a stop put to a practice which may be productive, if suffered to go on, of such dangerous consequences. I would very gladly promote the interest of the army by all proper and reasonable means, but not at the expence of the service.

“ It



“ It is probable you may suppose I have expressed myself with a degree of freedom in some parts of this letter ; but as it is obvious that my intentions are altogether friendly, I hope you will do me the justice to believe me with great regard,

(Signed) “ H. VERELST.”

Read also the following extracts from a letter written by Colonel Richard Smith, in answer to the President Mr. Verelst, as produced by the Colonel ; dated Head Quarters, at Meer Ab-fell’s gardens near Patna, the 8 February 1768 ; viz.

“ Sir, I have this day received your letter of the 31st ult. The freedom with which you have expressed your sentiments, may be very readily admitted, since you profess your intentions to be altogether friendly ; I hope you will, in my turn, indulge me with the same liberty, since I shall deliver my thoughts with an equal degree of sincerity.

“ Marvel not, Sir, at my representations to the Select Committee concerning the prosecution of private trade in Sujah Dowlah’s dominions ; be assured it is high time to remedy these grievances—such complaints of oppression had been made to me as were insufferable ; had I been treated by you in a manner due to my rank and character, you should have been particularly advised of this and every other material circumstance that came to my knowledge ; but circumstanced as I have been, it became necessary for me to confine my correspondence to the Board, and this will account for my not writing you a private letter on this subject.

“ I am concerned you should express even a supposition, ‘ That should the Committee content themselves with only recording my letter on the face of their proceedings, the Court of Directors may possibly conceive an idea of my attentive and faithful services at the expence of the Committee, or from my representations see cause to suspect their disinterestedness and integrity.’

“ I could wish Mr. Verelst, and all mankind, to believe that I am above aiming at applause at the expence of other men ; for I think my own uniform conduct will secure to me that share of approbation it may hereafter appear to have deserved. I wrote to the Committee so strenuously from a firm hope that they would enter into such effectual measures, as to eradicate this growing evil, and hereafter you will be convinced I have not painted this grievance in stronger colours than the occasion required.

“ You are pleased to write me, ‘ It has been matter of general complaint, that the attention of most of the officers of the army has of late been taken up with commercial matters more than is consistent with their duty, and when reprehended on this head, they have not scrupled to quote the example of the commanding officer.’ I could wish to be informed from whence these general complaints have been made : a general accusation will fall of itself when unsupported by proofs ; the conduct of the officers of that part of the army, which has been under my immediate inspection, does not deserve so severe a reflection, and the excellent state of those troops is the best proof of my assertion ; and from the review which I have lately made of my regiment, and the few sepoy remaining here of the second brigade, it clearly appears to me that there has been no want of diligence in the commanding officer, nor of attention in those of an inferior station. As to the officers on the Purgunnah establishment, I know not how they conduct themselves : they appear to have no military superior whatsoever. That the very being of the Company depends in great measure upon the state of the army, is most certain ; my sentiments on the present state of it will hereafter appear ; in the mean time, if you will be pleased to point out those who have neglected their duty from an attention to commercial affairs, or even those who have been in any wise concerned in a mercantile system, I will assure you of my best endeavours to put a stop to this practice, which I by no means approve.

“ How far, and by what inducements, I engaged in commerce, I will now relate.—You must remember when I was sworn a member of the Council, the dustuck oath was tendered to me ; the whole Board must remember I then declined taking that oath, because I never had, nor ever intended to enter into any commercial schemes, as I considered commerce to be incompatible with my profession ; doubtless, you must also remember that soon after this, you yourself observed to me (and I will suppose with a very friendly intention) that you thought I was wrong in giving up the greatest, and indeed only advantage from my new appointment : I observed, that I did not wish to see any commerce whatsoever carried on by the officers of the army ; and, although I was intitled to the privilege of a dustuck, yet I did not chuse to set the example ; you replied, that General Carnac had been concerned in trade, which was carried on by yourself (I think you mentioned, but am not certain) or others on his account, and that you advised me to be concerned with Mr. Russell, who would transact these affairs for me.

