Bengal-History, 1756-1764

A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

TRANSACTIONS

IN

BENGAL,

FROM THE

YEAR 1760, to the YEAR 1764,

During the GOVERNMENT of

Mr. HENRY VANSITTART.

Publiſhed by HIMSELF.

In THREE VOLUMES.

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EX-

AN

EXPLANATION

OF THE

INDOSTAN WORDS.

A.

Annae, THE ſixteenth part of a rupee.

Arzee, An addreſs from an inferior.

Arzdaſht, An addreſs to the King, ſo called from the two initial words always uſed in ſuch an addreſs.

Aſſammee, A dependent; or any perſon on whom a claim is made.

Aumeen, Or ameen, a ſupervisor; a perſon employed to examine and regulate any buſineſs.

Aumil, An officer of the revenues.

Aumildar, The ſame.

Aumulnama, A warrant, or order of the government, empowering a perſon to take poſſeſſion of any land.

Aurung, A place where goods are manufactured or produced for ſale.

B.

Bang, An intoxicating herb.

Banyan, A Gentoo ſervant, employed in the management of commercial affairs.

Batta, Exchange. Alſo diet-money allowed to the troops in the field.

Bazar, A daily market.

Begum, A princeſs, a title given to every lady of rank.

Beetle, The name of an aromatic leaf, and of a nut of the ſize and appearance of a nutmeg, which the natives of India conſtantly chew and eat between their meals. A ſmall parcel of theſe from the hand of a ſuperior, is always received as a pledge and aſſurance of protection.

Bildar, A man who works with a beel, an inſtrument like a ſpade.

Burkundaſs, A matchlockman.

Buxbunder, The office of cuſtoms at Hoogley.

Buxy, A paymaſter.

C.

Calarree, A ſalt work,

Caoun, Sixteen puns of cowries, equal to nearly eight pence of Engliſh money.

Chokey, A guard; alſo a place appointed for the receipt of cuſtoms.

Chokeydar, The officer of a guard.

Chubdar, An attendant, whoſe office is to carry meſſages, and proclaim the approach of viſitors, &c. literally ſtaff-bearer, ſo called from a ſtaff of wood, or ſilver, according to the rank of his maſter, which he carries in his hand.

Chuckla,

Chuckla, The juriſdiction of a fougedar.
Chunam, Lime.
Cooley, A day-labourer.
Cootba, The form of public prayer uſed for the King.
Coſe or Coſs, A meaſure of about two miles.
Coſſid, An expreſs.
Cowrie, A ſhell which paſſes for money in the province of Bengal; eighty cowries are called a pun, and from fifty to ſixty puns are the value of a rupee. A cowrie therefore may be rated at the 160th part of a penny.
Cucherree, A court of juſtice. Alſo the office into which the rents are delivered.
Cutwal, An inferior officer of the police, dependent on the fougedar, whoſe buſineſs is to try and decide petty miſdemeanors within a certain diſtrict.

D.

Dadney, Money advanced for goods.
Dandee, A waterman, or rower.
Dauks, Stationed letter-carriers.
Deloll, A broker.
Dewan, The ſecond officer of the province, whoſe buſineſs is to ſuperintend the lands and collections. Alſo the ſteward of any man of rank.
Dewanconna, The dewan's court, or office.
Droga, An overſeer, or ſuperindant.

Durbar,

Durbar, A court.

Dustore, A custom, or fee.

Dustuck, A passport. In the Narrative it always means a passport given by the governor, or the chiefs of the factories, for the goods of the Company or their servants, which exempts them from the payment of duties.

E.

Emarut, A building. The droga of the emarut is the overseer of the public buildings.

F.

Firmaun, A royal decree. In the Narrative it means the charter which the Company obtained from the King Furrukhseer, by which they hold their privileges.

Fougedar. The chief magistrate of a large district, called a Chuckla.

Fougedarree, The appointment, or office of a fougedar.

G.

Gardee A name sometimes given to the seepoys.

Gaut, A landing-place, where customs are usually collected.

Gentoo, A professor of the ancient religion of India.

Gola,

Gola, A building, uſually of thatch, erected for keeping grain, ſalt, &c.

Gomaſtah, An agent, or factor.

Gunge, A wholeſale market; principally for grain.

Gurree, A diviſion of time, including 24 minutes.

Guzerbaun, An officer who collects the cuſtoms at the ferries.

H.

Hawaldar, A ſubaltern officer of ſeepoys of the rank of a ſerjeant.

Haut, A market on ſtated days.

Hazarree, A commander of gunmen, literally a commander of a thouſand.

Hegira, The Mahometan æra.

Hircarra, A ſpy.

Huſb-ul-hookum, A patent, or order, under the ſeal of the Vizir, with theſe initial words, ſignifying "according to the command."

I.

Izara, A farm of the revenues.

Izardar, A farmer of the revenues.

Jagheer, An aſſignment of any part of the revenues of the ſtate for military ſervice.

Jagheerdar, The poſſeſſor of a jagheer.

Jemmatdar, A military commander.

Jungul, A wood, or a wild country.

Karoree,

K.

Karoree, The ſame as a wadadar. An officer of the government, who, for a commiſſion of two or three *per cent.* makes himſelf reſponſible for the rents of a zemindarree.

Katbarra, A duty levied on new boats.

Kazzee, The chief magiſtrate appointed to adminiſter juſtice to the Mahometans according to their written law.

Kella, A fort; alſo a palace.

Kelladar, The governor of a fort.

Kallaat, A dreſs given to a perſon inveſted with any new office.

Kiſt, The amount of a ſtated payment.

Kiſtbundee, An agreement for the ſtated payments of a ſum of money, to be diſcharged at different times.

Krore, Ten millions.

L.

Lack, One hundred thouſand.

M.

Mahal, Any land, or a public fund, yielding a revenue to the government.

Mahal Serai, The women's apartments.

Malguzarree, The land revenue.

Mangee, The helmſman of a boat.

Maund, A weight of 75 to 80 lb.

Mharajah, A title ſignifying Great Rajah.

Mohr,

Mohr, Or Gold Mohr, a gold coin, worth from 12 to 15 rupees.

Molungee, A worker of ſalt.

Moonſhee, A ſecretary for the Perſian language.

Muchulca, A written obligation.

Munſub, A dignity.

Muſnud, A cloth or carpet, on which the people of Indoſtan ſit, uſed to ſignify the ſeat of the Nazim.

Muttaſeddee, Properly an officer of ſtate. A term applied in common to any man, who has the charge of accounts, either of the government, or of any perſon of conſequence.

N.

Nabob, (Properly Nawab, being the plural of Naib) a title given to every perſon of noble rank. By pre-eminence it is generally uſed to ſignify the Nazim.

Naib, A deputy.

Naic, A ſubaltern officer of the ſeepoys, of the rank of a corporal.

Nazim, The firſt officer of a province, in whoſe hands the executive power is lodged. He is uſually for diſtinction ſtiled the Nabob.

Neabut, A deputyſhip.

Nezzer, A preſent to a ſuperior.

Nezzeranna, A ſum paid to the government, as an acknowledgment for a grant of lands, or any public office. Ni-

Nizamut, The office or poſt of a Nazim.

Noble, A band of muſic, allowed only to perſons of the higheſt rank, by a grant from the Crown.

O.

Omrah, The plural of Aumeer, a Lord of the Empire.

P.

Pehr, A variable diviſion of time, conſiſting of ſuch a number of gurries as will form nearly a quarter of the natural day or night.

Peon, A footman, or attendant.

Perganah, The largeſt diviſion of land in a Zemindarree.

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

Peſhkar, A ſteward.

Peſhcuſh, A tribute paid to the Crown, as an acknowledgment for any tenure.

Pulwar, A light boat uſed for diſpatches.

Pun, Eighty cowries, of the value of about an halfpenny.

Pykar, A perſon who purchaſes goods from the firſt hand to ſell to the merchant.

R.

Rahdar, An officer employed in collecting the duties by land.

Rajah, A title given to every Gentoo of rank, originally appropriated only to the principal Zemindars.

Raunee,

Raunee, Properly Rannee, a title given to the women of rank amongſt the Gentoos.

Reiat, A tenant.

Riſſalla, An independent corps of horſe.

Riſſalladar, The commander of ſuch a corps.

Rowana, A paſſport, or certificate, from the collector of the cuſtoms.

Royroyan, The principal officer under the Dewan, who has the immediate charge of the Crown lands.

Rupee, A ſilver coin, worth about 2 s. 6 d.

S.

Seepoy, A ſoldier. This word is chiefly uſed for the Indian troops diſciplined after the European manner.

Serai, A baiting place for travellers.

Sezawel, The ſame as tahſildar. An officer employed for a month by ſalary to collect the revenues.

Shah, The King, or Emperor.

Shahbunder, The office of cuſtoms at Dacca.

Shahzada, A Prince, or ſon of a King. Any perſon of royal extraction.

Shroff, A banker.

Sicca, A coin; commonly uſed to ſignify the rupee of the Bengal mints.

Sicdar, The collector of the rents of a village.

Sircar, The ſtate.

Subah, A province; improperly uſed for the Subahdar.

Subahdar, The governor of a province; alſo the commander of a company of ſeepoys.

Subah-

Subahdarree, or ſubahſhip. The office of a ſubahdar.

Sunnud, A grant.

Sunwaut, Rupees of old dates, on which a diſcount is allowed.

T.

Taalook, A ſmall zemindarree.

Taalookdar, The zemindar of a ſmall diſtrict.

Tahſildar, or Sezawel. An officer employed for a monthly ſalary to collect the revenues.

Tanna, A ſmall fort.

Tannadar, A commander of a ſmall fort.

Telinga, A ſeepoy; ſo named from a country of that name, from whence the firſt ſeepoys were probably enliſted.

Tofall, A collection of calarrees, or ſalt pans.

Tomtom, A name which is vulgarly given to the Indian Drums uſed in proclamations.

Tuncaw, An aſſignment.

V.

Vackeel, An attorney, or agent.

W.

Wadadar, The ſame as karooree; an officer of the collections.

Y.

Yeſſawel, A ſtate meſſenger.

Z.

Zemindar, A perſon who holds a certain tract of land immediately of the government, on condition of paying the rent of it.

Zemindarree, The office of a Zemindar, or the lands held by him.

Zenana, Belonging to women. The woman's apartments.

Zilladar, An officer of the collections. A

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Original Papers contained in theſe Volumes are the ſame, which the Friends of Mr. Vanſittart found it neceſſary to publiſh in 1764, with ſome few additions. They are now connected together, by a Narrative, which will render them more intelligible to the Reader.

It is to be obſerved, that the Original Papers are diſtinguiſhed from the Narrative by inverted Commas, at the Beginning, and at the End of each Paper.

INTRODUCTION.

AS the East India Company's concerns with the country government of Bengal have of late years engaged the attention of the public, I am prompted, both by duty and inclination, to give the world a full and circumſtantial account of all the material tranſactions that paſſed while I preſided at Calcutta. The facts ſhall be ſupported by authentic copies from the records, that the motives of each ſtep, being traced to their original ſources, the public may no longer be forced to take up their opinions from magazines and news-papers, which have been too frequently employed to ſerve the private ends of deſigning men. It is only from an unprejudiced examination of the motives, that a true judgment can be formed of the merit of the per-

ſons concerned in the conduct of any publick buſineſs. Thus, if the motives of the Select Committee, for entering into engagements with Meer Coſſim in September 1760, ſhall be found to be good, and the revolution which followed to be unavoidable, without expoſing the East India Company to ruin, the Nabob Meer Jaffier to an ignominious death, and the provinces, already oppreſſed by foreign enemies, to the accumulated miſeries of a civil war; in ſuch caſe, I ſay, the tranſaction muſt be approved, and the promoters of it may rather hope for applauſe than fear reproach.

ENDEAVOURS have been uſed to repreſent the government of the Nabobs in India as a ſacred and fixed inheritance, with a deſign to throw an odium upon this change in Bengal, by making it appear as a violation of the rights of princes, and an offence againſt the conſtitutional laws of the empire. It may be proper to ſet this matter in a true light, by examining what is the nature of the Nabob's

bob's appointment, and ſhewing, by way of inſtance, the ſucceſſion in Bengal from the beginning of this century. In this inquiry, Meer Jaffier will be found, like moſt of his predeceſſors, to have ſeized the government by force, and that force not his own, but borrowed from the Engliſh, who entered into an alliance with him, in hopes by his aſſiſtance to be revenged on Serajah Dowla. How little aſſiſtance he gave, and how ill he obſerved the articles of that alliance, is ſufficiently known; and I mention theſe circumſtances, only to remove the falſe notions that have been ſuggeſted, not meaning to bring them into the preſent argument; for as on the one hand it was not intended to charge Meer Jaffier with his infidelity to us, if he would have agreed to the new meaſures, which the neceſſity of the Company's affairs, and the ſtate of the country, required; ſo, on the other hand, ſuppoſing his rights to have been as valid as they are repreſented, and independent of us,

I could not in ſuch circumſtances have acted otherwiſe than I did.

THE Nabob, as he is uſually termed, or properly the Nazim of a province, is an officer of the Mogul government, appointed to ſuperintend the affairs of the province during the pleaſure of the court. This commiſſion extends not even to the life of the poſſeſſor, and in the early times of the empire it was uſual to make frequent removals, to prevent the dangerous effects of an increaſing influence. Neither, according to the original inſtitution, has he any right to interfere in the management of the revenues, which branch belongs to another officer, called the Dewan, appointed alſo by the court, and in every reſpect independent of the Nazim. It is true, that ſince the authority of the emperors began to decline, the Nazims, taking advantage of the diſtractions of the ſtate, have generally eſtabliſhed themſelves in ſuch a degree of independency, as to pay little more than a nominal obedience to the court. The forms are ſtill kept up, but they

they ſerve only to ſhew what was the original conſtitution. The Dewan is ſtill appointed by a commiſſion from the court, but the intereſt, or rather the force, of the Nazim procures it in the name of his ſon, or neareſt relation. Upon the death of a Nazim, the ſucceſſion, whether continued in the ſame family, or ſeized by a ſtronger, is not conſidered as valid, till confirmed by the Imperial patent; but this the actual poſſeſſor finds no difficulty in obtaining.

About ſixty years ago, we find Jaffier Cawn in the government of Bengal. He was ſent from Delly, and held it 'till his death, which happened in 1725.

Shujah Cawn, of a different family, was ſent from court to ſucceed him, and governed the province till 1739, when he died.

His ſon Serfraz Cawn, hoping to find a party ſtrong enough to ſupport him, took poſſeſſion of the government, but maintained himſelf in it only three years.

Alliverdee Cawn, without any other title than his ambition, brought

an army from Patna, killed Serfraz Cawn in battle, and ſeized the Nizâmut in 1742. He ſoon obtained a confirmation from Delly, and by aſſociating his grandſon Serajah Dowla in the government, gave him an opportunity of ſecuring the ſucceſſion.

SERAJAH DOWLA ſucceeded his grandfather in 1756, and the next year was depoſed by the Engliſh, who conferred the government on Meer Jaffier, one of the principal officers of his army, although many of the families of Serfraz Cawn and Alliverdee Cawn were then living.

I SHALL now enter, without further preface, upon a detail of the tranſactions, in which I was principally concerned; perſuaded, that all ſuch as may have leiſure and inclination to read theſe Papers will be convinced, that paſſion and ſelf-intereſt had more ſhare than the love of truth, in the numberleſs calumnies, that were put forth to impoſe upon the public about the beginning of the year 1764.

A NARRATIVE OF THE TRANSACTIONS in BENGAL,

From the Year 1760, to the Year 1764.

SECTION I.

Preliminary Obſervations on the Reſtraints laid on our Trade, till the year 1757, and the Diſputes with the Officers of the Government, occaſioned by our Encroachments, ſince that Period.

Extract from the Company's Firmaun. — *Treaty with* Meer Jaffier *of* 1757. — *Letters from the Reſidents at the Nabob's Court, complaining of the Agents and Gomaſtahs in the Country.*

THE Increaſe of Commerce was at firſt the only object of the European ſettlements in India. Engliſh, French, Dutch, all received equal encouragement from the princes

of the country, and were permitted to buy and ſell, upon condition of paying the ſame duties to the government, that Armenians and other ſtrangers had paid before. Their ſhips and warehouſes were liable to be viſited by the officers of the government, who extorted, under various pretences, frequent contributions, over and above the duties, for their own or their maſters emolument. In Bengal, particularly, traders could by no means eſcape paying whatever was demanded from them, becauſe their ſettlements were eſtabliſhed above a hundred miles up the Hoogly river, with ſeveral forts belonging to the government below them, ſo that their ſhips could not withdraw without leave.

THE diſpoſition of the people of that country will naturally lead them to make the utmoſt advantage of ſuch a circumſtance, and of courſe the trade of the ſettlements in Bengal was loaded with grievous taxes and impoſitions. Our Eaſt India Company continued a great number of years under this diſadvantage; but at

at length, in the year 1716, they made an effort, at a great expence, to obtain ſome relief from theſe heavy and arbitrary taxes, by an embaſſy to the Mogul emperor, who granted them, upon this application, a Firmaun, or order, for a free importation and exportation of goods, upon condition of a ſmall annual tribute or acknowledgment, to be paid into the royal treaſury at Hoogly. The following is a tranſlation of the Firmaun.

Tranſlation of the FIRMAUN.

"ALL magiſtrates, and aumils, and officers of the ſtate and jagheerdars, and fougedars, and karoorees, and rahdars, and guzerbauns, and zemindars, for the time being, and to come, of the province of Bengal, and Bahar and Oriſſa, and the port of Hoogly, and the other ports of the provinces aforeſaid, who hope for the royal favors. Know, that at this ſeaſon of victory and conqueſt, Mr. John Surman and Coja Serhud

Serkud, agents of the Engliſh Company, have cauſed to be repreſented to the throne of juſtice and equity; that, according to the ſign manual of his Majeſty, who is received into the mercy of the Almighty, and to prior ſunnuds, the Engliſh Company has been exempted from cuſtoms throughout the empire, excepting the port of Surat: and in the port of Hoogly they pay annually three thouſand rupees in lieu of cuſtoms, as a pêſhcuſh to the treaſury of the high Sircar. They hope that, conformable to former ſunnuds, the royal Firmaun may be granted.