“ I thanked you for your advice, and said I would consider of it ; I reflected that my predecessor had received large emoluments from his station, perhaps £.30,000 for two years, that the Company’s orders had taken away the only emolument which I could expect to receive in their service, and thereby reduced all my appointments to the scanty pittance of 700l. per annum, besides defraying my field expences ; that neither the Company at home, nor Lord Clive abroad, had made the least provision for the commander in chief of the forces. Thus situated, I thought I might endeavour, with some degree of propriety, to increase my capital by a commercial system, carried on by a friend, who was a member of the Board, and who was so obliging as to take that trouble for me : of this you

“ was

“ was informed, and soon after I took the dustuck oath. Here then is explained the causes and motives which induced me to engage in commerce; and now you are to be informed how far I have engaged in it.—Our first essay was in the purchase of your share of the cargoes of cotton from Surat, at an advance of fifty thousand rupees upon the prime cost, by which purchase you will do me the justice to say I have not gained any advantage. My second adventure was of sundry articles exported by the Company, and bought at their sales, for which your dustuck was granted to the limits of the provinces; these articles were sold many months since, but not before I discovered that this commercial system, if pursued, would engross too much of my time from more important occupations; I therefore dropped all thoughts of prosecuting the plan; and, as I had several gentlemen of my family who had merited well, both from the public and from me, gentlemen whom I wished to serve, but wanted any other means of doing it; amongst them I divided the profits of this adventure, as I purpose doing by whatever emolument may arise from the advance of 25,000 rupees made on my account at the aurungs in Bengal.

“ It only remains for me to treat of my third and last attempt, the salt petre concern—You must remember that this article of commerce was mentioned to you, both by Mr. Russell and me, when I was at Calcutta; you so far approved the scheme, that at the desire of Mr. Russell you wrote a letter to Sujah Dowlah, to request he would grant that Gentleman’s gomastah the exclusive privilege of purchasing salt petre in his dominions.—This letter Mr. Russell inclosed to me; I received it at Monyhyr, when on my journey to Allahabad; and when the Nabob paid me a visit on my arrival there, I delivered to him your letter, and seconded your request; at that time nothing was settled, but the Nabob desired Ismael Beg to attend him to Fyfabad, for the adjustment of this matter. Some time after a purwannah was granted to him, for an exclusive privilege of making salt petre throughout the Nabob’s dominions, upon condition that he supplied the Nabob with whatever quantity he required at prime cost; and as Ismael Beg was recommended to this employment by me, you may suppose that Mr. Russell and myself would have had the refusal of whatever quantity was made, above that which the Nabob should require for his own use, and this to be delivered at the Carumnassah.

“ In consequence of this purwannah, Ismael Beg began to make his engagements for the manufacturing of salt petre after the rains should have subsided, but in the interim arose those suspicions of the duplicity of Sujah Dowlah’s conduct: the bare possibility of his meditating hostilities gave me the alarm; for being convinced how faithfully we had fulfilled our engagements to him, and reflecting, that as he could have no just ground to alledge for a rupture with us, he must therefore seek a pretext to give some colouring to his own conduct, and it was not impossible but that such a man might represent to the world, this purwannah, which was his own free grant, to have been obtained from him by improper solicitation; no sooner did this suggestion strike me, but I desired Ismael Beg to suspend the commencement of his manufacture; and when I visited the Nabob, you already know that a final stop was put to this affair. I have only to add, that I do not know of any salt petre having been made under the sanction of this purwannah, and I can affirm, that not a single particle has been received—Here, Sir, is the history of Ismael Beg, and the salt petre purwannah.

“ And now, Sir, I cannot avoid testifying my extreme surprize at your query—‘ If, on the contrary, they second your remonstrance with that degree of vigour you tell them it should, by resolving to detect and punish every aggressor, may not your name happen to stand recorded at the head of the list?’ Upon what part of my conduct, Sir, can you found such a question? Wherein have I acted differently from you? Could I conceive the purchasing of salt petre in Sujah Dowlah’s dominions to be fundamentally wrong, when you yourself wrote to Sujah Dowlah, in favour of Mr. Russell’s gomastah? Could I conceive it to be a prohibited commerce, when you yourself encouraged it? Could I imagine it contrary to the regulation of the Select Committee, when you, who presided in that Committee, made use of your influence to introduce it?

“ I little expected that you, Sir, would have been the person to suggest that Ismael Beg was employed to raise the salt petre trade into a monopoly throughout the greatest part of the Nabob’s dominions; had Ismael Beg, in consequence of the Nabob’s grant, been the only manufacturer of salt petre in his territories, he would have enjoyed that privilege, by the permission of him, who alone had the right to grant it.

“ That you, never granted dustucks into the Nabob’s dominions, I most sincerely believe, but I cannot conceive how it could remain unknown to you that they were granted by others; for I think there is an express order of the Committee, that all dustucks or purwannahs shall be registered, and monthly returns made from the several factories to the custom house at Calcutta; and the smallest reference to those records would have shewn you, that dustucks had been frequently granted from Patna and Muxadavad, for every species of merchandize into the Nabob Sujah Dowlah’s country.

“ Sensible that my representations to the Board of the 3d ultimo was made upon the most mature deliberation, and confident that no one action of mine stands in need of concealment, however friendly may be your expressions of concern upon a supposition that I have acted in an unguarded manner, I cannot admit of their propriety, since I see no cause for their application. And in regard to your declaration, ‘ That no difference of opinion in public affairs should have any sway with you when matters of a private concern are under



“ your consideration, ’ I can only say that it is a worthy sentiment, but it cannot have the  
 “ smallest reference to me, as it is impossible for you, as Governor of this settlement, with  
 “ propriety, to countenance, or for me, as Commander in chief, with consistency, to be  
 “ connected in, any transaction which requires privacy on my part, or connivance on yours.

“ How far I have ever engaged in mercantile affairs you have been fully intormed; and  
 “ as I am above palliating an error in judgment, I will frankly confess to you that it is the  
 “ only part of my conduct which I cannot approve upon reflection; not that I had any cause  
 “ whatsoever to judge this transaction deserving of censure in itself, but for an example it  
 “ displays to others, who might not reflect, that my being a member of the Council ad-  
 “ mitted me to privileges no other military man could enjoy.—It is now sixteen years since I  
 “ bore a military commission in this service, and where is the man who can say I ever had a  
 “ commercial concern, until it was suggested to me by you? I was, however, soon con-  
 “ vinced of my error, and as soon I renounced all thoughts of increasing my fortune on  
 “ mercantile principles; and, Sir, I dare appeal to you, and to the whole world, whether I  
 “ have manifested the least avidity for wealth; but, on the contrary, the opportunities I  
 “ have had of acquiring a very large fortune are notoriously known: it is equally known,  
 “ that I have not availed myself in the smallest degree of those opportunities, but have pre-  
 “ ferred mediocrity and an unblemished reputation.

“ The time is now approaching when you will be fully informed what opinion I have  
 “ conceived of your conduct towards me—My letter of yesterday’s date to the Select Com-  
 “ mittee, requested their permission for me to return to the Presidency, that I might prepare  
 “ for my embarkation to Europe.—When cool reflection shall banish hasty prejudice, when  
 “ jealousies and suspicions can no longer be entertained, then perhaps it may appear that you  
 “ have judged of me and my actions through a false medium, and conducted yourself ac-  
 “ cordingly. How much I endeavoured to obtain your confidence I will freely acknowledge,  
 “ and it was because I could foresee that the welfare of the Company was very nearly inter-  
 “ ested in a good understanding between the Governor and Commander in chief; and the  
 “ events of the last year have justified my opinion. How well you have adhered to the de-  
 “ clarations you made to me in person, will appear hereafter; in the mean time I have an  
 “ honour to profess myself, with great respect,

(Signed) “ R. SMITH.”

Q. Did Sujah Dowlah issue the orders for the removal of the Armenian gomastahs in general from his dominions?

A. The orders were issued by the Select Committee; but some months prior to those orders Sujah Dowlah had applied for a guard to take up some people at Banaras, as appears by a letter from Captain Harper of the 6th January 1768; as follows:

“ To Colonel Richard Smith, Commander in Chief of the Forces.

“ Sir, The Nabob Sujah Dowlah has applied to me for a guard to apprehend some people  
 “ at Banaras, who, under pretence of being servants to English Gentlemen, are commit-  
 “ ting all manner of disturbances. I have not complied with his Excellency’s request, and  
 “ wait your orders to know whether I may send the guard he desires, or not. I have the  
 “ honour to be, with great respect, Sir,

“ Camp near Fysabad,

“ Your most obedient, humble servant,

“ the 6 January 1768.”

(Signed) “ GABRIEL HARPER.”

Q. Who were those Gentlemen?

A. There was so many I cannot particularize them.

Q. Did Sujah Dowlah make any representation to you against the gomastahs of the English preceding January 1768?

A. I think that is the first representation that Sujah Dowlah made to me in person, but not the first that Bulwantsing made.