THE command which ſubjects the world to obedience is iſſued forth. Whatever goods and merchandize their agents may bring or carry by land or water in the ports, quarters and borders of the provinces, know them to be cuſtom-free, and let them have full liberty to buy and ſell. Take annually the ſtated pêſhcuſh of three thouſand rupees; and beſides that, make no demands on any pretence. And if, in any place, any of their effects be carried

carried off by theft, endeavour to recover them, and puniſh the thieves, and reſtore the goods to their owners. And whereſoever they ſhall eſtabliſh a factory, and buy and ſell goods and merchandize, afford them aſſiſtance and favor on juſt occaſion. And on whomſoever of the traders and weavers, &c. they ſhall have a juſt claim, cauſe payment to be made to their agents according to equity and right, nor let any one injure their agents. Neither obſtruct their boats, whether hired or their own property, on account of Kâtbarra *, &c.

AND likewiſe they have humbly ſet forth, that the Dewans in the provinces demand the original ſunnud, and a copy under the ſeals of the Nazim and Dewan of the province. To produce the original ſunnud in every place is impoſſible. They hope that they will credit an authentic copy under the ſeal of the Kazzee, and not demand the original ſunnud, nor preſs them for a copy atteſted by the Nazim and Dewan. And in Calcutta the Com-

* A duty levied on every new boat.

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pany have an eſtabliſhed factory: the taalucdarree of Calcutta, and Soota Lootee, and Gobinpoor, in the diſtricts of the perganah of Ameerabad, &c. in the province of Bengal, they formerly purchaſed from the Zemindars, and the ſtated rent thereof, being one thouſand one hundred and ninety-five rupees ſix annas, they pay annually. And there are thirty-eight villages, the rents of which amount to eight thouſand one hundred and twenty-one rupees and eight annas, may the taalucdarree of theſe villages alſo be granted, the rents thereof to be paid yearly by them, and the income to be received by them.

THE reſpectable order is paſſed. Let credit be given to a copy under the ſeal of the Kazzee; we command, that they hold as uſual the villages which they have purchaſed, and grant them the taalook of the other villages before-mentioned; let them purchaſe them from the owners, and let the Dewan of the province yield them poſſeſſion.

THEY

THEY have alſo repreſented, that from the time of his bleſſed Majeſty, who is received into the Divine Grace, a diſcount is taken in the treaſuries of the provinces upon the coins of Cheenapatan *; but in effect the ſilver of the ſaid coins is of the ſame ſtandard as thoſe of the port of Surat, by which means they ſuffer a great loſs: may the high command be iſſued forth, that provided their ſilver be of equal quality with the ſtandard of the port of Surat, &c. it ſhall ſuffer no obſtruction: and that whoſoever of the ſervants of the Company ſhall be indebted, and fly from the place, be ſent to the chief of the factory: and that on account of the fougedarree, and other forbidden articles †, by which the agents and ſervants of the Company are much aggrieved, they be not moleſted.

THE ſtrict and high order is iſſued forth, that from the fifth year of the bleſſed reign, if the ſilver ſtruck at Chee-

* Madraſs.

† Fines exacted by the fougedarree for drinking ſpirituous liquors, and other petty miſdemeanors.

napatan

napatan be equal to the coins of the fortunate port of Surat, ye ſhall not inſiſt on a diſcount: and whoſoever of their ſervants ſhall be indebted and fly from the place, ſeize and deliver him to the chief of the factory; and moleſt them not on account of the penalties on the forbidden articles.

THEY have alſo repreſented, that in Bengal, and Bahar, and Oriſſa, the Company have eſtabliſhed factories, and deſire to erect factories in other places. They hope, that in whatever place they may eſtabliſh a factory, forty beegas * of land may be granted them for that purpoſe out of the high ſircar: and their ſhips are ſometimes driven a-ſhore by the force of the tempeſts, and wrecked; the magiſtrates of the ports injuriouſly ſeize the goods, and in ſome places claim a quarter part: and in the iſland of Bombay belonging to the Engliſh, European coins are current; may the fortunate

* A beega is a meaſure of about one-third of an acre.

coins

coins be struck according to the custom of Cheenapatan.

THE order which must be obeyed is issued forth, let the customs of the other factories in the provinces be observed: and of this society (which has factories in the imperial ports, and dealings at the high court, and has obtained Firmauns, the pledges of favor, exempting them from customs) take care of the goods of the ships which are wrecked and destroyed, and do right by them: and in the island of Bombay let the fortunate coins be struck after the manner of the coins of the empire, and pass current: and on every occasion acting conformably to this enlightened decree, avoid and forbear to do any thing contrary to the strict and high command. And demand not every year a new furmaud. In this be exact and punctual. Written on the 27th of Moherrum, in the fifth year of the auspicious reign."

BY virtue of this Edict, the Company afterwards carried on their trade to and from Bengal free of duties, and

the

the ſame privilege was extended by their indulgence to their covenanted ſervants, with an expreſs exception of the trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and other articles, by which the revenues of the government would be prejudiced without any benefit to the Company.

UPON this footing the trade of the Engliſh was conducted in Bengal from the year 1716 to 1756, ſubject however to many interruptions from the avarice and power of the Nabobs, who could not be reſtrained by the order of the diſtant emperor, from extorting money from the Company by various means. Upon a complaint or pretence of an injury done to one of the inhabitants of the country, or an illicit trade carried on by any ſervant of the Company, the Nabob would give orders to ſtop the currency of their buſineſs; nor could this obſtacle be taken off, but by the payment of a large ſum of money; and ſometimes without any pretence, but that of the exigency of the ſtate, the Nabob would demand an aid from all the European ſettle-

ſettlements, and all were obliged to pay.

To ſecure the power of continuing theſe exactions, the Nabobs poſitively forbad our erecting any fortifications; and to prevent our making any advances towards an authority over the people of the country, we were not ſuffered to execute our own laws in capital caſes over the ſubjects of the Nabob, though employed within our own ſettlement, and reſiding within our limits; much leſs durſt we give protection to any ſervant of the country government, or inhabitant of the country, who might ſeek a retreat under our flag.

At length, in the year 1756, came a Nabob, who was not to be ſatisfied by levying a ſum of money like his predeceſſors. Serajah Dowla, ſucceeding his grandfather, promiſed himſelf a vaſt treaſure at once from the plunder of the town of Calcutta; and ſo, upon pretence of our building new fortifications, or in reſentment of our protection given to a ſubject of the government (for both

theſe reaſons were urged) he attacked, and took all the Company's ſettlements in Bengal, and thus the country government, by an extravagant and cruel abuſe of their power over us, opened the way for the deſtruction of that power, and for our future ſecurity.

THE ſucceſs of the ſea and land forces which were ſent to Bengal, upon the news of the capture of Calcutta, under the command of Admiral Watſon and Colonel Clive, is ſufficiently known. After recovering our ſettlements, and agreeing to an accommodation with Serajah Dowla, it was ſuſpected that he ſtill had hoſtile deſigns, and therefore it was reſolved to recommence the war againſt him. Meer Jaffier, then one of his principal officers, promiſed to join with us, upon condition that the government ſhould be conferred upon him after the defeat of Serajah Dowla.

ALL theſe deſigns were executed with ſucceſs. We had now a Nabob of our own making, and abſolutely dependent upon us for his eſtabliſhment and future

ſecu-

ſecurity. By our influence in the country the Company's trade was freed from the impoſitions it was before liable to, and they enjoyed the benefit of the Firmaun in its full extent; but their new connections brought on a vaſt increaſe of expences in every branch, for which it very ſoon appeared a ſufficient proviſion was not made. The following is a copy of the Treaty with Meer Jaffier.

Tranſlation of the TREATY *executed by* MEER JAFFIER.

"FIRST, Whatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace with the Nabob Serajah Dowla I agree to comply with.

SECOND, The enemies of the Engliſh are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

THIRD, All the effects and factories belonging to the French in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, ſhall remain in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, nor will I ever allow them any more to ſettle in the three provinces.

FOURTH, In conſideration of the loſſes which the Engliſh Company have ſuſtained by the plunder and capture of Calcutta by the Nabob, and the charges occaſioned by the maintenance of their officers, I will give them a crore of rupees.

FIFTH, For the effects plundered from the Engliſh inhabitants of Calcutta, I agree to give fifty lacks of rupees.

SIXTH, For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Muſſulmen and other ſubjects of Calcutta, twenty lacks of rupees ſhall be given.

SEVENTH, For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta I will give the ſum of ſeven lacks of rupees: the diſtribution of the ſums allotted the natives, Engliſh inhabitants, Gentoos and Muſſulmen, ſhall be left to the Admiral and Colonel Clive, and the reſt of the Council, to be diſpoſed of by them, to whom they think proper.

EIGHTH, Within the ditch which ſurrounds the borders of Calcutta, are tracts of land belonging to ſeveral zemindars; beſides this, I will grant the Engliſh Company

pany ſix hundred yards without the ditch.

NINTH, all the land lying to the ſouth of Calcutta as far as Culpee, ſhall be the zemindarree 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.

TENTH, Whenever I demand the Engliſh aſſiſtance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.

ELEVENTH, I will not erect any new fortifications below Hoogly near the river Ganges.

TWELFTH, As ſoon as I am eſtabliſhed in the government of the three provinces, the aforeſaid ſums ſhall be faithfully paid.

Dated 15th Ramezan, in the fourth year of the King's reign."

THE idea of proviſion for the future ſeems to have been loſt, in the apparent immenſity of the ſum ſtipulated for compenſation of the Company's loſſes at the capture of Calcutta. The expences

of Bengal and the coaſt, the ſums for carrying on the Company's trade at both places, and a proviſion likewiſe for the China trade, all was to be paid out of this fund, at firſt thought inexhauſtible, but in leſs than two years it was found neceſſary to take up money at intereſt, although large ſums had been received beſides for bills upon the Court of Directors.

To ſtate this account right, the ſum for compenſation ſhould be ſet againſt the paſt loſſes of the Company, and in truth it will not more than repair them. If we examine further the conſequences of this event, we ſhall find, that from a commercial body, founded upon a ſyſtem of œconomy, we are become from this moment a military and political body; we have entered into connections with the country government; we have begun a fortification upon a very extenſive plan, to render our influence and command permanent and ſecure againſt all accidents; we have taken upon us the defence of the provinces,

and

and our expences will be daily increaſing by an augmentation of ſepoys and other country forces, by larger demands of troops from England, with conſtant ſupplies of artillery and military ſtores proportionate to our preſent engagements and views, and laſtly, by the purchaſe of materials and pay of workmen for carrying on the new fort.

To anſwer all which it is ſtipulated in the treaty, that whenever the Nabob demands the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, he will be at the charge of the maintenance of the troops; which charge it was afterwards agreed, ſhould be computed at the rate of one lack of rupees *per* month, to be paid by the Nabob during the time the army ſhould be actually in the field. This would barely pay the immediate field expences of the army; it did not at all take in the increaſe of the military eſtabliſhment in general, which heavy expence, when the troops were in garriſon, fell entirely upon the Company; nor was any proviſion made for the extenſive fortifications, and the

vaſt charge of military ſtores both at home and abroad.

ANY ſtock which is to ſuffer continual drafts muſt ſoon be exhauſted, if not kept ſupplied by ſome adequate ſource of annual revenue. The lands round Calcutta, ceded by the ninth article of the Treaty, yielded only five or ſix lacks *per annum* nett income to the Company, a ſum of no conſideration upon our preſent enlarged ſyſtem, and of courſe we ſhall ſee in the middle of the year 1760, the Company's affairs in all parts diſtreſſed to the laſt degree for want of money.

WITH reſpect to trade, no new privileges were aſked of Meer Jaffier; none indeed were wanted by the Company, who were contented with the terms granted them in 1716, and only wiſhed to be relieved from the impoſitions to which they had been expoſed from the arbitrary power of the Nabob. However, our influence over the country was no ſooner felt, than many innovations were practiſed by ſome of the Company's

ny's ſervants, or the people employed under their authority. They began to trade in the articles which were before prohibited, and to interfere in the affairs of the country; of which the Nabob complained very frequently to the Engliſh reſident at his court, and the governor of Calcutta, inſiſting particularly, that no one ſhould be permitted to trade in ſalt and beetle-nut. Some of theſe complaints will be ſeen in the following letters.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Scrafton, *Reſident at the* Nabob's *Court, to* P. R. Pearkes, *Eſq; and the Council at* Dacca, *without Date, but wrote between the* 14*th and* 21*ſt of* July, 1758.

GENTLEMEN,

"I Acquainted you by expreſs pulwar, of the complaints made to me by the Nabob's Meer Moonſhee, of your oppoſing Nehimodee, in poſſeſſing himſelf of Ruſſelpoor and Hydrapoor, for which he had received ample perwanahs from the Nabob's Dewan.

THERE

Extract of another Letter from the Same to the Same, dated Dec. 12, 1758.

"THE ſecond complaint is, that an Engliſh gentleman (Mr. Chevalier, I ſuppoſe) has carried a large cargo of ſalt to Chilmaree, which is an unprivileged trade; and that he has taken muchulcas from all the other traders in the ſame article, by which they are not allowed to ſell any ſalt till his ſhall be all diſpoſed of."

Extract of another from the Same to the Same.

SIR,

"MANY complaints have been laid before the Nabob againſt Mr. Chevalier, who is accuſed of having acted in a very violent and arbitrary manner at Chilmaree and Cooregaum, by oppreſſing the merchants of thoſe places in the monopoly of ſeveral commodities, particularly ſalt and tobacco, no one being allowed

allowed to buy or ſell either of thoſe articles but with his permiſſion.

I DESIRE you will make the ſtricteſt enquiry into this, and take effectual care to prevent ſuch complaints for the future.

A TRANSLATION of a letter from the Wadadar of the Pergunah under the ſeal of Mr. Chevalier, in anſwer to the demand made by him, to know by what authority he came into thoſe parts, I ſend you herewith; on which I ſhall only make this remark; that the magiſtrates, and public officers of the government, have an undoubted right to ſee the Company's duſtuck, having no other way to diſtinguiſh between the agents of the Company and others uſurping the Engliſh name; nor the Company any means beſides to ſecure their own privileges. It cannot therefore but appear ſtrange in any perſons employed by the Engliſh, that they ſhould make any difficulty to ſhow by what powers they are commiſſioned; unleſs they are conſcious, that they are guilty of practices which ought

to

to be concealed: at leaſt, ſuch an abrupt behaviour cannot but tend to create an ill-will againſt the Engliſh, and aggravate every complaint made againſt them.

P. S. I ſend you a copy of the Wadadar's letter, the circumſtance of the Telingas being ſent by Mr. Chevalier is only an aggravation, but the reſt cannot be without foundation; I muſt inſiſt, that you either put an entire ſtop to thoſe complaints, or recal Mr. Chevalier, who, I am convinced, has not behaved in ſo moderate or prudent a manner as he ought."

Copy of Mr. Chevalier's *Letter to* Meer Otta Oolla, Wadadar *of the* Pergunah *of* Baharbund.

"THE letter, which you ſent to my writer, I have received. You write, that if I belong to the Engliſh, I muſt have the Engliſh ſunnud, and deſire a copy of it to be ſent you. In anſwer, I aſk, who are you, that I ſhould ſend you a copy

a copy of the ſunnud? If you want to be informed who I am, and who ſent me, ſend a man to the Chief, who will anſwer you. If the people of your Pergunah are guilty of any inſolence to mine, I ſhall chaſtiſe them handſomely for it. Forbid your people, that they enter into no quarrels with mine; if they do without reaſon, they ſhall be puniſhed; if my people behave ill to yours, do you write me word of it, and I will puniſh them."

Extract of a Letter from the Governor (Mr. Holwell) *to Mr.* Haſtings. *Dated* 11 Feb. 1760.

"WE have returned no reply to the Nabob's Perwannahs to the council for two reaſons; his large ſeal affixed to them is derogatory to the Company's honour, and addreſſes of this kind to the council muſt be at all events quaſhed in the beginning, or the dignity of the preſident will fall to nothing. If he pleaſes to addreſs me on thoſe ſubjects,

jects, I will reply to him; in the mean time, I beg to know, on what pretence we are prohibited trading in the two articles of ſalt and betel-nut.

SECTION II.

A View of the State of the Country, and the Company's Affairs at Mr. Vanſittart's Arrival in Bengal.

Succeſs of the Shahzadda, *in his Invaſion of* Bahar. — *Bad Conditions of the* Nabob's *and the* Engliſh *Forces in that Province, and of the* Nabob's *troops at* Muſhedabad.—*Low State of the Company's Treaſury; great Difficulties occaſioned thereby.—Diſputes concerning the Succeſſion to the Offices of the Nabob's deceaſed Son.*——Meer Coſſim *comes to Calcutta.*

IT is foreign to my purpoſe to enter into any detail of the tranſactions of Myr Jaffier's government, from the time of his being raiſed to the ſubaſhip

ſhip, till the month of July 1760, when I came to Bengal to ſucceed Colonel Clive. It is enough if I give a plain and diſtinct view of the ſituation in which I found his affairs, and the Company's.

THE greateſt part of the Nabob's and the Engliſh forces was at Patna, to oppoſe the Shahzada, who for three years ſucceſſively had invaded the province, and at this time was more powerful than ever, by the number of diſaffected Zemindars who had joined him, or eſpouſed his intereſt, in different parts of the country. The Nabob's army conſiſted as uſual of a great number of undiſciplined people, who were never regularly paid, but were kept together by the promiſes of Saddoc Allee Cawn *, the Nabob's ſon, who commanded them, that he would be anſwerable for their arrears one time or other. Being diſappointed of theſe hopes by the death of the Nabob's ſon, who was killed by lightening the 3d of July, their clamorous demands could no longer be reſtrain-

* Commonly called the Chuta Nabob.

ed, and a general plunder and deſertion was daily expected. Colonel Caillaud, who commanded the Engliſh forces after Colonel Clive's departure for Europe, ſtopped theſe clamors for a moment, by his promiſes to ſecure the payment of their arrears from the Nabob; but the Engliſh troops were in little better condition than the Nabob's; they had two or three months arrears due to them, the Nabob having failed in the payment of the ſum ſtipulated for their maintenance, which was a lack of rupees a month, and the low ſtate of the treaſury at Calcutta, not admitting of the deficiency being ſupplied from thence. The effects of this were ſeen by the deſertion of many of our men; and the army, thus ſituated, was within thirty miles of the Shahzada's whole force.