Q. What was the date of Bulwantsing’s first representation to you?

A. I cannot charge my memory with the exact date—they were made in person, and by his vakeels, but not in writing.

Q. Did you acquaint the Governor and Council with those representations of Bulwantsing?

A. I endeavoured to remedy them myself as commander in chief of that province. I do not recollect any representation to the Council prior to the 3d of January.

Q. Do you know of any mal-practices committed by Cogee Gregore or Cogee Rafael?

A. I don’t know them personally.

Q. Had you ever any representations against them by name?

A. Many.

Q. Please to state them.

A. Representations from Bulwantsing, and complaints from Sujah Dowlah, that they carried on a forced trade in that country without any kind of restraint, paying no duties, and without obedience to the country government.

Q. Were the representations in writing?

A. Not in writing.

Q. Was Bulwantsing’s representation against Rafael and Cogee Gregore by name?

A. I cannot particularly recollect, but think I remember the name of Rafael, but believe they

they were comprehended in the general complaints against the Armenians.—I knew them more by the name of Mr. Bolts's gomastahs than by any other name—Mr. Bolts's gomastahs were particularly specified.

Q. Do you recollect the names of any of Mr. Bolts's gomastahs?

A. No.

Q. Was this conversation with Bulwanting before you went up to Illahabad?

A. The first time was in 1767—there were many after.

Q. Do you know by whom the viziery rupees were coined, and what was the alloy?

A. I never had any thing to do with any mint.

Q. In what coin was the Mogul's stipend paid?

A. I will answer that when the matter comes before the Committee.

Q. Did you ever receive a letter from Mr. Maddison, resident at the durbar, particularly naming those Armenians?

A. I never had any correspondence with him when he was resident.

Q. Did you know Mr. Gentil?

A. I did—he was a Frenchman, who received his subsistence from Sujah Dowlah—I apprehend he resided there to acquire intelligence of the European settlements: he was much in his favour, but I believe held no ostensible office.

Q. Do you know of a letter from Mr. Bolts to Mr. Gentil, which you transmitted to the Committee of Calcutta?

A. A copy of it was sent to me, and I thought it of so extraordinary a nature, that I looked upon it as my indispensable duty to transmit it to the Committee—afterwards I obtained the original, which I also transmitted to the Committee.

Q. Do you know of any renunciation of the 8th article of the treaty with Sujah Dowlah, stipulating a freedom in trade?

A. I believe I do—I understood that the noble Lord Clive gave it up to Sujah Dowlah—I have it only from hearsay.

Mercurii, 13<sup>o</sup> die Maii, 1772.

Col. Burgoyne in the Chair; Present,

Mr. Johnstone,	Sir John Turner,
Mr. Fuller,	Mr. Vane,
Mr. Strachey,	Mr. Sutton,
Mr. Rice,	Mr. Ongley,
Sir Wm. Meredith	Mr. Cornwall.

Mr. Bolts produced nine purwannahs granted him by Sujah Dowlah, relative to salt petre, which were proved by Gonyshamdahs, who said they were exactly the same in substance, only directed to different people.

1st, To Futteh Ally Khawn.

2d, — Rajah Bulwanting.

3d, — Golaum Hussion Khawn.

4th, — Roy Deendayal.

5th, — Rajah Bowanyfung.

6th, — Noor Mahomed Beg Khawn Bahadr.

7th, — Heydarbeg Khan Bahadr.

8th, — Ray Kerpadayal.

9th, — Ally Beg Khan Bahadr.

The purport of the purwannahs was translated and read as follows:

“ To the High in dignity, beloved and powerful Meer Futteh Ally Khawn Bahadr, be he protected Upon the arrival of this purwannah, the sum of 3000 rupees, from yourself, having given to the salt petre makers, and having got the salt petre made ready and delivered to Goadahs, the gomastah of Mr. Bolts, and having taken a receipt from him, send it to my presence. Next time the said sum, according to the receipt, and this purwannah, shall be credited in the account of your farm.

“ Written on the 28 of the month Zilkaad, 1180th year of the Higerah. (Decem-ber 1767.)

The Nabob's seal.

(Signed) “ BAYER.”  
(Signed) “ It is seen.”

Johannes Padre Rafael being then questioned, declared—that he never was in the territories of Bulwanting as a gomastah—that he had not sold any thing in the year 1767 for Mr. Bolts at Fysabad, where he was a servant to Sujah Dowlah, and had 3600 rupees a year.