The ſituation of affairs at Moorſhedabad, where the Nabob reſided, was ſtill more alarming. Far from being in a condition to pay off the arrears of his troops at Patna, he had a large number of the ſame undiſciplined rabble about his

his perſon, and was no leſs in arrears to them; theſe alſo loſing their beſt dependence, by the death of the Nabob's ſon, could no longer be ſatisfied with promiſes, but inſiſted, in a moſt tumultuous manner, on immediate payment. More than once they ſurrounded the palace, abuſed the principal officers in the moſt opprobrious language, and daily threatened the Nabob's life; thro' the weakneſs of his government, and the general diſaffection of the people, the revenues of moſt parts of the province were withheld by the Zemindars, and the Nabob had ſo little attention to, or capacity for buſineſs, that what little was collected, was in a great meaſure appropriated by his favorites to their own profit. The Beerhoom Raja, whoſe country is ſituated within a few miles of the capital, Moorſhedabad, had declared for the Shahzadah, and had raiſed a force, with which he threatened to attack the city; and the Nabob had ſo little power of oppoſing him, that a body of troops, which were ordered out againſt him in

the month of June, refuſed to march, and were yet in the ſuburbs, when I arrived there in the month of October. Upon the whole, there was the greateſt reaſon to apprehend, that the diſorderly troops would lay waſte and plunder the city, and put an end at once to the Nabob's government and life.

At Calcutta, the treaſury was ſo low, and our reſources ſo much drained, that we were obliged to put an entire ſtop to the inveſtment, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty the current expences of the ſettlement could be provided for. The lack of rupees, which the Nabob was to pay monthly for the field-expences of our troops, remained, as I before obſerved, two or three months in arrears; and even ſuppoſing it to have been regularly paid, was very inſufficient for the intended uſe; ſo that the Company, upon this footing, would have ſuffered a conſiderable loſs by their alliance with the Nabob, as often as the ſituation of affairs required their troops to be in the field, of which the appear-

ance

ance of troubles on every ſide, afforded no proſpect of an end. The Burdwan and Nuddea countries had been aſſigned to the Company, from April 1758, to April 1760, for the payment of the ſums ſtipulated in the treaty, for the reſtitution of the Company's and private loſſes by the capture of Calcutta. Of that amount about twenty lacks remained due, at the time of my arrival, although the term of the aſſignment had been expired ſome months: and the Nabob, at the ſame time that he could find no means of diſcharging this balance, inſiſted on the lands being reſtored to him, offering a ſecurity of jewels in their ſtead. He ſent the Royroyan, one of his principal officers to Calcutta, to make this demand, and at the ſame time to requeſt the loan of a ſum of money to aſſiſt him in his diſtreſs. The laſt was a propoſal we had it not in our power to comply with; but the firſt could not in juſtice be refuſed, as he was willing to give other ſecurity, in lieu of the lands before aſſigned; ſo that we were abſolutely left without any

reſources for money, and the Company ſent out none from Europe. To add to our difficulties, Madraſs and Bombay were told, that they muſt depend on ſupplies from Bengal; and in the midſt of this diſtreſs, not only the dangerous ſtate of the province obliged us to keep all our forces in the field at an immenſe expence, but a ſtill more intereſting object for the Engliſh nation in India, I mean the ſucceſs of the undertaking againſt Pondicherry, which was then inveſted, depended in a great meaſure on a ſupply of money. The Nabob, thro' an habitual indolence, was quite incapable of managing his government in ſuch critical circumſtances; and the ſudden and unfortunate death of his ſon, had thrown him into ſuch a ſtate of dejection, that he would not even try to exert the little ſtrength which his faculties had left.

UNABLE as the Nabob was to help himſelf, it was the univerſal opinion, founded on the experience of his former conduct, that he would rather have ſeen himſelf

himſelf and the province involved in one general ruin, than have given us the means of ſaving him, by putting more power and more reſources of money in our hands. The Dutch Director's letters to him, and his behaviour at the time their forces came into the country, are a public teſtimony of his deſire to reduce our power, inſtead of augmenting it: I aſked a ſmall favor of him for the Company, a little after my arrival, as much with a view of ſounding his diſpoſition, as through a deſire of obtaining it. It was the grant of the Chittagong province, in farm to the Company, on the ſame terms as it was held by the then Fougedar, or if that was diſagreeable, the leave only of eſtabliſhing a factory there for trade; but he poſitively refuſed to admit of either. I determined not to ſuffer the affairs of the nation and the Company to fall under the ruin they were threatened with, without making an attempt to ſave them, and far from intending any injury to the Nabob, I conſidered the preſervation of his life

and government, as equally depending with our own intereſts, on the immediate proſecution of ſome methods for remedying the difficulties with which we were ſurrounded. One principal circumſtance of the impending evils ſuggeſted the firſt hopes of a reformation. The death of the Nabob's ſon had cut off the heir apparent of the government: he had two ſons by concubines, and a grandſon, the child of his deceaſed ſon, by a concubine alſo; the eldeſt of his two ſons was little above ten years old, and his grandſon an infant of a few months, ſo that they were incapable of taking care of the buſineſs, ſuppoſing the objection of their illegitimacy to be of no weight. In theſe circumſtances the whole province ſeemed to turn their eyes on Meer Coſſim, who was married to Meer Jaffier's daughter, his only ſurviving legitimate child; was eſteemed a capable man in buſineſs, and had been the means of preſerving the city from plunder, and the Nabob from deſtruction, by an immediate payment of three lacks

lack of rupees to his troops, and becoming a ſecurity for their arrears at the time of their tumultuouſly ſurrounding the palace; and this he did, upon promiſe of being appointed to the vacant offices of his deceaſed ſon, and declared his ſucceſſor. I found Mr. Holwell and the Select Committee, had ſtrongly recommended to the Nabob to perform this promiſe; on the other hand, Mr. Amyatt and Colonel Caillaud had wrote to him in favor of his infant grandſon, repreſenting, that the troops at Patna inſiſted on his being named to the vacant offices, and that Raja Rajebullub, late Dewan to the Nabob's deceaſed ſon, ſhould have the management of them during his minority. The Nabob ſeemingly acquieſced in both recommendations, but continued wavering in his choice, in ſuch a manner, as ſhewed, that the encreaſe of the Engliſh influence was the event that he moſt dreaded in the appointment of either. This is the only clue which can lead to the motives of the many oppoſite reſolutions

tions which were taken up by the Nabob, upon this affair, in the ſmall ſpace of time in which it was ſuſpended. His inclinations firſt led him to accept the advice offered him by Colonel Caillaud, in favor of his grandſon; but when that advice was urged in a more preſſing and peremptory ſtile, and Rajebullub, by his emiſſaries and friends at the Durbar, too ſollicitouſly labored to bring about the ſame deſign, the Nabob became jealous of his growing power, and ſuddenly declared his reſolution to ſupport Meer Coſſim in his pretenſions, as will appear by the letter he wrote Mr. Holwell and Colonel Caillaud upon this ſubject. On the other hand, the Nabob perceiving that Meer Coſſim was warmly ſupported by Mr. Holwell, appears to have formed the wild ſcheme of ſhaking off both, by throwing all the chief offices of the government into the hands of a ſtranger, named Mirza Daood, who had for ſome years enjoyed the protection of this court in the character of a prince of the royal blood of Perſia. Him the Nabob

bob formally contracted to the natural daughter of his deceaſed ſon but a few days after the declaration made in favor of Meer Coſſim, who, apprehenſive of being diſappointed in his hopes, by the jealouſy and irreſolution of the Nabob, formed the pretence of negotiating the reſtoration of Burdwan, and the other aſſigned lands, to obtain his leave to come down to Calcutta. He arrived there about the middle of September. As he came down with theſe fears and ſuſpicions of the Nabob's diſinclination to him, for the favor already ſhewn him by the Engliſh, it naturally led him to fall in with any meaſures which might be propoſed by them, as a means of ſecuring the continuation of the ſame intereſt in his behalf.

SECTION

SECTION III.

The Proceedings of the Select Committee, to the Treaty concluded with Meer Coſſim.

Meer Coſſim's *Propoſals.*—*Mr.* Holwell's *Memorial of the State of the Country.*—*Letters between Mr.* Vanſittart, *Mr.* Amyatt, *and Colonel* Caillaud.—*Letter from the Reſident at the* Nabob's *Court, concerning the Sedition of the* Nabob's *troops at* Moorſhedabad.—*Letters from the* Nabob *to Colonel* Caillaud *and Mr.* Holwell.—*Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee at* Bengal, *to the Preſident and Council of* Madraſs.—*Minutes of Council concerning the low State of the Treaſury.*—*Letter from Mr.* Sykes *to Mr.* Vanſittart. — *Debates of the Select Committee upon the dangerous State of the Country.*—*General Conſiderations upon the State of the Company's Affairs, and their Connections*

nections with Meer Jaffier. — *Treaty with* Meer Coffim.

THE chief objects the Select Committee now had in view were, firſt, to ſecure the Company a revenue proportionable to the increaſed military expences, brought upon them by their connections with the Nabob, and which the aſſignment made by him, beſides the uncertainty of the payment, was by no means equal to; and, ſecondly, to put an end to the war in Bengal, either by a deciſive action, or by entering into an alliance with the Shahzada, to ſupport his pretenſions to the throne of Indoſtan: for the firſt of theſe, Meer Coſſim readily agreed to cede to the Company lands, to the yearly amount of about fifty lacks of rupees, conſiſting of the Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong provinces, upon condition of our ſecuring his appointment to the vacant offices of the Nabob's deceaſed ſon, the chief adminiſtration of all the affairs of the government under Meer Jaffier, and the ſucceſ-

ſucceſſion to the ſubahſhip after his death. The ſecond point was left to be determined by the negociations which had already been ſet on foot with the Shahzada; but whether the intended alliance with him ſhould take place or not, it was to make no difference in our engagements with Meer Coſſim.

THE following authentic Papers will ſufficiently ſhew the neceſſity of our entering into theſe engagements with Meer Coſſim, and giving him ſo extenſive a power; from the critical ſtate of the Company's affairs, and thoſe of the country at this period, and the Nabob's inability to remedy the one, and his ill diſpoſition to contribute any aſſiſtance to the other.

Copy of the Memorial delivered by the Preſident (Mr. Holwell) *to the Select Committee, upon the Arrival of Mr.* Vanſittart, *to ſucceed him in the Government.*

"AS my health, and the conſideration of other circumſtances, will ſoon

ſion 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 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 are dependent 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 Serajah Dowla of his government, which was accordingly done, and Meer Mahomed Jaffier Allee Cawn fixed by us at the head of the province on certain conditions, and under a 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

being in a manner extorted from him, and by a thouſand ſhifts and evaſions it was plain to the world not a 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 reſentment.

TUNCAWS on the lands were however granted for the payment of the ſtipulated ſums at particular times, by which the Royroyan, Muttaſuddies, Dewans, and every Harpey employed in the Zemindarree and revenues, became our implacable enemies; and conſequently a party was ſoon raiſed at the Durbar, headed by the Nabob's ſon Meeran, and Rajah Rajebullub, who were daily planning ſchemes to ſhake off their dependence on the Engliſh; and continually urging to the Nabob, that till this was effected his government was a name only. The Nabob, ſomething irritated by the protection given Rajah Doolubram, and weak and irreſolute in himſelf, fell too ſoon into theſe ſentiments.

THE

THE firſt ſtep taken to accompliſh this meaſure of independence, was to aſſaſſinate, and take off, under one pretence or other, every miniſter and officer at the Durbar, who they knew were attached to the Engliſh; in conſequence of which, Coja Haddy, and Coſſim Allee Cawn, firſt and ſecond Buxey, were aſſaſſinated in November and December 1758; and after many attempts made on the perſons of Rehiem Cawn, and Golam Shah, his uncle and brother, they were obliged to ſeek an aſylum with the Shahzada in 1759. Roydoolub, his ſon, and four brothers, were proſcribed, on no other 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; Ameer Beg Cawn 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 negotiation 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 Rajeballub on the one part, and * Fucratoojar for the Dutch on the other, about October or November 1758, the period when the Deccan expedition took place, and the garriſon was much reduced. Soon after, the provinces were invaded by the Shahzada on the ſide of Patna, and Colonel Clive with our military and ſeapoys joined the Nabob and his troops, and by forced marches preſerved Raja Ramnarain ſteady in his duty, and arrived juſt in time to ſave that city and province, and drove the prince, though the undoubted heir to the kingdom, beyond the Currumnaſſa, and brought the Bougepoor, &c. countries into ſubjection to the Nabob.

* Coja Wâjeed.

THE

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 of alliance 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 in 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 the Colonel to the Na-

bob, on a conduct which he told him muſt, from the general deteſtation of the people, end in the deſtruction of himſelf, his 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 jemmatdars 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 negotiate, if poſſible, the delivery of Rajah Doolubram, and two or three other articles given him in charge by his father, ſuch as the ſurrender of the tuncaw lands on ſecurity, the borrowing of us a large ſum of money, &c. In theſe the ſon proving unſucceſsful, a member of the board of Select Committee was, at his deſire, ſent to accompany him to the city, to reconcile the Nabob to the negatives his ſon had received in Calcutta, and at the ſame time to intimate to him the advice we had received, that

that a large armament was fitting out at Batavia, deſtined for Bengal; and to penetrate, if poſſible, his ſentiments on this occaſion; and what reſolution he would take, in caſe that force arrived in the river.

HE was not to be reconciled to the refuſals his ſon met with, but determined to try his own power, and declared his intentions 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 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 this 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 Nabob and the Dutch, as ſet forth in the ſeveral letters between Mr. Holwell and the Reſident at Muradbaug 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; but on the contrary, were only aimed to amuſe and deceive us: witneſs the private orders and inſtructions given to Meer Coſſim Allee Cawn, ſo oppoſite to his public ones, when he was ſent down to demoliſh

moliſh the new works at Chinſura. In the apparent delays of this ſervice, Coſſim Allee Cawn ſuffered much in the opinion of the late Preſident, though unjuſtly, as we ſubſequently learn he was acting ſtrictly conformable to the private orders of the Nabob.

In the beginning of the year 1760, the Shahzada invaded the provinces again with a force more reſpectable than the preceding year, both in troops and commanders, by the revolt of Camgar Cawn, Golam Shaw, Reim Cawn and others; the Nabob by this time having made himſelf ſo univerſally hated, that we may juſtly ſay, there was hardly a man in the province that did not wiſh ſucceſs to the prince.

COLONEL Clive reſigned the government early in February 1760, about which time the Morattas entered the province from the ſouthward, and penetrated into the Burdwan country, making a conſiderable diverſion in favor of the prince. The Nabob demanded a body of our troops, ſeapoys, and field-artil-

lery, for the defence of this country, to join his under the command of Meer Coſſim Allee Cawn, which was granted; but their uſe was fruſtrated by the Nabob's puſilanimous, irregular, and contradictory orders to his general Coſſim Allee Cawn, to march with our troops to Cutwa and the city, in place of marching directly to the ſouthward. Thus this country fell a prey to the Morattas, and a ſtop was put to the collecting our tuncaws, in which was our greateſt dependence and expectation for the ſervice of the year*. Our troops under the command of major Caillaud had taken the field, in conjunction with the Nabob's, under the command of his ſon, ſometime before the Colonel's departure for Europe, and ſhaped their rout towards Patna, whilſt the Nabob himſelf remained in the neighborhood of Rajemahl, a check on Cuddeem Hoſein Cawn, Nabob of Purnea (then in rebellion) until Shu-

* See military correſpondence in the months of February and March 1760.

but's

but'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 general 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 peace to the 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 Shahzada when routed near Patna; the ſecond, when the old Nabob refuſed to comply with the major's requeſt and demand, to croſs his horſe over the Burdwan river, and attack the prince when united with Shubut, &c.; the third, when in the late

* The name of a Moratta General.

purſuit

purſuit of Cuddeem Hoſein Cawn, 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 thoſe favorable 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 Firmaun 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 the Shahzada's arrival in the Beerboom country, after the

the unexpected march he formed upon his defeat, the Preſident received intelligence, that the old Nabob had actually a Vackeel in the Shahzada's camp, and that he was negociating 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 Aſſed Zemma Cawn Rajah of Beerboom, and his uncle Camgar Cawn, to be written to on this ſubject of the Nabob's Vackeel and treaty. This ſoon produced a Firmaun from the prince, incloſing a copy of the Nabob's Arzdaſht. The Preſident made no reply to the Firmaun, but returned a ſhort one to Camgar Cawn's letter which accompanied it, 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 Firmaun from him, incloſing the original Arzdaſht from the Nabob. All that can be ſaid, either for

or

or againſt belief being given to the authenticity either 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 twenty-ſecond and twenty-fourth of April laſt, and to Mr. Haſtings, the twentieth of the ſame month. To theſe we may further add, 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. Cuddeem Hoſein Cawn is diſpoſſeſſed of his government of Purnea, and driven out of the country, but with all his treaſure and valuable effects, to the reproach and infamy of the young Nabob's name; ſo that, after the rains, he will eaſily join the prince with the eſſentials of war, which he only wants to harraſs the provinces five years longer. The young Nabob is taken off by a flaſh of

of lightening, and our troops are gone into quarters, after having done as much, or more than could be expected, from men ſo wretchedly ſupported by thoſe very people, for whoſe preſervation they endure every diſtreſs and fatigue; and the prince has found means to preſerve himſelf and forces a footing on this ſide the Soane, and in the neighborhood of Patna. It is ſaid, Camgar Cawn 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 perſeverance, but becauſe we had undoubted intelligence, that three thouſand of his troops have lately joined his nephew Aſſed Zemma * Cawn, 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

* The Rajah of Beerboom.

thence

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 tuncaws on thoſe lands could be collected during the rains. The latter is hardly poſſible in any ſerviceable degree, and the former carries 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 meaſures 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 a letter from the Preſident to major Caillaud, under dates the 24th and 25th of May, 14th of June, and 3d of July; to Mr. Amyatt, under dates the 25th and 30th of May; to Mr. Haſtings, under dates the

the 24th of May, 30th of June, and 5th and 8th of July. Both the reaſons and expedients, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, ſeem rather to confirm than contra-indicate any other; however, the ſudden death of the young 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 *.

RESPECTING all matters relative to the Dutch and the Nabob, the Dutch and us, the tuncaws and obſtructions raiſed by the Nabob on our collecting them, as alſo the late ſecret treaty between the Nabob and the Morattas, &c. they will appear on the face of the correſpondence without exaggeration."

* See the Preſident's letter to Mr. Haſtings of the 16th of laſt month, and to major Calliaud of the 26th, on the ſame ſubject.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Vanſittart, *Governor of Calcutta, to Colonel* Caillaud, *commanding the Army at* Patna, *dated* Auguſt 4, 1760.

"I SUPPOSE the Nabob, when he anſwers the letters I have wrote him, will in conſequence of your advice propoſe a meeting, and indeed I think it highly neceſſary. When ſuch a conference is reſolved upon, I will let you know in time to be there; and I think we ſhould find the means of removing that want of confidence, which I ſee now every moment between the Nabob and our gentlemen. It is this miſtruſt, that ſeems to me to be in great meaſure the cauſe of all his difficulties and ours. His people ſlight him, imagining, that with us they will be ſure to find protection; and on the other hand, thoſe with whom the Company have to do, thoſe particularly upon whom we have aſſignments for money, make uſe of it as an opportunity of delaying their payments, depending

pending on the Nabob's countenancing their backwardneſs.

IF a negotiation with the prince ſhould take place, I am ſo far from intending a revolution in theſe provinces, that I would have the confirmation of the preſent Nabob ſtipulated for the firſt article; it might, however, be upon condition of his making over to us countries, to the value of about fifty lacks *per annum*. Burdwan and * Kiſnagur would nearly anſwer that ſum, and lie extremely convenient for us. The Shahzada, at the ſame time, ſhould engage to furniſh the Company monthly with twice as much as would defray the charges of the troops deſtined for his ſervice; and to confer on the Company, in caſe of his ſucceſs, ſuch privileges and advantages in all parts of India, as their ſeveral governors might requeſt."

* Or Nuddea.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Caillaud *to Mr.* Vanſittart, *to which Mr.* Amyatt, *Chief at* Patna, *alſo ſubſcribed; no Date, but received* 24 Aug. 1760.

"IT were to be wiſhed, that confidence between us and the Nabob could be eſtabliſhed; but give me leave to aſſure you, that will be no eaſy taſk, until he changes his counſellors. My opinion in this is confirmed by Colonel Clive's judgment, who wanted ſuch a change, and would have effected it, had he ſtayed; but I hope the ſame from your management.

THE money matters ſtill perplex me more; the ſtate of our finances at Bengal you are before this acquainted with. The countries you mention are the beſt we could have for the ſum wanted; but nothing will induce the Nabob to part with them, but the fear of our ſtrength and power; and not much leſs force is requiſite to keep him in awe, and to prevent enemies from within or without diſturbing the peace of the Subahſhip, which, if

if not perfectly maintained, of conſequence the revenues ſuffer. The Nabob would not be a poorer man, by giving us fifty lacks *per annum*, with which he would have a body of forces, that would do him ſervice; and it does not coſt him leſs than that ſum for maintaining an uſeleſs rabble: but to convince him of this ſtep, there lies the difficulty; the Colonel's laſt letter to him was full of ſalutary inſtructions on this head; but he is of ſo miſtruſtful a nature, that already our power and influence, though meant for his good, give him pain; and every thing that we can propoſe, that ſeemingly tends to encreaſe it, gives him umbrage, and will make him unwillingly conſent to this, or any other ſtep we can propoſe. Be aſſured of this, that he can only be frightened into compliance; and ſo you ſee it is my opinion, that though the prince goes, we cannot ſend both men and money to Madras.

In my two laſt letters, I have ſpoke fully as to the affairs of this province; and gave ſuch reaſons as I had for the

appointment of * Meer Sidoo and Rajebullub; at leaſt what I have moſt ſtrongly urged, and it ſeems to be your opinion, that no change ſhould be made for the preſent. The Nabob's uſage of me in the courſe of this affair hath piqued me ſenſibly; nor will I let it go unnoticed. I do not quarrel with the man for being of a different opinion with me, had he ingenuouſly told me ſo, for I left all to his choice, and only adviſed him what I thought beſt; but he agreed by his letters to all I propoſed, allowed it was the beſt that could be done, and approved of all my meaſures; whilſt, at the ſame time, he was acting diametrically oppoſite, without ever conſidering me, or the engagements I had entered into upon the ſtrength of his promiſes."

* The Nabob's grandſon.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Amyatt *to Mr.* Vanſittart, *and Colonel* Caillaud. *Dated* Patna, October 5, 1760.

GENTLEMEN,

"I Am favoured with your's of the 25th ultimo, and am very glad you have taken ſteps to ſupply us with money; we have laboured under great difficulties for want of it, and a ſmall ſupply to the Nabob's troops would have enabled Rajebullub to quit this place, who is very anxious and deſirous to get away, and without ſome money he cannot. He has run the riſque of his life theſe three days, and I expected an uproar in the city hourly. To-day they are ſomewhat quiet, and Ramnarain has ſent for ſome of the chief commanders to expoſtulate with them; but without ſome money ſent him, he ſays, he cannot, nor will undertake to ſatisfy them. I have talked to Ramnarain all in my power, to take the command of them, that Rajebullub may go; and I cannot but ſay he has a great deal of reaſon on his ſide,

they are ſuch a ſet of rabble, and he without money, beſides his own troops unpaid; they will not hear reaſon; ſome money muſt be given immediately, and where that is to come from he does not know. The Nabob has not wrote to them or Rajebullub, and Coſſim Allee Cawn to a very few, ſo that they are outrageous. They ſay, the Colonel and Rajebullub kept them together; one is gone, and ſent them no money, and the latter they expect to make their pay good; ſo that here is a fine ſpot of confuſion; our army only prevents matters coming to extremities. I apprehend, when the prince hears all this, we ſhall have him move this way. Were all theſe troubleſome forces joined with him it would be nothing; but they within and the prince without is bad, though, I hope, as we are a little quiet to-day, that Ramnarain will be able to work upon them; Rajebullub in theſe matters is a child to the other."

Extract

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Amyatt *to Mr.* Vanſittart *and Colonel* Caillaud. *Dated* Patna, October 12, 1760.

"THE Nabob's ſeepoys are daily deſerting to the prince; the remainder labour under great difficulties, and are very troubleſome for their pay."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Haſtings, *Reſident at the* Nabob's *Court, to the* Select Committee *at* Calcutta. *Dated* Muradbaug, July 18, 1760.

"MY laſt gave you the melancholy news of the Chuta Nabob's death. It is proper, that I now acquaint you with the conſequences of that event here. No ſooner was the intelligence publiſhed, than the ſeepoys, no longer intimidated by the authority of the Chuta Nabob, nor the preſence of the Engliſh forces, which had hitherto reſtrained them from giving ſcope to their reſentment againſt the Nabob, immediately concurred to take the advantage, which his grief, and the conſternation cauſed

by ſo ſudden and fatal a ſtroke afforded them, to compel him to pay their long arrears. They accordingly encompaſſed his palace on the 14th, in a clamorous manner, but proceeded no further than to inſult the treaſurer and other mutta-ſeddees, whom they pulled out of their pallanquins, and treated with other indignities. The ſame diſorders continued the next day. On the 16th, they aſſembled in a large body, and ſtopped up the doors of the palace, ſuffering none to enter, or come out of it. Numbers mounted on every wall, not excepting the places held the moſt ſacred, and loaded the Nabob with the moſt opprobrious language, threatening him with death, if their demands were not complied with. Such of his courtiers or attendants, as made their appearance, were aſſaulted by fragments broke off from the walls, by which ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were wounded. This ſcene laſted two days, and ſeemed to portend the certain deſtruction of the Nabob; when Coſſim Allee Cawn, the Nabob's ſon-in-law, by his

his interpoſition, put a ſtop to the perſecution, and brought on an accommodation. The Nabob has promiſed to pay the full arrears from the ſixth ſun, and two half months of the preſent year, as ſoon as it ſhall appear from the accounts what money is due to them. For this payment, Coſſim Allee Cawn became ſecurity, and paid them immediately three lacks of rupees from his own treaſury. This ſatisfied the ſeepoys, who inſtantly retired to their own habitations. Though the ſtorm is now blown over, yet ſhould it return again (which is to be apprehended, from the ſmall proſpect there at preſent appears, that the Nabob will be able to collect ſo large a ſum as he has engaged to diſcharge) I much fear the conſequences will prove fatal to the Nabob, as well from the unrulineſs and diſaffection of the multitude, as from the machinations of his numerous enemies, with whom it will be no difficulty to make thoſe the inſtruments of his ruin.

ASSED ZEMMA CAWN, the Rajah of Beerboom, is aſſembling forces, and, tho'

no

no open hoſtilities have been committed by him, it is no longer doubted, but his deſign is to revolt from the preſent government."

Tranſlation of a Letter from the Nabob *to Colonel* Caillaud.

"FORMERLY the command of the forces, the government of the country, the regulating of the army, and raiſing of troops, were the office of the Nabob Naſir-ool-moolk, deceaſed. At this time, excepting my beloved ſon Meer Mahomed Coſſim Cawn Behader, there is none of my ſons or brethren equal to that truſt, and I have now received greater proofs than ever of his merit. For this reaſon I have judged my ſon aforeſaid worthy of, and proper for the direction of all military operations and affairs of the adminiſtration, in the ſame manner with the Nabob Naſir-ool-moolk, deceaſed. I doubt not, that you have the ſame opinion of the qualities and capacity of my ſon aforeſaid; and the friendſhip you entertain for him is free from deceit

deceit and deſign. From the entire dependance, which he places upon your eſtabliſhed acquaintance and friendſhip, he hopes that you will aſſiſt him on this occaſion, by exerting your influence ſo effectually in his behalf, that Mharajah Rammarain Behader may be entirely pleaſed with my ſon, and maintain a friendly intercourſe with him; that when required he may afford the ſaid Mharajah his aſſiſtance and ſupport, as the late Nabob Nafir-ool-moolk did. By this our friendſhip will be daily augmented, the affairs of the government will proſper, and you will do me a great pleaſure."

Tranſlation of a Letter from the Nabob *to Mr.* Holwell. *Received* July 10, 1760.

"THE letter you wrote me concerning Meer Mahomed Coſſim Allee Cawn, I have received. You acquaint me, he is a noble, good, and brave man. Mr. Haſtings alſo has ſpoke me to the ſame purpoſe, and has deſired me, to let him ſucceed my ſon. This rejoiced,

joiced me much, becauſe I was ſenſible he is highly deſerving of my favour and friendſhip. I have no friends dearer to me than himſelf and family, and ſhould be very glad, if it was in my power to give it him; but the Colonel has wrote me a letter *, a copy whereof I have incloſed for your peruſal, and you will then be able to judge, what motive has induced me to prefer the Chuta Nabob's ſon."

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee at Calcutta, *to the Preſident and Council of* Fort St. George. *Dated* July 28, 1760.

"WE have received your favours of the 12th June and 7th July, and are ſorry to find there is any proſpect of being under the neceſſity of raiſing the blockade of Pondicherry. We flatter ourſelves, however, that affairs will take a more favorable turn; and that when the expected ſuccours arrive, you will be fully enabled to carry into execution your moſt ſanguine expectations. We moſt

* This was a letter, recommending the infant grandſon under the guardianſhip of Rajebullub.

ardently

ardently wiſh it were in our power to aſſiſt you on this important occaſion with men or money; but ſuch is our ſituation, that notwithſtanding our unwearied endeavors, we are not able to effect either. The Shahzada, with his forces, had croſſed the river Soane, which afforded a proſpect of the Patna province being reſtored to peace for a few months at leaſt; but the death of the young Nabob, which happened by a flaſh of lightning on the 3d of July, has encouraged the Shahzada to return within a few coſe of Patna. Major Caillaud, with our troops, and thoſe of the Nabob under his command, by our lateſt advices, was in that city, ſo that an action may very probably enſue.

EVERY method has in vain been tried for raiſing a ſum of money, as well for ſupplying your ſettlement, as providing an inveſtment here for the Company. The troubles which have this ſeaſon continued ſo late in the country, have ſo much impeded the collection of our tuncaws, that for a conſiderable time paſt, we have had

had little more money in our treaſury, than ſufficient to defray the current expences of the ſettlement. This being the real ſituation of our affairs, we perſuade ourſelves you will be convinced, that your not receiving the ſupplies you may have expected from us, is not owing to any neglect in us; as we can on the contrary aſſure you, we ſhould, on all occaſions, moſt chearfully contribute every thing in our power for the good of the ſervice in general."

Extract of a Conſultation held at Calcutta *the 7th of* Auguſt, 1760. *Preſent Meſſieurs* Vanſittart, Sumner, Holwell, Mc Gwire, Batſon, Verelſt, Smyth, *and* Smith.

"IN order to determine upon the expediency of complying with the application of the Committee of Aurungs, for a ſufficient advance of money, to compleat the inveſtment intended this year, the Board think it neceſſary to enquire into the preſent ſtate of the treaſury; and the further ſupplies that we have

have to depend on, ſuppoſing none to come from Europe by the ſhips of this ſeaſon; and to ſet againſt them firſt, the indiſpenſable demands for the current charges of the Preſidency, as the pay of the troops, the marine charges, the fortifications and repairs, &c.

ACCORDINGLY, the following calculation * is now framed to include a whole year, commencing the 1ſt of Auguſt 1760, and ending the 31ſt of July 1761.

	Rupees.
Remaining this day in the treaſury	1,00,000

To

* The amount of this calculation is 37,50,000 rupees, to which we may add twelve lacks for the yearly amount of the lack of rupees *per* month, which the Nabob had ſtipulated to be paid for the field expences of our troops. The whole ſum will be 49,50,000; of which it is to be obſerved, that thirty-ſeven lacks were to be paid by the Nabob, and therefore could by no means be depended on. The remainder is only 12,50,000 rupees, a ſum very inſufficient for defraying even the current expences of the ſettlement.

	Rupees.
To be received from the Nabob the full amount of his debt, about	25,00,000
To be received from the Company's lands	8,00,000
Land and ſea cuſtoms	1,50,000
In ſales in the import warehouſe, and bills of exchange on Europe	2,00,000
	37,50,000

OF which it may be computed, that eighteen lacks of rupees will be required for the indiſpenſable charges of the troops, fortifications, &c. for twelve months, from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1760, to the 31ſt of July 1761. And the Preſident repreſents to the Board, that the want of money upon the coaſt began to be very preſſing before he left it; ſo that there ſeems to be an abſolute and immediate neceſſity for ſending at leaſt ten lacks to Madras,

Madras, otherwiſe the vaſt ſums already diſburſed there, and all the advantages thereby acquired over the enemy, will be loſt, at a criſis too, when there is a great probability of purſuing the blow with ſucceſs to the utmoſt accompliſhment of our wiſhes, by the reduction of Pondicherry.

THESE ten lacks for Madras, muſt therefore be made up out of the firſt money than can be got together, whether by loan or by the Nabob's tuncaws and aſſignments. There will yet remain ten lacks out of the foregoing computation, which will ſerve to begin upon an inveſtment next year, if no other more urgent occaſion ſhould demand a ſupply from it.

BUT for the preſent year, it is abſolutely impoſſible, unleſs our honorable maſters ſhould, contrary to their laſt mentioned intentions, ſend us a ſupply on the expected ſhips. Upon the whole, it is the unanimous opinion of the board, that it will be moſt for the Company's intereſt, in this caſe of neceſſity, to ſtop any further advances on account of this year's inveſtment."

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Sykes *to Mr.* Vanſittart. *Dated* Coſſimbuzar, September 16, 1760.

"I Now encloſe you two letters from the Nabob, on peruſal of which you will find I have not been ſucceſsful in my application to him for the fougedarree of Chittagong and Silhet. He has acquainted me juſt now with the reſult of his conſultation yeſterday with his miniſters, which is a downright refuſal, alledging, that theſe two provinces he has aſſigned for the maintenance of two of his ſons, and Moniloll acts as their Dewan. I informed him, that you did not mean, that our having theſe two countries ſhould be any loſs to him in his revenues, as we would pay the ſame as the preſent poſſeſſor does; yet he ſeems to think, that if we have once a factory at Chittagong, his people will be greatly controuled in the tranſactions in thoſe parts."

Copy

Copy of the Proceedings at a Select Committee *held at* Calcutta, Sept. 11, 1760. *Preſent Meſ.* Vanſittart, Caillaud, Sumner, Holwell, *and* M'Gwire.

"THE Colonel 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 Law, with Mudara Dowla, was preparing to repaſs the river and join him. It was ſaid, their next motion would be towards Camgar Cawn, with whom the operations of the next campaign were to be ſettled.

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 encreaſing from time to time, ſince the revolution

brought about by Colonel Clive, ſo have we been obliged to encreaſe our force to ſupport that influence. We have now more than a thouſand Europeans and five thouſand ſeepoys, 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 laſt 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 any thing that is now in the country, is not to be doubted;

ed; 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 benefits 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 inconveniencies 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 dependents, who now oppoſe every encreaſe of our power, as their own will 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 theſe difficulties, we will ſuppoſe, that we ſhould have weight enough to overrule his counſellors, and obtain his conſent, we then juſt keep our preſent footing; we have a fund for paying our troops, and thoſe troops

troops muſt be employed in the ſervice of the Nabob; and this ſervice the ſame as for theſe two years paſt, in oppoſing the Shahzada, whoſe deſigns on theſe provinces, it is almoſt certain, will ſtill be purſued.