Gregore Cojamaul likewise being questioned, declared he never was at Sujah Dowlah's court—never was above Banaras; and that Banaras is 120 miles from Fysabad.

General Smith.

Q. From your knowledge of the country, are you of opinion that the general orders for recalling the gomastahs of the English were proper or necessary?

A. The representation that I made to the Council upon the 3d January 1768, is very strong, and very pointed to that purpose—I thought it absolutely necessary to recall them.

Q. Was Captain Harper one of those among whom you said you distributed your profits of trade?

A. Captain Harper had served me as an aid-de-camp and secretary for two years, and he was one of those to whom the distribution was made.



The Committee then read part of the proceedings of the Governor and Council at Bengal, at a consultation held the 3d May 1764; as follows:

The Board drew up the following general opinion.

“ Every method has been tried for carrying on the inland trade upon such a footing as to prevent disputes between our agents and the country government, or between one agent and another; and for deciding, in a just and reasonable manner, such as might unavoidably happen. Having experienced the obstructions to which that trade would be liable if the officers of the country government were admitted to any authority over the English agents, it was resolved in consultation the 5th March 1763, that the chief of the nearest English factory should finally determine all such disputes, and as the Rungpore, Dinagpore, and adjacent districts, where a very considerable part of this inland trade centers, appeared to be too far removed from any of our factories to admit of such enquiry being made in a satisfactory and accurate manner; for this reason, principally, it was agreed, that a senior servant should be appointed to reside at Rungpore, who should have power to hear and determine all disputes.

“ No-fooner is this resolution carried into practice, than some of the English agents complain as loudly of injuries suffered from the authority of the English resident, as they did before of the Nabob's government.

“ Shall there then be no government, no restraint upon those excesses, which either ignorance, passion, or self-interest, may lead an English agent to commit in the country? This is really the case at present; and although it is very certain that some of the Gentlemen employed are of unexceptionable character, and whose good behaviour might be depended on, yet many there are of a contrary disposition; but there need not many arguments to prove, that both the good and the bad should be under some law; yet if we examine the case of the English agents up the country, we shall find they are under none. Our charter does not authorize our courts to take cognizance of any crimes they might commit in these parts: and it has been laid down as a fundamental principle, that the country government shall have no power of them.

“ We need not look further for the root of that licentiousness which has produced such innumerable complaints from the country government, and the inhabitants in those parts where European agents have been sent: it can now no longer be doubted, that many of those complaints have been well grounded, particularly in the article of selling goods by force for more than the current market price: a practice called in this country Barja or Gu-chavut.

“ All the power we can give the chiefs of our factories over these agents will be very insufficient to remedy this disorder, since we have in reality none ourselves; and therefore, disagreeable as it is, to deprive so many of our nation of the benefits they now receive, by being employed as agents in the country, yet it seems an unavoidable necessity, and for the sake of the public tranquillity and welfare must be adopted, and the trade carried on for the future by black gomastahs, who may be tried and punished by our court of zemindary, if they commit any excesses or acts of injustice; and that power delegated, as far as shall appear necessary, to the chiefs of the subordinate factories.

“ It will be objected by those concerned in the inland trade, that gomastahs will be liable to be oppressed by the country government, who have taken, and will take, every opportunity of restraining us from that trade which they regard as an innovation; this objection we believe is very just, and we shall expect that many difficulties will be found in the beginning in carrying on this trade by gomastahs, but these we think may be surmounted by proper application to the Nabob and his officers; and, upon the whole, are of opinion, that all private inconveniences must be submitted to, even the risque of being entirely deprived of the trade, rather than suffer the inhabitants of the country to be oppressed by an abuse of the English name.

“ It is therefore the opinion of the Board, and resolved, that all the European, Portuguese natives, and Armenian agents, which are now up the country, shall have notice given them to settle their concerns, so as to return to Calcutta by the 30th November next, and that after that time, no European shall be permitted to go up the country under any pretence whatsoever, or any other agents be employed in our trade but Bengal natives.”

The Committee also read the following paragraphs of a letter from the Court of Directors to their President and Council in Bengal, dated the 8th February 1764; viz.

Parag. 20. “ One grand source of the disputes, misunderstandings, and difficulties, which have occurred with the country government, appears evidently to have taken its rise from the unwarrantable and licentious manner of carrying on the private trade by the Company's servants, their gomastahs, agents, and others, to the prejudice of the soubah, both with respect to his authority and the revenues justly due to him; the diverting and taking from his natural subjects the trade in the inland parts of the country, to which neither we or any persons whatsoever dependant upon us, or under our protection, have any manner of right, and consequently endangering the Company's very valuable privileges. In order therefore to remedy all these disorders, we do hereby positively order and direct,”

Parag. 21. “ That from the receipt of this letter, a final and effectual end be forthwith put to the inland trade in salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, and in all other articles whatsoever  
“ produced



“duced and consumed in the country; and that all European and other agents or gomastahs, who have been concerned in such trade, be immediately ordered down to Calcutta, and not suffered to return or be replaced as such by any other persons.”

Parag. 22d. “That as our phirmaund privileges of being duty free, are certainly confined to the Company’s export and import trade only, you are to have recourse to, and keep within, the liberty therein stipulated and given, as nearly as possible can be done; but as by the connivance of the Bengal government and constant usage, the Company’s covenant servants have had the same benefit as the Company, with respect to their export and import trade, we are willing they should enjoy the same, and that dustucks be granted accordingly; but herein the most effectual care is to be taken that no excesses or abuses are suffered upon any account whatsoever, nor dustucks granted to any others than our covenant servants as aforesaid. However, notwithstanding any of our former orders, no writer is to have the benefit of a dustuck, until he has served out his full time of five years in that station; free merchants and others are not entitled to, or to have the benefit of, the Company’s dustucks, but are to pay the usual duties.”

Parag. 23d. “As no agents or gomastahs are to reside on account of private trade at any of the inland parts of the country, all business on account of licensed private trade, is to be carried on by and through the means of the Company’s covenant servants resident at the several subordinate factories, as has been usual.”

Parag. 24th. “We are under the necessity of giving the before-going orders, in order to preserve the tranquillity of the country, and harmony with the Nabob; they are rather outlines than complete directions, which you are to add to, and improve upon, agreeable to the spirit of, and our meaning in them, as may be necessary to answer the desired purposes: and, if any person or persons are guilty of a contravention of them, be they whomsoever they may; if our own servants, they are to be dismissed the service; if others, the Company’s protection is to be withdrawn, and you have the liberty of sending them forth with to England, if you judge the nature of the offence requires it.”

Read also the following paragraphs of a separate general letter from the Court of Directors of the East-India Company to their President and Council in Bengal, dated the 24 December 1765; viz.

Parag. 10th. “Your deliberations on the inland trade have laid open to us a scene of most cruel oppression, which is indeed exhibited at one view of the 13th article of the Nabob’s complaints, mentioned thus in your consultation of the 17th October 1764: ‘The poor of this country, who used always to deal in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, are now deprived of their daily bread by the trade of the Europeans, whereby no kind of advantage accrues to the Company, and the Government’s revenues are greatly injured.’ We shall for the present observe to you, that every one of our servants concerned in this trade, has been guilty of a breach of his covenants, and a disobedience to our orders. In your consultations of the 3d of May, we find among the various extortionate practices, the most extraordinary one of burjaut, or forcing the natives to buy goods beyond the market price, which you there acknowledge to have been frequently practised.”

Parag. 11th. “In your resolution to prevent this practice, you determine to forbid it, but ‘with such care and discretion as not to affect the Company’s investment, as you do not mean to invalidate the right derived to the Company from their phirmaund, which they have always held over their weavers:’ as the Company are known to purchase their investment by ready money only, we require a full explanation how this can affect them, or how it ever could have been practised in the purchase of their investment, which the latter part of Mr. Johnston’s minute, entered on consultation the 21st July 1764, insinuates; for it would almost justify a suspicion that the goods of our servants have been put off to the weavers, in part payment of the Company’s investment; therefore we direct you to make a rigid scrutiny into this affair, that we may know if any of our servants, or those employed under them, have been guilty of such a breach of trust, that their names and all the circumstances may be known to us.”

Parag. 12. “We also order you to give us the particular instances which have confirmed you in your opinion, that the burjaut has been practised, that we may know whose agents they were, and whether the agents who practised it, were countenanced and protected in it by their masters.”

Parag. 13. “Mr. Johnstone’s minute or consultation the 21st July 1764, cannot escape our notice; wherein he says, ‘The support of these, and out other privileges, in their full extent, against the usurpation of the late Nabob, engaged us in this unhappy war; and after so many valuable lives lost in the defence of them, I shall ever be against parting with them, or hazarding the loss of them without greater and better cause than has yet appeared, and till after we have found by experience, that all other remedies are in vain.’”