FROM the experience of theſe two years it is pretty clear that our troops, tho' victorious in the field, yet cannot by their ſucceſs put an end to the troubles. The ſame cauſe which has prevented it before 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 are worſe and worſe, thro' an increaſe of expence, and loſs of revenues, not only by the devaſtations which the enemy may make, but by the continual defection of ſome of his own Rajahs and dependents; 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 Beerboom, 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 campaigns, as to be incapable of affording ſubſiſtance 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, thro' neceſſity, attempt next year to penetrate further into Bengal; and in this he will no doubt be encouraged, 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 Shahzada, or to ſupport him in his pretenſions to the crown of Delly. The two parties ſtill ſubſiſt, between whom the throne is diſputed, or rather who ſhall give a King

* A copy of this letter is ſubjoined, Page 92.

to

to that throne. One of thoſe parties * has repeatedly invited the Shahzada 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 Abdallee's ſcale, would enſure 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

* The Abdallee.

inde-

independently of him, as may overrule 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 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 all that

that we could wiſh in this reſpect, as it is 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 upon which greatly depend the operations of 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, that the Shahzada would be willing to enter into a negotiation with us independent of the Nabob; but ſuch a meaſure would neither be for the intereſt, nor the honor of our nation: our views in adopting this ſyſtem, ſhould be directed rather to ſtrengthen, than weaken or overthrow the preſent Nabob. All we deſire is, to ſee the power removed out of the hands of that ſort of men, who now rule and direct his affairs, and through whoſe miſmanagement and frauds, the country and

his

his adminiſtration ſuffer ſo conſiderably; and 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; will effectually put a ſtop to that diſſipation of revenues, which has reduced the Nabob to his preſent diſtreſſed condition; which revenue, if properly applied, would leave neither him, nor us, any thing to fear from the deſigns of any enemy; and effectually ſecure to us ſuch a fund, as would anſwer all our preſent preſſing exigencies; and in time, prove an increaſe of honor and advantage to the Nation, and the Company."

The Preſident lays before the Committee *the following Letter, which he lately received from the* Rajah *of* Beerboom.

"THANKS be given to the Almighty at this happy time; I have received your moſt kind letter, acquainting me of your appointment to the adminiſtration of the affairs of the Company,

pany, and your ſafe arrival in Calcutta. It has filled my heart with a joy too great for expreſſion, and I have offered up my praiſes to God for it. May the Almighty beſtow on you a daily encreaſe of honor, and incline you to favor your well-wiſher. This is the ſtate of my affairs. By the countenance of you, gentlemen, my Zemindarree had begun to put on a flouriſhing appearance; but lately, ſince I have been deprived of that advantage, the magiſtrate of the country *, who has rebelled againſt his ſovereign, afflicts every man of worth and honor with inſults and indignities, from which the ſtricteſt obedience is no ſecurity. By the commands of the Lord of the univerſe, I have put myſelf in readineſs, you are a wiſe and conſiderate man. The principles of your religion ordain, that every man ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of his right; and by your cuſtoms too, the King is entitled to obedience. Theſe conſiderations added to the long friendſhip I have had for your country, per-

* The Nabob.

ſuade

ſuade me, that you will engage in no cauſe that ſhall oppoſe that of Shah Aalum; ſince your inclinations and mine are always the ſame, I hope, from the countenance of your favor, to be always made happy by the news of your welfare, and that you will take care of me."

Extract of the Proceedings of a Select Committee, *held at* Calcutta, *the* 15*th of* Sept. 1760. *Preſent Meſ.* Vanſittart, Caillaud, Sumner, Holwell, *and* M'Gwire.

" THE great objects of our 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 Shahzada in ſeveral parts of theſe provinces, that the whole may be united under the Nabob, and he put under the more immediate influence of the Company, whoſe force is his chief ſupport and

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 Shahzada, or by propoſing to him an alliance with the Engliſh, and the aſſiſtance of part of our forces to proceed with him to Delly, and ſupport him in his pretenſions to the throne.

THE difficulties on both ſides having been conſidered, reſolved unanimouſly, that the entering into an alliance with the Shahzada, is a neceſſary and expedient meaſure. The Preſident is accordingly deſired to preſs Coſſim Allee Cawn on the ſubject of our expences, and our great diſtreſs for money; ſo as to draw from him ſome propoſal of means for removing thoſe difficulties, by which poſſibly we may be able to form a judgment, whether he might not be brought to join in this negotiation, and in procuring the Naboob's conſent."

Extract

Extract of the Proceedings of a Select Committee, *held at* Calcutta *the* 16*th of* Sept. 1760. *Preſent Meſ.* Vanſittart, Caillaud, Sumner, Holwell, *and* M'Gwire.

" THE Preſident acquaints the Committee, that in a long converſation he had laſt night with Coſſim Allee Cawn, he had an opportunity of making ſome progreſs towards the diſcoveries requiſite for carrying on the negociation propoſed yeſterday; and 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

the Company's expences, that the immediate charges of the army, far exceeded the ſum aſſigned for that purpoſe *, which ſum was not regularly paid, there being now 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 ſecurity of Bengal, withdrawing their forces from the Deccan and Madras, and ſending continually 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 Shahzada, and how much it was to be wiſhed, 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 ravage of the enemy, particularly the whole produce of the Patna province.

* At this period the Company's military and other charges in Bengal amounted, at the loweſt calculation, to upwards of 200,000 l. *per annum*, and their nett revenue did not exceed 80,000 l.

IN anſwer to this Coſſim Allee 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 entruſted with it by the Nabob, he would then make ſuch aſſignments in favor of the Company, as ſhould be perfectly to our ſatisfaction. At the ſame time he inſinuated, that this would undoubtedly meet with oppoſition at Moorſhedabad, 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 ſhould be agreed on here."

THE ſeaſon was now begun, when our forces were to take the field againſt a powerful enemy, whilſt we had ſcarce a rupee in our treaſury to enable us to put them

them in motion. The eaſy channel, in which the Company's affairs ran, whilſt the ſums ſtipulated by the treaty laſted, had diverted their attention from the diſtreſſes which muſt unavoidably fall on them, whenever that fund ſhould be exhauſted; and continuing to act on the ſame extenſive plan in which they ſet out, they now found themſelves ſurrounded by numberleſs difficulties, which were heightened by the particular circumſtances of the country at this period, and weighed down with the very advantages which they had acquired, that is, an eſtabliſhment which had loſt the foundation on which it was built; a military force proportioned to their connections and influence in the country, without the means of ſubſiſtance; a fortification begun upon the ſame extenſive plan at a vaſt expence; and an alliance with a power unable to ſupport itſelf, and threatening to involve them in the ſame ruin.

HAD the Nabob's indolence and weakneſs been the only faults in his

character, deſtructive as they were to the welfare of the country, and the intereſt of the Company, I ſhould have felt more ſeverely the neceſſity I was under of entering into any meaſures, that might have a tendency to diſſolve the engagements between him and the Company; but when I found a general diſaffection againſt his government, and a deteſtation of his perſon and principles prevail in the country, amongſt all ranks and degrees of people, not only from the effects of the extortions and oppreſſions of his miniſters, but from the many murders with which his ſhort adminiſtration had been ſullied, eſpecially the horrid maſſacre perpetrated by his order at Dacca, and at this time recent in every mind; I confeſs, I had the leſs reluctance to join in ſuch meaſures; ſince, if the Nabob's jealouſy or diſtruſt of us ſhould ſo far prevail, as to make him rather part with his government, than put into our hands the means of remedying the diſorders which had been introduced into it, the conſequence would prove

prove rather a general good, than a ſubject of reproach.

SUCH being the ſituation of affairs when the ſcene of action began to open, there was no time to be loſt. The offers made by Meer Coſſim, independently of the benefits which would accrue to the Company from them, preſented to us the only means of evading the dangers, which threatened the very exiſtence of the Company, of removing the war from the country, and remedying the diſorders of the government. The Committee, therefore, after many conferences with Meer Coſſim, unanimouſly agreed upon a treaty with him, which was executed the 27th of September, and was as follows:

Copy of the Treaty concluded between Mr. Vanſittart, *the Gentlemen* * *of the* Select Committee, *and the* Nabob Meer Mahomed Coſſim Allee Cawn.

"FIRST, The Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn ſhall continue in the poſſeſſion of his dignities, and all

* Meſſ. Caillaud, Sumner, Holwell, and M'Gwire.

affairs be tranſacted in his name, and a ſuitable income ſhall be allowed for his expences.

SECOND, The * Neabut of the Soubadarree of Bengal, Azimabad, and Oriſſa, &c, ſhall be conferred by his Excellency the Nabob on Meer Mahomed Coſſim Cawn. He ſhall be veſted with the adminiſtration of all the affairs of the provinces, and after his Excellency he ſhall ſucceed to the government.

THIRD, Betwixt us and Meer Mahomed Coſſim Cawn, a firm friendſhip and union is eſtabliſhed. His enemies are our enemies, and his friends are our friends.

FOURTH, The Europeans and ſeepoys of the Engliſh army ſhall be ready to aſſiſt the Nabob Meer Mahomed Coſſim Cawn in the management of all affairs, and in all affairs dependent on him, they ſhall exert themſelves to the utmoſt of their abilities.

FIFTH, For all charges of the Company, and of the ſaid army, and provi-

* Deputy government.

ſions

ſions for the field, &c. the lands of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, ſhall be aſſigned, and ſunnuds for that purpoſe ſhall be written and granted. The Company is to ſtand to all loſſes, and receive all the profits of theſe three countries; and we will demand no more than the three aſſignments aforeſaid.

SIXTH, One half of the Chuhaam produced at Silhet for three years, ſhall be purchaſed by the Gomaſtahs of the Company, from the people of the government, at the cuſtomary rate of that place. The tenants and inhabitants of that place ſhall receive no injury.

SEVENTH, The balance of the former tuncaws ſhall be paid according to the Kiſtbundee agreed upon with the Roy-royan. The jewels, which have been pledged, ſhall be received back again.

EIGHTH, We will not allow the tenants of the Sircar to ſettle in the lands of the Engliſh Company. Neither ſhall the tenants of the Company be allowed to ſettle in the lands of the Sircar.

NINTH, We will give no protection to the dependants of the Sircar, in the lands or factories of the Company, neither ſhall any protection be given to the dependants of the Company, in the lands of the Sircar; and whoever ſhall fly to either party for refuge ſhall be given up.

TENTH, The meaſures for war or peace with the Shahzada, and raiſing ſupplies of money, and the concluding both theſe points, ſhall be weighed in the ſcale of reaſon, and whatever is judged expedient ſhall be put in execution; and it ſhall be ſo contrived by our joint counſels, that he be removed from this country, nor ſuffered to get any footing in it. Whether there be peace with the Shahzada or not, our agreement with Meer Mahomed Coſſim Cawn, we will, by the grace of God, inviolably obſerve, as long as the Engliſh Company's factories continue in the country.

Dated the 27th of September, 1760,
in the year of the Hegira, 1174."

SECTION

SECTION IV.

Mr. Vanſittart's Journey to Moorſheda-bad, in conſequence of the Reſolutions of the Select Committee, with his Proceedings there, till the Reſignation of Meer Jaffier, and the Promotion of Meer Coſſim to the Subahſhip.

Select Committee's *Inſtructions to Mr.* Vanſittart, *and Colonel* Caillaud.—*Letter from Mr.* Vanſittart *to the* Select Committee, *containing an Account of his firſt Interview with the* Nabob.—*Reaſons for making Uſe of Force againſt* Meer Jaffier.—*Letter from Mr.* Vanſittart, *and Colonel* Caillaud, *containing an Account of their Proceedings, the Reſignation of* Meer Jaffier, *and Promotion of* Meer Coſſim.—*Two Letters from Mr.* Vanſittart *to Mr.* Ellis.—*Two Letters from Mr.* Vanſittart *and Colonel* Caillaud *to the* Select Committee.—*Letter from the* Select Committee *to Mr.* Vanſittart, *and Colonel* Caillaud, *approving of their Proceedings.*—

Two

Two Letters from Mr. Ellis *to Mr.* Vanſittart.—*Mr.* Vanſittart *returns to* Calcutta, *and reports his Proceedings to the Council.—Meſ.* Verelſt *and* Smythe *object to the Proceedings.—Mr.* Vanſittart's *Reply to their Objections.—Mr.* Vanſittart's *Memorial concerning the Revolution.*

MEER COSSIM ſet out for Moorſhedabad, a day or two after the execution of the treaty; and the Committee having deſired me and Colonel Caillaud to follow him, as being the moſt likely way of bringing the Nabob into our meaſures. We accordingly ſet out the 2d of October, having received from the Select Committee our inſtructions, as follows:

Copy of the Select Committee's *Inſtructions to Mr.* Vanſittart *and Colonel* Caillaud.

"AS ſome days have already elapſed ſince the Preſident, at the deſire of the Committee, wrote to Mr. Amyatt of the intend-

intended negotiation with the Shahzada; and as one copy of Roydoolub's letter to the prince has been forwarded by his own people, we may expect, that within fifteen or twenty days from this time, ſomething of it will tranſpire, and the report ſpread to Moorſhedabad. It is not to be doubted, but that the Nabob will be extremely alarmed at the firſt news of it, and that thoſe who now rule him, will uſe their influence to encreaſe his fears and ſuſpicions, and to make him as averſe as poſſible to acquieſce in the meaſures we propoſe to adopt, and to which Coſſim Allee Cawn has acceded. It will be neceſſary to have perſons commiſſioned with full powers from hence, and that they be ſuch, as will have weight enough on the one part to keep Coſſim Allee Cawn firm to the agreements he has entered into; and, on the other, to ſupport him ſo ſtrongly, as to enable him to over-rule the Nabob, and all his preſent adviſers.

THIS entire confidence we place in you, impowering you to act according to

to your own diſcretion in all circumſtances that may occur; and the better to enable you to accompliſh our intentions, and prevent any diſturbance, we have thought proper to make a detachment of two compleat companies of military, a Company of artillery, with four pieces of cannon, and captain Tabby's battalion of ſeepoys, who are to act under your orders. This detachment is repreſented to the Nabob, as deſigned to reinforce the army at Patna, but it is not our intention that they ſhall proceed further than Coſſimbuzar, unleſs the approach of the Beerboom, or other diſaffected Rajahs or Zemindars, ſhould make it neceſſary to ſend them out to oppoſe them.

If the affairs of Patna ſhould not abſolutely require the Colonel's immediately proceeding there, we would have him remain at Moorſhedabad, till this affair ſhall be ſettled there, and the government put under the regulation propoſed; in which caſe you will pleaſe to forward to Mr. Amyatt, the general inſtructions

of

of the 24th and 25th, directed to him and the Colonel, with orders to captain Knox to co-operate with the chief of Patna, in the execution of the ſaid inſtructions. When the Colonel proceeds to Patna, major Yorke will remain with the command of the detachment, and will follow the orders of the Governor for his further proceedings.

YOU will be continually adviſed of the news we may receive, and of any alteration that may happen here, in order that you may take the neceſſary meaſures for ſending back the detachment, in caſe any danger from abroad ſhould threaten the ſettlement."

WE reached Coſſimbuzar the 14th of October, and the next morning the Nabob paid me a viſit, during which I repreſented to him the neceſſity of his taking ſome vigorous and immediate meaſures, for removing the dangers which threatened the provinces under his government on every ſide; offering my hearty aſſiſtance, of which at the ſame time he ſeemed to be willing to accept;

ſo

ſo that I had great hopes he would have conſented to our propoſals, and it was in that mind I wrote the Committee the following letter.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Vanſittart *to the* Select Committee. *Dated* Coſſimbuzar, October 15, 1760.

"I CAME here by eaſy ſtages, in order to give time for Coſſim Allee Cawn, as well as the detachment, to arrive before me. Yeſterday evening I reached this place, and this morning the Nabob did me the honor of a viſit. After the firſt ceremonies, he deſired a private converſation, which he opened, by repreſenting the dangerous ſituation of affairs at Patna, and deſired the Colonel might be ſent back with all poſſible expedition. This gave me the opportunity of picturing to him the general weak condition of his government, occaſioned not ſo much by the want of means in the country, as by the abuſe and evil adminiſtration of thoſe to whom he had entruſted the management; that the Colonel's

lonel's going to Patna, without a large ſum of money, would be of no uſe; and that it is not by temporary remittances of forty or fifty thouſand rupees, that the preſent confuſion can be remedied, or his affairs carried on in future, but by ſome general regulation, which may give more confidence to his officers and troops. I deſcribed every thing in the worſt light I could, hoping, that by magnifying his difficulties, I might bring him more eaſily to conſent to thoſe meaſures, which we have reſolved on. This ſeemed to operate in the manner I could wiſh; he ſaid more than once, that he would gladly follow any advice I ſhould propoſe to him, deſired that I would conſider the matter fully between this and to-morrow evening, and promiſed on his part to do the ſame, and that he would then meet me at Muradbaug, and come to ſuch determination as I ſhall approve. Upon the whole, I have great hopes I ſhall be able to obtain the propoſed advantages for the Company. Obtain them indeed, I will at all events, but I hope, and much

wiſh,

wiſh, to get it done without exerting any force.

P. S. INCLOSED is a letter from Mr. Amyatt. Troubles muſt be expected at Patna, until means are found of paying ſome money to the Nabob's troops. The Nabob's not writing himſelf after repeatedly preſſing us to do it was very extraordinary; however, I am not ſorry at this time to have ſo ſtriking an inſtance to urge of the weakneſs and unſteadineſs of his preſent government."

The following is an Extract of Mr. Amyatt's *Letter here mentioned.* Patna, October 4, 1760.

GENTLEMEN,

"THE Nabob has not wrote to Rajebullub, and by what Mr. Sykes writes to me, he will not till he has ſeen Colonel Caillaud; but notwithſtanding this, Rajebullub is very willing and glad to go to Moorſhedabad, and wanted to ſet out immediately; the army hearing this, ſurrounded his houſe, abuſed, and uſed him

him ill, ſeized upon his boats, and for theſe three days paſt, there has been ſuch a ſcene of confuſion, I cannot expreſs it; the ſeepoys are no ways under their commanders, and do almoſt what they pleaſe; and this ſcene is likely to continue, and probably may end in Rajebullub's being cut off, or ſome diſaſter upon the city; nothing but the fear of our army prevents it, for a trifle will ſtir them up to raſhneſs; however, they have obliged him to ſwear he will not go, till money or Coſſim Allee Cawn comes; indeed, they will not let him go, and uſe him moſt exceſſively ill."

BUT theſe hopes were ſoon loſt. From the 15th to the 20th, I tried every means to bring the Nabob to reaſon; but I found his jealouſy and indolence immoveable, ſo that my only choice was to make uſe of forcible meaſures, and act upon the Nabob's fears, or elſe to return with diſgrace to Calcutta, after having juſt done enough to create a breach between the Nabob and the Engliſh; Meer Coſſim would have been left a ſacrifice to the

Nabob's reſentment, for the engagements he had entered into with us; the Nabob himſelf would have fallen under the weight of the diſorders of his government, and the licentiouſneſs of his unpaid troops; the Engliſh army at Patna would have been ruined for want of their pay; and the provinces, in all probability, have become an eaſy conqueſt to the Shahzada; or what was yet worſe, have been ravaged by his followers, and the diſaffected Zemindars: I need not add, that the Company muſt have been involved in this general ruin. Theſe were the weighty conſiderations which fixed my reſolution; and I thought I could not do otherwiſe, than try the effect of the force I had in my hands. The ſucceſs of this reſolution was immediately reported to the Select Committee, in a letter from myſelf and Colonel Caillaud, dated the 21ſt of October; and as all the circumſtances of the tranſaction are there plainly and fully related, I here inſert a copy, as the moſt faithful account that can be given of it.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Vanſittart *and Colonel* Caillaud *to the* Select Committee. *Dated* Muradbaug, October 21, 1760.

GENTLEMEN,

" THE Governor wrote you yeſterday of the affairs here being ſettled to the Company's advantage. We ſhall now have the honor 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 clear view of the bad management of his miniſters, by which his own affairs, as well as the Company's, were 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. I, II, and III *.

THE Nabob ſeemed much affected by the peruſal of the letters, but endeavored 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 Muradbaug; 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 alone of ſtruggling againſt ſo many difficulties, and deſired he might have 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 attachment and fidelity he might more ſafely rely. He named five or ſix, and among them Coſſim Allee Cawn; we aſked him, which of

* See page 125, &c.

of that number was moſt fit to aſſiſt him in his preſent exigencies? He replied, without any heſitation, that Coſſim Allee Cawn 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 Coſſim Allee Cawn 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, that it would be to no purpoſe to keep him, for ſuch was the jealouſy he diſcovered, with regard to Coſſim Allee Cawn, that we ſaw he never would conſent, without ſome ſort of force, to give the other the means for 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 endeavor by ſome means or other to get rid of him. We 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 to reflect upon the letters before mentioned, in hopes, that he would propose some means of regulation. We hear nothing from him all day, but learn by our intelligence, that he had been in council with his old advisers Jaggernaut, Mondol, and Checon, whose advice we were sure would be contrary to the welfare of the country in general, as 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 the principal people of that cast, would be well fatigued with their ceremonies. We determined, therefore, that [illegible] with two companies of sepoys, companies of sepoys, between three and and having joined his people, march to

to the Nabob's palace, and ſurround it juſt at day break. Being extremely deſirous to prevent any diſturbance or bloodſhed, the Governor wrote a letter to the Nabob *, and delivered it to the Colonel to ſend into him, at ſuch time as he ſhould think moſt expedient. Meaſures were at the ſame time taken for ſeizing the perſons of Koomram, Meeranlol, and Cheetun, our intention being only to remove thoſe three unworthy miniſters, and place Coſſim Allee Cawn in the full management of all the affairs, in quality of deputy and ſucceſſor to the Nabob. The governor remained at Moradbaug, 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 the care and ſecrecy imaginable, the Colonel embarked with the troops, joined Coſſim Allee Cawn without the leaſt alarm, and ſurrounded the outer-yard of the palace juſt as it began. The gates of the

* A Copy of which is annexed, No. V.

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 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 Koonram, Monelol, 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 two companies of military, and ſix companies of ſeepoys, ſhould croſs the river between three and four in the morning; and having joined Coſſim Allee Cawn and his people, march

to

to the Nabob's palace, and ſurround it juſt at day break. Being extremely deſirous to prevent any diſturbance or bloodſhed, the Governor wrote a letter to the Nabob *, and delivered it to the Colonel to ſend into him, at ſuch time as he ſhould think moſt expedient. Meaſures were at the ſame time taken for ſeizing the perſons of Koonram, Monelol, and Checon, our intention being only to remove thoſe three unworthy miniſters, and place Coſſim Allee Cawn in the full management of all the affairs, in quality of deputy and ſucceſſor to the Nabob. The governor remained at Muradbaug, 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 the care and ſecrecy imaginable, 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

* The tranſlation of which is annexed, No. IV.

inner court being ſhut, the Colonel formed his men without, and 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 paſt by the means of Mr. Haſtings, and Mr. Luſhington, 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 Coſſim Allee Cawn, informing him, he was ready to ſend him the ſeals, and all the enſigns of dignity, and to order the Nobit to be ſtruck 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 honor, and to give him an allowance ſufficient for his maintenance. All theſe conditions being agreed to, Coſſim Allee Cawn was proclaimed, and the old

Nabob

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 gate-way, 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 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 we could not help lamenting his ſudden fall, we were not ſorry for this propoſal, as the affairs will doubtleſs be better managed without him, and the advantages, ſtipulated for the Company, be obtained without the leaſt difficulty or delay. Coſſim Allee Cawn was accordingly ſeated on the muſnud, and we paid him our congratulations

lations in the uſual form. All the Zemindars, 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 having been brought about without the leaſt diſturbance in the town, or a drop of blood ſpilt.

THE advantages to the Company are great indeed.

THE perwannahs of the countries of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, we ſhall receive immediately, as well as that for half of the Chunam produced at Silhet. A very ſevere order has already been iſſued, forbidding all the ſhroffs 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 ſome hopes of obtaining a preſent of three or four lacks beſides,

beſides, to ſend down to Calcutta, to help out the Company in their preſent occaſions here, and at Madras. 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 have now ſtrong reſources within ourſelves, and an ally, whoſe attachment to the Company may be depended on. The old Nabob could, by no means, be relied 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. Coſſim Allee Cawn 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 ſeepoys, and intended

intended to lodge him at Heerageel; but he would not truſt himſelf there, and begged he might ſleep in his boats cloſe to Muradbaug, which he did accordingly. We ſhall take care that Coſſim Allee Cawn provides every thing that is convenient and handſome, for himſelf and his women, and ſettles 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 Sobiram Byſauc, and Rauſbery Seet, which the Royroyan occupied when he was at Calcutta; if theſe can be got, we judge they will anſwer very well.

His legitimate wife, called the Begum, the mother of the deceaſed Chuta Nabob, and of Coſſim Allee Cawn'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 very glad the government is put into ſuch good hands, and that ſhe

ſhall

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. I. * *Tranſlation of an Addreſs, preſented to the* Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn *by the Governor. Dated* October 12, 1760.

"WHEN I was at Madras, Colonel Clive frequently wrote to me upon the ſtate of the affairs of this country; and told me, whenever he quitted this country to return to Europe, he would procure my appointment to the govern-

* Theſe letters, as well as many other of the letters to the country government, inſerted in this Narrative, were written firſt in Perſian, as well for the ſake of diſpatch, as that they might appear more

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 Patna, are kept without their pay.

SECONDLY, The forces of the government, who are ſtationed in thoſe parts, are diſcontented and diſaffected to the ſervice for want of their pay.

THIRDLY, The ſeepoys of Moorſhedabad had ſurrounded your palace in a tumultuous manner for the arrears of

more natural and intelligible to the perſon to whom they were addreſſed; for in writing firſt in Engliſh, and then rendering it into Perſian, it is almoſt impoſſible to avoid obſcurity. Juſt ſo in tranſlating the Perſian into Engliſh, you cannot help conveying ſomewhat of the eaſtern form and manner along with the meaning, and this occaſions the particularity which will be obſerved in the ſtile of many of theſe letters.

their

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; not 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, 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 as the ſiccas of Moorſhedabad, ſhould paſs for equal value.

value. Notwithſtanding your perwannah for inforcing this grant, the officers of the provinces have not ſuffered them to paſs; but, contrary to your order, require and inſiſt on a batta on the ſiccas.

SEVENTHLY, The war with the Shahzada ſtill continues, notwithſtanding the ſums expended, and the endeavors of the Engliſh forces. This affair is yet no nearer a concluſion than the firſt day; excepting the fort of Patna, no part of the Bahar province 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 Shahzada's army, as appears from the letter 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 your government, regarding only their own intereſt, neglect the good of the country, and the welfare of your ſubjects, and employ themſelves in oppreſſing the poor, in rapine, violence,

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 further to ruin, I lifted up my hands 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."

No. II. *Tranſlation of an Addreſs, preſented to the* Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn *by the Governor. Dated* October 18, 1760.

" THE miniſters who are about your perſon, and who tranſact your buſineſs, are people who are wavering and changing in their councils, as is evident from the perwannahs you frequently ſent me, complaining of the bad conduct and wicked intentions of Mharajah Rajebullub, inſiſting upon his being recalled by ſome means or other. The Colonel, conſidering the ſituation of affairs at that time, recommended Rajebullub to you; and you ſent me a copy of his recommendation, in a letter which you did me the honor to write to me; and ſaid, you was ſurprized that the Colonel would recommend a man, ſo very unfit for every buſineſs. You alſo ſent me word by the Nabob Meer Mahomed Coſſim Cawn, and the Royroyan, that the buſineſs of the moſt conſequence, was to get Rajebullub down from Patna.

Patna. I, therefore, agreeably to your deſire, wrote Mr. Amyatt to ſend him down; God only knows what council your miniſters gave, that your 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. III. *Tranſlation of a Letter, preſented to the* Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn *by the Governor. Dated* October 18, 1760.

"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 is loſt, another will hardly occur, when we can meet together ſo conve-

* An order for his coming down.

niently. 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 too by you. 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 a lack of rupees *per* month. As the diſturbances in the country have encreaſed every day, for that reaſon large ſums have been expended in bringing ſoldiers from Europe and Madras, and raiſing ſeepoys. On this account, a lack of rupees is by no means ſufficient. Let your Excellency duely reflect, that your own ſeepoys, in time of extremity, preferring their own ſafety, have frequently 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 con-

a conduct, nor ever will; and by the bleſſing of God, wherever the Engliſh ſtandard has been fixed, they have ever 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 pay 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 honor, will not ſuffer me to be unmoved at the Company's loſs; but I muſt ſeek ſome expedients 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 loſs 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 among your children, in the place and dignity of your said son, the Nabob Nasir-ool-mooke, 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 these transactions, may remain without care and uneasiness, and the shadow of your protection overspread the whole.

No. IV. *Translation of a Letter from the Governor to the* Nabob. *Dated* October 19, *at Night, and sent by the Hands of Colonel* Caillaud.

"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

it plainly appears, that as long as theſe evil counſellors remain about your perſon, whatſoever I may repreſent to you for your proſperity and welfare, and the good of the country, will have no effect. The folly of thoſe 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 counſellors, and place your affairs in a proper ſtate; I will ſhortly follow. Let not your Excellency be under any apprehenſions, but chearfully receive the colonel; and give orders to your men, that they commit 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."

THE old Nabob ſet out for Calcutta the 22d, with all the appearances of content and chearfulneſs; and I remained at Moorſhedabad with the new Nabob till the 4th of November. All the material tranſactions which paſſed during that time, will be ſeen by the following papers.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Vanſittart *to Mr.* Ellis *. Muradbaug, Oct. 22, 1760.

"THE old Nabob ſet out this morning for Calcutta, eſcorted by a company of Europeans, and one of ſepoys, under the command of captain Robertſon. I mentioned in my letter laſt night, that he would be glad to remain at Chitpour, until the houſes are prepared for his reception. You will pleaſe to ſend two of the gentlemen to meet him at the French gardens, and in every way receive him with a decent reſpect. He took his leave with great chear-

* Mr. Ellis, arriving from Europe, took charge of the ſettlement at Calcutta, in Mr. Vanſittart's abſence.

chearfulneſs; and I believe the days of his eaſe will do him more honor, than thoſe of his power; and that he will be much happier; for it ſhall be my particular care that he wants for nothing; every thing is perfectly quiet here; I am waiting to get the ſunnuds, to ſee how the young Nabob goes on; and to give him a few uſeful inſtructions for his guidance. In four or five days I hope every thing will be complete; and that I ſhall be ſetting out for Calcutta with a reinforcement for your treaſury; ſuch as will enable us to ſend a ſupply to Madras, and to keep our inveſtment jogging on here."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Vanſittart *to Mr.* Ellis. Muradbaug, October 23, 1760.

"EVERY thing remains perfectly quiet, and the new Nabob does not ſpare pains to get the affairs regulated. He will have no eaſy taſk of it. The balance due to the ſeepoys is immenſe. Money found in the treaſury, none,

none, only gold and silver plate, to the amount of five or three lacks, which is ordered to be coined: and the old Nabob's Mutsuddies pretend, that the balance due from them is trifling; that the Nabob spent every thing as fast as it came in, but they do not know how. It was high time for a reform, indeed; I do not think it would have been possible for the old Nabob to have saved himself from being murthered, or the city from plunder, another month. I have engaged Juggut Seet's advice and assistance; and will see the Colonel dispatched with a supply of money to Patna; and all other affairs reduced to a system of prudence and œconomy, before I stir from hence."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Vansittart *and Colonel* Caillaud *to the Select Committee.* Muradbaug, Oct. 24, 1760.

"EVERY thing remains perfectly quiet, the new Nabob applies with great diligence to the regulation of his affairs, and behaves so as to gain the affection

affection of the people. We went yeſterday to the Durbar, when he acquainted us, that he had found in the treaſury, of ready money, only forty or fifty thouſand rupees, and about the value of three lacks in gold and ſilver plate, which he has ordered to be coined. Keenooram, Moncloll, and Checon, the principal managers in the late adminiſtration, pretend likewiſe, that the balances due from them are trifling. The Nabob, however, hopes to oblige them to make further diſcoveries; and, in the mean time, is endeavoring, with the aſſiſtance of Juggut Seet, together with the uſual preſents, advances upon the rents, &c. to raiſe a ſufficient ſum to pay off ſuch a proportion of the arrears, as will ſatisfy the troops at Patna, and here, as well as to enable him to give the Company ſuch an aſſiſtance, as is mentioned in our laſt letter, by way of acknowledgment for their ſervices. The ſunnuds, for the new diſtricts, will be made out upon the arrival of the Roy-

royan,

royan, who is expected from Amboa in three or four days."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Vanſittart *and Colonel* Caillaud *to the* Select Committee. Muradbaug, Nov. 3, 1760.

"THE difficulties the Nabob has met with, in raiſing the ſums wanted for the ſupply of troops here, and at Patna, have been the occaſion of his deferring the Colonel's diſpatch till to-morrow evening. He will carry with him, in bills and money, ſeven lacks of rupees, of which two are for the Engliſh army, and five for the Nabob's.

THE Nabob having given the Company perwannahs for the diſtricts of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, from the 10th of October, the allowance of one lack *per* month, ſtipulated to be paid by the Nabob, for the expences of the army in the field, muſt be reckoned from the 1ſt of December, 1759, to the 30th of September, 1760, being ten months, or ten lacks of rupees, of which nine lacks and a half have

have been paid, including the two lacks before-mentioned; the remaining half lack the Nabob will remit to the Colonel.

THIS done, all the future demands of the army muſt be ſupplied by the Company. We have engaged Juggut Seet, to take all opportunities that may offer, of advancing money at Patna, to receive it again at Calcutta, for a premium of two *per cent.*

THE Colonel will do all he poſſibly can, conſiſtently with the good of the ſervice, to make the expences of the army light. Indeed, it is not only with this view, but for many other urgent conſiderations, much to be wiſhed, that an end could be put to the war with the Shahzada. We might almoſt ſay, that it is abſolutely neceſſary, for the pay of the troops in the armies of the Chuta Nabob, and of Ramnarain, amount to ſo immenſe a ſum monthly, that the revenues of the three provinces, would ſcarce be ſufficient fully to anſwer it. Notwithſtanding, the ſum now ſent by the Nabob, and all the further ſupplies

he

he may be able to furniſh, the arrears can never be paid off, but, on the contrary, muſt continue growing.

For a diſorder ſo deſperate, what remedy is to be found? The moſt we can hope, is, to palliate and prevent it's increaſe, and endeavor, in the mean time, to bring our buſineſs to a concluſion. The Colonel, upon his arrival at Patna, will immediately take the field, and ſeek the Shahzada, to oblige him either to come to terms of accommodation, or venture a battle. With regard to the reduction of the Nabob's troops, the Colonel will take ſuch meaſures upon his arrival, as he ſhall judge moſt eligible."

Mr. Ellis not arriving from England till after the Committee had taken their reſolutions, and I was ſet out for Coſſimbuzar, could not be conſulted in the courſe of this negotiation. By the ſtation in which he was appointed by the Company, he preſided at Calcutta during my abſence.

Major

MAJOR CARNAC arrived at the ſame time with Mr. Ellis, and joined me at Muradbaug the 20th in the morning, at the very inſtant that Colonel Caillaud was at the head of his troops, in one of the court yards of the Nabob's palace, I deſired the Major to go there too, and uſe his endeavors jointly with the Colonel to prevent any diſturbances in the city. I followed immediately after, and when all was ſettled with the old Nabob, major Carnac deſired to ſtay with the detachment at Moorſhedabad, for the ſecurity of Meer Coſſim, who was juſt then proclaimed; but I ſettled it, that major Yorke ſhould ſtay at Moorſhedabad, and major Carnac proceed with the Colonel to Patna, to receive the command of the troops from him, as the Governor and Council at Madras had wrote for him, to return and join the army before Pondicherry.

MAJOR CARNAC remained with me at Muradbaug, till I ſet out from thence for Calcutta; during which time he was fully acquainted with the motives of the

the Select Committee's reſolutions, and my proceedings; and I do not recollect that he made the leaſt objection * to either, further, than that he was ſorry there was a neceſſity of removing Meer Jaffier from the government. To which I replied, that I was equally ſorry; but that it could not be avoided without expoſing his life, the provinces under his government, and the very exiſtence of the Company to almoſt certain ruin.