Parag. 14th. “As the privileges here meant principally relate to the unwarranted inland trade, in which our own servants have been so generally concerned greatly to the prejudice of the Company, by involving their affairs in distresses and difficulties, and manifestly injurious to the country government, of which every one of you cannot but be fully sensible; we say, we cannot avoid taking notice of the said opinion, as by it Mr. Johnstone seems to persevere in all events to prefer the private interest of individuals to the general good, so far as respects the said inland trade.—If Mr. Johnstone continues in these



“ sentiments, as from the general tenor of his conduct we have too much reason to apprehend, he cannot but be looked upon as a dangerous servant; therefore, if he, or any other persons shall persist in carrying on a trade, which, as before observed, has been attended with so many bad consequences, we would have him or them dismissed the Company’s service.”

Parag. 15. “ We shall say nothing further at present on the inland trade, till that important subject shall have been taken up by Lord Clive, and the Gentlemen of the Select Committee; only to observe, that the regulation proposed in consultation 17th October 1764, of confining the trade of our servants in the article of salt, to the capital cities of Patna, Dacca, and Murshedabad, on paying the Nabob two and a half per cent. is a manifest disobedience of our orders of the 8th February, then under your deliberation, which positively forbid all trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco; nor does it by any means obviate the objections arising from the distress of the poor, and the injury to his revenues; for, if you pay only two and a half per cent. and the country people twenty, or perhaps forty per cent. it is as much a monopoly as ever.

Parag. 16. “ For other licensed trade, we think it necessary to establish, that all trade to be carried on within the provinces where factories are established, shall be carried on by our servants at such factories, and their agents only, who shall transact the business of our other servants, on receiving the established commission; and on any refusal to accept such commission, or any tendency to monopolize, the servants at Calcutta, or other parts, are at liberty to send their own black gomastahs, who are nevertheless to be accountable for their conduct to the Company’s servants within whose jurisdiction they reside.—All districts not comprehended within the jurisdiction of each subordinate, shall be considered as within the jurisdiction of the Board of Calcutta.—That no dufftuck shall be given but for articles of import and export, as was formerly practised, and you are to send us a list of whatever falls under this denomination.”

Read also, part of the proceedings of the President and Select Committee at Bengal, of the 11 May 1765, viz.

“ The Select Committee, observing with regret the contempt shewn for the positive and repeated orders of the Governor and Council for recalling free merchants residing up the country,

“ Resolve, That the former orders on that head be now enforced, and letters dispatched to the chiefs of the several subordinates, requiring them, at the expiration of one month after notice given, to convey in safety to Calcutta, all who refuse to comply with a measure so salutary to the Company, and necessary to the peace and good order of the country.

“ Being informed also, that a great number of Europeans, stragglers from ships, and others, who have no claim from indentures to any share of the Company’s countenance or protection, are variously employed up the country, and dispersed all over the Nabob’s dominions, to the great prejudice of the Company, and molestation of the natives;

“ Resolved, They be immediately secured and brought to Calcutta.

“ The Committee finding some difficulty in procuring an exact account of the names of such Europeans;

“ Agreed, That the chiefs of the subordinate factories be made acquainted with the resolutions of the Committee, and required to transmit, without delay, the most accurate lists in their power of all Europeans not immediately in the Company’s service, who reside in or about their respective districts.”

Read also the following resolution of the Governor and Council of Bengal, at a consultation held the 20th May 1765, viz.

“ Agreed and ordered, in consequence of the proceedings of the Committee laid before the Board last council day, that public advertisements be made, enforcing our orders already given for the return of the English, Portuguese, and Armenian agents, employed in the different parts of the country, to the Presidency, and requiring all whoever most strictly to arrive by the first of August, and their constituents to give them due notice accordingly.”

Read also a letter from the Select Committee of Bengal, dated the 26th July 1765, accompanying an advertisement as transmitted to Dacca, and the rest of the subordinates, as follows; viz.

“ To John Cartier, Esquire, Chief at Dacca.

“ Sir, I am directed by the Right Honourable the President and the members of the Select Committee, to request that you will order the accompanying advertisement to be circulated among the several free merchants and other Europeans, residing in and about Dacca, as far as the influence of the government and factory extends, and that you will procure the most exact account in your power of their names and places of abode, which you will please to transmit to the Select Committee before the expiration of the time specified in the advertisement. I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,  
(Signed) “ ALEX. CAMPBELL,

“ Fort William,  
“ the 26th July 1765.”