MR. ELLIS, and the gentlemen of the Select Committee at Calcutta, expreſſed their approbation in the following anſwers to our letters.

Copy of a Letter from the Select Committee (*Meſſieurs* Ellis, Sumner, *and* M'Guire) *to Mr.* Vanſittart *and* Colonel Caillaud. *Dated* October 24, 1760.

"WE have been honored with your favor of the 21ſt, and one from the Preſident of the 20th inſtant, by which we have been informed of the great

* The contrary may be inferred, from his deſiring to ſtay with Meer Coſſim.

great ſucceſs that has attended your operations. We moſt heartily 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."

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ellis *to Mr.* Vanſittart, October 24, 1760.

"I HAD the honor to addreſs you laſt night, and this evening was favored with yours, of the 21ſt inſtant,

incloſing a letter to the Committee. I moſt heartily congratulate you on the ſucceſs of your negotiations; but muſt, at the ſame time, lament the neceſſity you have been under of depoſing the old Nabob. Directions are given, to prepare the two houſes, you mentioned, for his reception; and in caſe he ſhould arrive before they are put in proper order, Mr. Sumner will accommodate him for a day or two at Chitpore."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Ellis *to Mr.* Vanſittart. October 25, 1760.

"IT is with much pleaſure I hear of the tranquility that reigns in the city, ſuch a revolution, with ſo little diſturbance, ſcarce ever happened; and, I dare ſay, Sir, there will be nothing wanting, on your part, to place this tranquility on a laſting and ſolid foundation." *

I ARRIVED

* The reader will here take notice, that Mr. Ellis was the principal perſon who afterwards engaged in the oppoſition againſt me, and in every meaſure for over-ſetting the eſtabliſhment, of which he has here expreſſed in ſuch ſtrong terms his approbation.

I ARRIVED in Calcutta the 7th of November; and the next day reported my proceedings in general, and the advantages obtained for the Company, to the whole council; whereupon Meſſieurs Verelſt and Smyth, two of the gentlemen of the council, who were not members of the Select Committee, entered the following objection.

Copy of Mr. Verelſt's *Minute of the 8th of* November, *to which Mr.* Smyth *aſſented.*

"MR. Verelſt begs leave to obſerve, that the board has till now been kept entirely ignorant of the proceedings of the Select Committe, relating to the preſent revolution, and their motives for it; he cannot, therefore, pretend to judge how far ſuch a ſtep was neceſſary, but thinks, that in an affair of ſuch immediate conſequence to the Company's eſtate 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 recapture of Calcutta; a ſteadineſs to which treaty made Britons admired, nay even courted, by every prince throughout theſe provinces; and has ever been fatal to the prince apparent of the empire, and many other diſturbers, who have hitherto weakly endeavored 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 publick, reputable, and to the honor of the nation, he cannot be blamed, as a member of the board, for expreſſing his diſſatisfaction at being made a cypher of, in ſo critical a concern."

REGARDING theſe objections, as chiefly proceeding from the offence which thoſe

thoſe gentlemen had conceived, at not being conſulted upon the meaſures taken by the Select Committee, I only made the following Reply.

Copy of Mr. Vanſittart's *Reply to the foregoing Minute.*

"THE Preſident begs leave to remark upon the foregoing minute. That though Mr. Verelſt and Mr. Smyth might without the leaſt preſumption think, that they, and the reſt of the gentlemen of the council, 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 reaſons why, or the manner in which the whole was conducted, ſeems rather premature; eſpecially, as they will have 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 their minute.

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 Court of Directors has thought proper to appoint a Select 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."

AS the meaſures which produced this revolution in the government of Bengal, were not intended merely for obtaining advantages for the Company, but were as neceſſary for remedying the diſorders in the government itſelf, and ſaving the provinces from the ruin with which they were threatened, in conſequence of thoſe diſorders, I thought it neceſſary to form a memorial, to ſhew theſe tranſactions to the world in that light, abſtracted from the benefits accruing to the Company; which memorial I laid before the council the 10th of November; the following is a copy.

Copy

Copy of a Memorial on the Subject of the Revolution in the Bengal *Government in the Year* 1760.

"THE Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn was of a temper extremely tyrannical and avaritious, and 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 HADDEE, the firſt Buxy, firſt baniſhed for a pretended conſpiracy a-

gainſt the Nabob's life, and afterwards cut off at Shahbad, in his march out of the province.

MEER CAZIM, the ſecond Buxy, 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.

ABDUL-OHAB CAWN, murdered at the Rumna, in the month of March, 1760, by ſome of the Hircarras, belonging to Checon, who way-laid him for that purpoſe by the Nabob's orders.

YAR MAHMUD, formerly in great favor 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.

GASSEETA BEGUM, widow of the Nabob * Shahamut Jung.

EMNA BEGUM, mother to the Nabob Serajah Dowla.

MURADA DOWLA, the ſon of Padſha Couly Cawn, adopted by Shahamut Jung.

LUTFIN

* Nephew of Alliverdee Cawn.

LUTFIN NISSA BEGUM, widow of the Nabob Serajah Dowla.

HER infant daughter by 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 government. A perwannah was ſent to Jeſſarut Cawn, the Naib of Dacca, to put to death all the ſurvivors of the family of the Nabobs Alliverdee Cawn, Shahamut 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, carried them out at midnight upon the river, and maſſacred and drowned them, with about ſeventy women of inferior note, and attendants; what became of Alliverdee 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

had made the Nabob the dread or deteſtation of all good men; and he neceſſarily became a prey to people of mean extraction and abject diſpoſitions, who knowing, that a government ſo managed could not ſtand long, ſought only to make themſelves rich by oppreſſions, of all ſorts, upon the country and inhabitants. To the taxes laid by them on the markets, is aſcribed the preſent unuſual ſcarcity and dearneſs of the proviſions at Moorſhedabad, the capital of a country, once eſteemed the moſt plentiful in the world. The perſons who have had the chief ſhare in this management, are Keenooram, Monelol, and Checon, all of low birth; and the two firſt, the menial ſervants of Jaffier Allee Cawn, before he came to the Subahſhip. Theſe managed 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,

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 him 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 counſellors, 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 ſeepoys, and the city have become a ſcene of plunder and diſorder, the Nabob having made no further proviſion for the payment of the arrears due to his people,

ple, 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 of it, yet had not the power to exert the neceſſary means of 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 Shahzada towards Patna, and the Beerboom Rajah towards Moorſhedabad, the capital. The Rajahs of Biſſenpoor, Ramgur, and the other countries, bordering upon the mountains, were ready to ſhake off their dependance, and had offered conſiderable ſupplies to the Beerboom Rajah. The Rajah of Curruckpoor had committed open hoſtilities, and taken poſſeſſion of all the country about Bauglepoor, which entirely ſtopped the communication between the two provinces on that ſide of the river. In a word, the whole country ſeemed quite ripe for an univerſal revolt, thoſe parts only excepted, whoſe natural

natural weakneſs or neighborhood 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 endeavors to get thoſe bad miniſters removed, and judging it might be difficult to prevail with the Nabob to part with his favorites, without

without ſome degree of violence, I brought with me a detachment of Europeans and ſeepoys, under pretence of ſending them with Colonel Caillaud, to reinforce the army at Patna *.

COSSIM ALLEE CAWN ſupplied the Nabob with boats, and permitted him to take away as many of his women as he deſired (which he did to the number of about ſixty) with a reaſonable quantity of jewels. In the morning of the 22d of October 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."

* The Memorial proceeds to give an account of the Revolution, as has been already related, in the letters from Mr. Vanſittart and Colonel Caillaud at Muradbaug.

SECTION

SECTION V.

The Riſe of the Party formed againſt Mr. Vanſittart, with their Proteſts and Objections againſt the Revolution.

Firſt Occaſion of the Diſcontent of Meſſ. Amyatt, Ellis, *and* Carnac.—*Meſſ.* Amyatt, Ellis, *and* Smythe, *their Minute in Council the 8th of* January, 1761.—*Reply of the* Select Committee.—*Mr.* Ellis's *further Minute.*

I HOPED, the care I had taken to explain the motives of the Select Committee's Reſolutions, and the advantages reſulting to the Company, would have induced the reſt of the Council to approve of them; but I had ſome unhappy tempers to deal with; and there were miſchievous people in the ſettlement, who were buſy in improving every circumſtance to inflame diſputes; particularly, one of the ſurgeons, who happened to have a great influence over Mr.

Mr. Amyatt; and who was offended at my not conſulting him upon the affairs of government: ſome accidents concurred to favour this malevolent diſpoſition.

My coming to Bengal in ſo advanced a ſtation, gave occaſion for complaint, to all the ſenior ſervants of that ſettlement, and particularly to Mr. Amyatt, who was the next to the chair. Mr. Ellis upon his arrival applied for the chiefſhip of Patna, to which Mr. M'Gwire had been appointed two months before *, and had ſettled his affairs accordingly. As I thought Mr. Ellis's application unreaſonable, I gave my opinion againſt it; by which he thought himſelf injured; and major Carnac was violently offended at my expreſſing a deſire that colonel Caillaud, who had been preſent at all the debates of the Select Committee, and had been particularly charged with the execution of their reſolutions, ſhould remain in the command at Patna till their views were fulfilled, either

* Upon Mr. Amyatt's coming to Calcutta.

ther by a negotiation with the Shahzada, or a deciſive action.

THE firſt declaration of Mr. Amyatt's diſapprobation of the proceedings of the Select Committee, and of a change in Mr. Ellis's ſentiments, appears in a minute which they entered upon the conſultations on the 8th of January 1761, as follows.

Copy of Mr. Amyatt's *Minute, to which Meſſieurs* Ellis *and* Smyth *aſſented.*

"MR. AMYATT takes this opportunity to obſerve, that he is of opinion, the reaſons given for depoſing Jaffier Allee Cawn (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 proceedings muſt retort upon ourſelves. The cruelties of which he is accuſed muſt to a civilized government appear ſhocking; but in deſpotick 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 favor to thoſe miniſters, who, we are told, ſaw with an evil eye the influence of the Company, and readily ſnatched at every opportunity to reduce it. Meer Jaffier being confirmed by the Court of Delly 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 tranquility, 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 Allee Cawn, muſt be attended with both difficulty and expence. The treaty ſubſiſting between us and Coſſim Allee Cawn plainly ſhews, that his ſole aim at the time of entering into it was the Subahdarree of Bengal. Otherwiſe, how ridicu-

ridiculous was it for him to make a promiſe, of ceding certain countries to the Company, which his poſt of Dewan could never have given him the power of executing. The great advantages expected to accrue from thoſe countries, it is feared, will prove entirely imaginary, as it is now near three months ſince this revolution was effected; and yet ſo far from any appearance of extricating ourſelves from our 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 in any light conſpicuous till lately; and whoſe treacherous behaviour to his father-in-law, leaves us very little hopes 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 the ſuperiority, which our ſteady adherence to our promiſe ever gave us over thoſe 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 ever was intended, till publick report had informed him of it's execution."

IT was ſo well known, that Mr. Fullerton was the chief author of the foregoing minute, that myſelf, and the other gentlemen of the Select Committee, could not help taking notice of it in our anſwer of the 12th; which was as follows:

"THE Governor, Colonel Caillaud, and the other gentlemen of the council, who did, and ſtill continue to approve of the late tranſactions with the country government, beg leave to offer a few obſervations upon Mr. Amyatt's minute of laſt conſultation, the tenor of which might deceive the world if not examined, but when

when examined, will be found to have but little foundation.

If the Select Commmittee, debating upon the dangerous ſtate of the affairs of the province, in Auguſt and September laſt, had been deſirous of breaking with the then Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn, there were reaſons enough to juſtify, nay to urge ſuch a reſolution. The letter which the former Governor, Mr. Holwell, laid before the Select Committee, the 4th of Auguſt, for the information of Mr. Vanſittart, then juſt arrived, contain more than ſufficient proofs of that Nabob's breach of his engagements to the Company. Many inſtances are mentioned, of his jealouſy of the Engliſh power, and of his refuſal of every favor that was aſked him, which might tend to encreaſe it. We have in our hands, an authentic proof of one moſt eſſential inſtance of his ill faith therein-mentioned. It is ſaid in the treaty, that our enemies ſhall be his enemies; but it is beyond doubt, that he urged the Dutch to ſend for forces

to oppoſe ours. We have an original letter of the Directore to the Naboh, which plainly implies, that it was with his conſent thoſe troops were ſent for, and the tenor of the general advices tranſmitted to Europe laſt ſeaſon, ſufficiently ſhews this was Colonel Clive's opinion, though he mentioned it with all poſſible tenderneſs. Nor if we had deſired to remove Jaffier Allee Cawn from the government, need we have done more than withdraw our protection. His government would ſoon have been put an end to, and probably his life alſo, which was more than once in extreme danger from his own people.

But mindful of the connections that had been between him and the Company, we had the moſt tender regard both for his perſon and government, neither of which could have ſubſiſted, without other ſupports than thoſe he had about him. After the unfortunate death of his ſon, his ſon-in-law, Coſſim Allee Cawn, was the proper perſon to ſucceed to the government; and being his near-

eſt

eſt relation, it was thought his council and aſſiſtance would be the leaſt obnoxious. But if, on the other hand, he ſhould have determined to admit of no one near him, and continually refuſe every application for the advantage of the Company, and even common juſtice in the performance of paſt agreements, would it have been expedient to ſacrifice the intereſt of the Company, and the proſpect of relieving the province from its diſtreſſed ſtate, to the invincible jealouſy of one man? And might we not, with more reaſon, place our paſt ſervices in the ſcale, againſt the benefits received from him; and purſue, with ſteadineſs, the plan determined on, as moſt for the welfare of the country in general, and of the Company in particular?

THAT Coſſim Allee Cawn had views of the Subahdarree for himſelf, when he entered into the treaty with us, is beyond all doubt; but they were views in reverſion, not immediate. In the mean time he engaged, that through the influence we were to give him over the old Na-

bob, he would obtain for the Company the grants therein mentioned.

BUT it is insinuated, in Mr. Amyatt's minute, that our affairs are in a worſe condition now, than before the change of the government. That the addition of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, to the Company's poſſeſſions without the loſs of a man, is a hurt to the Company, ſeems to us a paradox. It is ſaid, that it is near three months ſince the revolution was effected, and yet there is no appearance of extricating ourſelves from the difficulties; and that the great advantages expected to accrue from thoſe countries will prove, it is feared, merely imaginary. It is only twenty days ſince the Burdwan Vackeel came here, and ſettled the payment. This day is the firſt payment due; and although the Rajah's faith is not to be depended upon, yet it is probable he will pay the money, according to the agreement, to make his peace; if not, the country is worth that, and more money, and lies ſo convenient,

ent, that it can always be diſpoſed of as we ſee beſt.

As to Midnapoor, it is not a month ſince captain White took poſſeſſion, and he had no orders to collect money. Mr. Johnſtone is appointed for that purpoſe, but ſet out ſo lately, that his arrival is not yet heard of.

And for Chittagong, Mr. Verelſt, and the other gentlemen appointed, ſet out only twenty days ago. We muſt give them time to arrive, before we can expect to collect money.

Surely here is a fair proſpect of advantages accruing to the Company; and of preſent benefits, inſtances ſhall alſo be mentioned.

"The payment of the arrears due to the Engliſh troops at Patna; and of what we advanced to the Nabob's troops.

"An aſſiſtance to the Company of five lacks, which Mr. Batſon, at Coſſimbuzar, is now receiving,

"Leave granted for coining Moorſhedabad ſiccas in our mint, which was before confined to Calcutta ſiccas.

"Who

"WHO would there have been to oppoſe the march of the Beerboom Rajah, to the capital of Moorſhedabad? For the old Nabob had neither the means of making his own troops take the field, nor would he truſt the Engliſh.

"WHERE would the Nabob's troops, at Patna, have got a ſupply of ſeven or eight lacks of rupees, as the preſent Nabob has paid them ſince his coming to the government?"

WE believe no one will pretend to ſay, the old Nabob would or could have made ſuch efforts, or would have granted ſuch favors to the Company.

As to the Mogul's Firmaun, there was a time when the orders of Delly had ſome weight at Bengal, but that time is no more. It is hard to ſay who is King at Delly, or who will be; but if ever it comes to be ſettled, there is little doubt of Coſſim Allee Cawn's getting a Firmaun, with as much eaſe, as one was procured for the old Nabob, who never paid the King his ſhare of the revenues.

IT

IT is aſſerted, that the miniſters complained of, under the old Nabob, have received marks of favor from the preſent Nabob; two of them have received the compliment of a kellaat, or a dreſs upon the adjuſtment of their accounts; but they are in no employ or truſt; if they were, it would not be in their power to do now the ſame injuries to the Company and country, as they did in the old Nabob's time; becauſe the preſent Nabob would not be ſo eaſily led to give ear to their evil councils as his predeceſſor.

IT is aſſerted alſo, that the preſent Nabob has been guilty of ſome aſſaſſinations. This the Governor believes is a falſe report. He declares, that he had not before heard of any ſuch proceeding, although he has pretty good intelligence of what paſſes; and that he has enquired particularly, ſince he ſaw it ſo poſitively aſſerted, and has great reaſon to think it is an unjuſt accuſation; if it ſhould prove true, we ſhould not ſo eaſily excuſe a crime ſo ſhocking, nor

think

think of it ſo lightly, as it is repreſented in Mr. Amyatt's minute *.