“ S. S. C.”

“ By

“ By order of the Right Honourable the President and the members of the Select Committee.

“ Public notice is hereby given, that the liberty of residing up the country, lately granted to free merchants and others, for collecting and finally settling their concerns, will positively cease, and the Company's protection be wholly withdrawn, on the 21st day of October next, it being the absolute determination of the Select Committee, not to extend their indulgence beyond that period, nor to suffer any violation of the Company's repeated orders for recalling free merchants, &c.

“ It is therefore to be hoped that such public and early advertisement of the intentions of the Committee will prevent all persons concerned from incurring the evil consequences that may ensue to them and their constituents from a disregard to this actual repeal of the Company's protection, or from a refractory behaviour and positive act of disobedience to the Honourable Court of Directors.

“ Fort William, the 26 July 1765.”

Read also a letter to the Secretary of the Select Committee from Mr. Francis Hare, as follows; viz.

“ To Alexander Campbell, Esquire, Secretary to the Select Committee.

“ Sir, In consequence of your favour of the 26th ultimo, I caused the advertisement you inclosed to be circulated amongst the free merchants residing in Patna and its districts, whose names are as follow :

“ Messieurs Bryan Scotney,  
 “ Joseph Hare,  
 “ Alexander Jephson,  
 “ William Hutchinson,  
 “ John Hutchinson,  
 “ George Lear,  
 “ ——— Barrow.

“ Mr. Peter Hare, who is in my employ at a place called Boggi, under the Subahdary of Patna, has also received notice to repair to Calcutta within the time limited by the Committee.

I am, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ Patna, August 27th 1765.

(Signed)

“ FRANCIS HARE.”

The Committee then read part of the proceedings of the Select Committee in Bengal, dated the 5th October 1765, as follows :

“ Observing that our orders to the chiefs of the subordinates to send lists to the Committee of all Europeans residing within their several districts, who are not in the Company's service, have been neglected ;

“ Resolved, That we now repeat the above orders, requiring them positively not only to send the most accurate lists in their power, but the persons themselves to Calcutta, by the 21st instant, at which time the Company's protection will absolutely cease, and they must stand to all the consequences of being left entirely in the power of the country government.”

Read also the following letter from A. W. Senior, to the President and Select Committee, dated at Cossimbuzar, the 23d October 1765, viz.

“ To the Right Honourable Lord Clive, President, &c. Members Select Committee.

“ My Lord and Gentlemen,

“ I have been favoured with your letter of the 7th instant, and shall pay due attention to the orders therein contained.

“ I should have immediately complied with your former directions by sending down a list of the Europeans and other merchants under our protection residing within these districts, but was not able to procure an exact one ; however I have now inclosed a list of such as have come to my knowledge, and who have all had timely notice given of your orders : besides these there are many Europeans, as well as Portuguese and Armenians, who reside at the city of Muxadavad, but I don't find they have any employ at all, and they appear to me to be rather under the Nabob's protection than ours.

“ I am,

“ My Lord, and Gentlemen,

“ Your most obedient,

“ humble servant,

“ A. W. Senior.

“ Cossimbuzar,  
 “ 23d October 1765.”

“ A list



“ A list of European agents and others under the English protection residing at the following places, viz.

- “ Mr. Hargrave
  - “ Mr. Gundestroppe
  - “ Dr. Wasmus
  - “ Mr. Maultby at Seebgunge.
  - “ Mr. Galloway at Couregong.
  - “ Captain Ivie
  - “ Mr. Woodason
  - “ Philip Pollock
  - “ D<sup>o</sup> his son-in-law
  - “ Demetrufs
  - “ Doutie
  - “ One writer at Dewangunge
  - “ Two D<sup>o</sup> at Bagon Barry
- } at Chilmery.
- } at Ragegunge.
- } In Captain Amyatt's service.

“ N. B. There are several free merchants who do not come under the name of agents, but live entirely with the following Gentlemen at their houses as clerks, and have not, nor have had, any other employ.

- “ Mr. William Walker—with Mr. Jekyll, at Rungpore.
- “ Mr. James Dixon—with Mr. Goring, at Comarcolly.
- “ Mr. Samuel Whitby—with Mr. Wright, at Cossimbuzar.”

And your Committee then closed the evidence upon the petition of the said Gregore Cojamaul.