THAT Mr. Smyth ſhould ſubſcribe to this opinion is not to be wondered at, becauſe he ſubſcribed to one of the like nature of Mr. Verelſt's, in conſultation of the 8th of November, without having read any of the proceedings; but that Mr. Ellis ſhould ſubſcribe to it, after ſignifying his approbation of the meaſures, in many letters that have been wrote on the ſubject; and particularly in one from the Select Committee to the Governor and Colonel Caillaud, dated the 24th of November, is ſomewhat ſurpriſing, and gives freſh reaſon to apprehend, what has been long ſuſpected, that other perſons, not in the Company's ſervice,

* It afterwards appeared, that there was no foundation for Mr. Amyatt's aſſertion. The pretended ſufferers were a ſon of Sirfraz Cawn (Nabob of Bengal above twenty years ago) and the widow of Alliverdee Cawn (the next Nabob after Sirfraz Cawn). Upon enquiry, I found that theſe two perſons, inſtead of having ſuffered any violence, were obliged to the Nabob's benevolence for a handſome maintenance.

vice, nor having any regard for the Company, are conſulted upon affairs which do not belong to them; by which unfortunately they gain an aſcendency over the minds of better men than themſelves; and this authority they exert to the utmoſt, to the purpoſe of making diviſions in the ſettlement, and more particularly in the council. It is only ſuch pens as thoſe, that can reflect upon the late meaſures, as a breach of "all ties, human and divine;" a reproach which nothing can merit, but a premeditated intention to do ſome great ill.

IT were to be wiſhed, in diſſents of this nature, that the reaſons for the meaſures formed were conſidered in their full extent, the ſituation of the Company at home, and the ſituation of their affairs in general, well weighed. All theſe, in as full a manner as poſſible, were laid before the board, and our neceſſities and wants ſo plainly appeared, that all the members preſent were ſatisfied and convinced, that unleſs ſome other meaſures were purſued, we could not keep up the cauſe

any

any longer. It was plain, that what was propoſed to be done was rather the effect of neceſſity than choice; and what followed was certainly unexpected. It was therefore impoſſible that Mr. Amyatt could be made acquainted with a deſign that never exiſted. Thoſe, to whoſe conſideration it fell, were unanimous in their opinion; and they flatter themſelves, that all who will take into their view the then ſtate of affairs, the nature of the reſolutions taken, and all the circumſtances attending this tranſaction, and will judge thereupon with candor, not ſuffering themſelves to be byaſſed by the prejudices of others, will do us more juſtice, and be far from calling in queſtion our ſenſe of the faith of treaties, or our regard for the nation's honor and our own."

As I have taken notice of Mr. Ellis's change in his opinion of the tranſactions with the country government, it is proper to inſert his reply on the ſubject.

Copy

Copy of Mr. Ellis's *Minute of the* 16*th of* January, 1761.

"MR. ELLIS thinks it incumbent on him to reply to that part of the Governor's, &c. minute entered in laſt monday's conſultation, where ſuch ſurprize is expreſſed at his diſſent, after ſignifying his approbation of the late meaſures in many letters that have been wrote on the ſubject. Mr. Ellis has carefully peruſed, and yet cannot find, that his approbation is ſignified, not even in that, particularly quoted, of the 24th of November, unleſs a complimentary congratulation can in any ways be conſtrued as an approbation of the deſign; a light in which, he flatters himſelf, no impartial judge can look upon it. His ſentiments with regard to the revolution have never altered, nor have they ever been kept a ſecret; but he conceives there was no abſolute neceſſity, they ſhould appear upon the face of the conſultations till now, when it became ſo for his own juſtification to his employers.

THE

THE reflection of his being influenced in his opinion by others, though not of ſo good a turn of mind as himſelf, is a compliment to his morals, at the expence of his capacity, which being merely perſonal, and quite foreign to the ſubject in hand, might as well have been ſpared: and in anſwer thereto, he only wiſhes, for the good of the ſettlement, others in power were as little influenced in the management of publick affairs, by the opinion of thoſe about them, as he himſelf."

SECTION VI.

Dangerous Diſputes with the Nabob at Patna, during the Command of Major Carnac and Colonel Coote; and the Removal of thoſe Gentlemen from that Station.

Firſt Effects of Meer Coſſim's *Adminiſtration.—He takes the Field.*—Select Committee's *Orders to Major* Carnac. —*Major* Carnac's *Anſwer.*—*Further Orders*

Orders of the Select Committee *to Major* Carnac.—Meer Coſſim *marches to* Patna.—*Major* Carnac's *Letter to the* Select Committee, *containing an Account of his Interview with* Meer Coſſim.—Meer Coſſim's *Letter to Mr.* Vanſittart, *on the ſame Subject.—Orders thereupon from the* Select Committee *to Major* Carnac.—*Colonel* Coote *arrives in* Bengal, *and takes the Command of the Army at* Patna.—*The Orders given him by the* Select Committee. —*Letter from Major* Carnac *to the* Select Committee.——*Colonel* Coote *joins with Major* Carnac *in oppoſing the* Nabob.—Ramnarain *protected by them, refuſes to ſettle the Accounts of his Government.—Several Letters from the* Nabob, *giving an Account of the Conſequences of theſe Diſputes.——Orders thereupon from the* Select Committee *to Colonel* Coote.—*Two Leters from the* Nabob, *containing Complaints againſt Colonel* Coote, *and particularly of a Sally made by the Colonel into his Camp.* —*Two Letters from Mr.* M'Gwire,

on the ſame Subjects.—Mr. Vanſittart *lays before the Council an Account of theſe Diſturbances.—Their Orders in Conſequence, recalling Colonel* Coote *and Major* Carnac *to* Calcutta.—*Two Letters from Colonel* Coote, *containing an Account of his Proceedings.*

THE good effects of the Nabob's attention to the œconomy of his government ſoon appeared; for beſides the ſeven lacks, which (as I have already mentioned) he diſpatched to Patna with Colonel Caillaud, he paid his troops, at Moorſhedabad, ſo large a ſhare of the arrears due to them, that they were well ſatisfied, and ready to take the field; and upon Colonel Caillaud's further repreſentation of the wants of the forces at Patna, he ſent Nobit Roy, one of his principal officers there, with three lacks of rupees, and powers to examine and ſettle the accounts, and grant proper aſſignments for the balance. He alſo gave orders for ſix or ſeven lacks to be paid, in the months of December, January,

nuary, and February, to Mr. Batſon, at Coſſimbuzar, towards the diſcharge of his engagements with the Company; which orders were punctually complied with. Theſe helps given by the Nabob, enabled us to ſpare two lacks and a half out of our treaſury, which were diſpatched to Madras, in the month of November, and arrived there very opportunely for the ſervice of the army before Pondicherry.

THE Nabob took the field himſelf the beginning of December, and encamped between Moorſhedabad and Beerboom, till major Carnac's ſucceſs againſt the Shahzada, and captain White's againſt the Rajah of Beerboom, had in a great meaſure cleared the country; and then having ſpent a few days at Beerboom, for the regulation of that province, proceeded to Patna. At his requeſt, major York was ordered to attend him; and the Select Committee ſent the following inſtructions to major Carnac, relative to the aſſiſtance he was to give him.

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee *to Major* Carnac. *Dated* Calcutta, February 9, 1761.

"WE obſerve, that when Colonel Caillaud began his march to Patna, the beginning of laſt year, he had particular inſtructions from Colonel Clive, and the reſt of the Committee, to protect Ramnarain; in caſe of the Nabob's making any attempt againſt his perſon or honor. We believe ſuch an injunction at this time unneceſſary, as the preſent Nabob ſeems to be well inclined towards Ramnarain; but ſhould it prove otherwiſe, it is our reſolution to have the ſame regard to the former engagements, in his favor, as was then deſigned; and therefore direct you, in caſe of neceſſity, to protect Ramnarain againſt all violence and injuſtice that may be offered to his perſon, honor, or fortune.

As to Rajebullub, he can have no reaſonable objection to a fair examination of his accounts by the Nabob, or ſuch

ſuch perſon as he ſhall appoint; that a juſt ſtatement being made of all the monies he has received, for defraying the charges of the troops under his command, together with a due enquiry of what number of troops have really been kept up, and how much every one has been paid; the balance that is found due may then be diſcharged, and Rajebullub be employed again or not, as the Nabob thinks proper. This the Nabob declares is all he aſks, and in this (as it is juſt and reaſonable) you will yield him all the neceſſary aſſiſtance."

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac *to the* Select Committee, *in Anſwer to the foregoing.* February 24, 1761.

"YOU may depend upon my giving the Nabob all the aſſiſtance in my power, to ſettle every thing in the province in the beſt manner; I will alſo very readily lend my aſſiſtance in the adjuſting the payment of that part of the troops under Rajebullub, as far as he means to act fairly by them; but

ſhould he expect any ſupport from me in acts of injuſtice, he will be much miſtaken. The Engliſh forces, while I have the honor of commanding them, ſhall never be employed as inſtruments of violence and oppreſſion.

YOUR directions, in regard to Ramnarain, ſhall be religiouſly obſerved: I could not have received any order from you, with more pleaſure than this, of protecting a perſon for whom I know Colonel Clive had a particular regard, and who himſelf deſerves much at the hands of the Engliſh, on account of the attachment he has all along ſhewn them, however ill he might be diſpoſed to the Nabob."

THE reader will ſee, by the ſtile of this letter, how ready major Carnac was to ſhew the prejudices which he had entertained againſt the Nabob, and his eagerneſs to enter into diſputes with the board, ſince he could write in ſo unbecoming and arrogant a ſtrain, in anſwer to their orders, which were delivered him in the moſt decent terms, and were confeſſedly

confeſſedly the moſt agreeable to his own way of thinking. This obſervation is made once for all, as the ſame vanity and intemperance will appear in all his writing.

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee *(Meſſ.* Vanſittart, Amyatt, Ellis, *and* Sumner) *to Major* Carnac. March 7, 1761, *in Reply to the Above.*

"WE imagine the Nabob has before this time reached Patna. By his conduct hitherto, we ſee no reaſon to apprehend his engaging in any acts of violence or injuſtice; nor, if he ſhould, is it our deſire you ſhould ſupport him in them; our directions for your conduct with reſpect to him are only theſe; that you give him the aſſiſtance he may apply for, to reduce to obedience ſuch Zemindars, as have been diſaffected to the government of Moorſhedabad, and to enable him to eſtabliſh ſecurity, in the ſeveral countries of the Bahar province, and collect the revenues due therefrom; and in regard to Raja-

bullub, and all others, who have had the management of the public monies, or the payment of the troops, or otherwiſe have accounts to ſettle with the government. As their diſpoſition to make uſe of the protection of the Engliſh, to ſcreen them from a juſt and uſual examination is well known, you will be careful not to give them countenance or encouragement, ſo far as to put it in their power to make an ill uſe of your name and authority; but, on the contrary, if any ſhall obſtinately and unreaſonably perſiſt in refuſing to ſettle accounts with the government, you are to give the Nabob the aſſiſtance he may require for compelling them to it."

The Nabob arrived at Patna the beginning of March; and his firſt interview with major Carnac was at Bykuntpoor. The ſlights which the Major put upon the Nabob at this interview, may be regarded as a proof, that he had conceived ſome prejudice againſt him before his arrival; and that the wiſhed for harmony was not to be expected between them.

them. The following extracts of the Nabob's and the Major's letters will ſhew, what account each party gave of the converſation that paſſed at the firſt meeting.

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac *to the* Select Committee. Patna, March 6, 1761.

"THE Nabob continues encamped at Bykuntpoor, about ſix or ſeven coſs off, where I have waited upon him; whatever good qualities he may have, courage is not one of them; he betrays a moſt ſhameful fear of the Shahzada, though the unhappy prince is reduced ſo low, as to be much more an object of pity than of fear. Not thinking himſelf ſufficiently ſecure with the large force he brought up with him, he ſent for, without acquainting me, both Ramnarain and Rajebullub, with their forces, whom I had directed to remain in Camgar Cawn's country, with a detachment from our army, under the Command of captain Champion. I no ſooner heard of this, but I recalled captain

tain Champion likewiſe, which has given the Nabob great offence, ſo great, that he aſked me in the publick Durbar, whether I would comply with the contents of the letter he brought me from the Preſident. I anſwered him I would, as far as I was well perſuaded Mr. Vanſittart expected from me, who did not mean that I was to pay him an implicit obedience. I further told him, that the direction of the Engliſh forces was left with me; and that it was not reaſonable any part of them ſhould remain in a country with which they were wholly unacquainted, after he had withdrawn his own people. I have however, at his requeſt, ordered captain Champion's detachment to halt awhile at Bahar, but ſhall call them in entirely, unleſs he ſends out a body of his own troops to act in conjunction with them; the neglect whereof will infallibly bring Cangar Cawn out of his hills again.

THE Nabob next aſked me, whether I looked upon him as Subahdar of the provinces, and was willing to aſſiſt him

as

as such? In answer to which I plainly told him, I would give him all the assistance I could, consistent with honor and justice; that further I would not do for him or any man. The very question gives me room to suspect he has some unreasonable demands to make of me; should this be the case, he will undergo the mortification of a denial. I parted from the Nabob yesterday evening. We were both, you will judge, pretty much dissatisfied with each other; he with me, for speaking my mind so freely to him, a thing very unprecedented in this country; and I with him, for the delays and obstructions he is likely to cause to our military operations."

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob *to Mr.* Vansittart. *Received* March 13, 1761.

"ON the 26th of Rejub I arrived at Bykuntpoor, where I had the pleasure of meeting major Carnac, Mharajah Ramnarain, and Mharajah Rajebullub. Among other things, the Major told

told me, that he had ſent for the troops which were at Gaunty, in the Zemindarree of Camgar Cawn. I replied, that to chaſtiſe Camgar Cawn was no difficult matter; but that it was not proper to recall the troops belonging to the Company and myſelf, in ſo much haſte, from the place where they were ſtationed. This he did not conſent to; but replied, that he would certainly ſend for his Engliſh troops. I delivered your letter to him; when he peruſed it, he ſaid, that Mr. Vanſittart is two hundred coſs from hence; and that he would do whatever he thought adviſeable. I was perſuaded that he would have acted according to your directions, and did not imagine, that he would have given me ſuch an anſwer."

THE Select Committee hoping, by a further explanation of their intentions, to prevent any more diſputes, wrote major Carnac as follows:

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Copy of a Letter from the Select Committee (*Meſſieurs* Vanſittart, Amyatt, Ellis *and* Sumner) *to* Major Carnac.

"WE have received your favor of the 6th; ſuch part thereof as relates to the Shahzada, we ſhall fully reply to in an addreſs to yourſelf and Mr. M'Guire. We are extremely concerned, to ſee the diſagreeable circumſtances that paſſed at your firſt interview with the Nabob; eſpecially, as ſuch a want of confidence ſhewn in a publick Durbar, cannot fail to hurt both parties in the eyes of the world. We hope a longer acquaintance will create a greater harmony; which we muſt earneſtly recommend both to you and the Nabob, as the publick ſervice muſt ſuffer if any differences ſubſiſt; for thoſe are never wanting, who will ſeek to make their advantage by it.

IT is certainly right, and conformable to our inclinations, that the diſpoſition of the army, and the determination on all military matters, ſhould reſt with

our

our commanding officer. The Nabob's ſending for Ramnarain and Rajebullub with their forces, without firſt conſulting you, was a very imprudent ſtep, and much to be blamed, and perhaps may have been attended with bad conſequences to his own affairs; as it ſeems to have been in the power of Camgar Cawn to have returned to his own country. We cannot ſuppoſe the Nabob had any ſuch view, becauſe it is evidently his own loſs; but whatever his reaſons might be, he ought certainly to have acquainted you with them. And we doubt not but he will be ſenſible, from your repreſentations, how much his own intereſt depends on following your advice in all military matters. On the other hand, it is our intention, that you comply with his requeſt, in every thing reſpecting the regulation of the country, and the collection of the revenues. Any detachment he may aſk for, ſuch ſervices you are to grant; unleſs you have reaſon to judge, that the ſafety of our troops will be at too great a riſk.

We

We think this diſtinction ſufficiently clear, and flatter ourſelves that no diſputes can hereafter ariſe."

SOON after this, Colonel Coote arrived in Bengal, and was appointed to take the command of the army at Patna. He accordingly ſet out the 22d of April, and the following inſtructions were given him by the Select Committee.

Extract of the Inſtructions from the Select Committee *(Meſſ.* Vanſittart, Coote, Amyatt, *and* Ellis) *to Colonel* Coote. April 21, 1761.

"WE are adviſed by major Carnac, that there is a difference between the Nabob and Ramnarain, relative to the accounts of the Patna province. We hope this may be amicably and reaſonably adjuſted, and requeſt you will give your aſſiſtance towards it as much as poſſible. As Ramnarain has been remarkably ſteady in his alliance with the Company, and received from Colonel Clive particular aſſurances of his protection with reſpect to his perſon, fortune,

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 for him, if it is 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 Ramnarain, and preventing by that means the neceſſity of any forcible meaſures."

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee *(Meſ.* Vanſittart, Amyatt, *and* Ellis) *to Colonel* Coote. April 28, 1761.

"THE Nabob has made various repreſentations to us of the difficulties he meets with, in ſettling his accounts with Ramnarain. As, on the one hand, we are inclined to ſupport Ramnarain in the government of Patna, with all its juſt advantages; ſo, on the other hand, we would protect the Nabob in the reſpect and authority due to him, and afford him every aſſiſtance for

for the collection of his revenues, without which it is impoſſible he can pay the arrears of his troops, or ſupport the other charges of his government. The nature of the differences between them ſeems to be ſuch, as can only be adjuſted by arbitration; and for this determination, we can pitch upon no other perſon ſo well qualified as yourſelf. We therefore requeſt you will make this buſineſs one of the firſt articles of your attention; and when you are yourſelf acquainted with the merits of the cauſe, you will tranſmit them to us, with your ſentiments thereon."

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee *(Meſſ.* Vanſittart, Amyatt *and* Ellis) *to Colonel* Coote, *and Mr.* M'Gwire. May 8, 1761.

"WE deſire you, gentlemen, will uſe your utmoſt endeavors to adjuſt the accounts between the Nabob and Ramnarain, in ſuch a manner, as ſhall appear to you moſt equitable; and ſo, that the revenues may be duly col-

lected, and the balances not be loſt to the ſircar, and the public ſervice,"

UPON the news of Colonel Coote's arrival, Major Carnac determined to quit Patna, and wrote to the Select Committee in the following terms.

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac *to the* Select Committee. May 8, 1761.

"AS Colonel Coote is coming to the army, who is ſo very able to take charge, both of your military and political concerns, there will be no further occaſion for my ſervices; and as I have great reaſon to believe I ſhall return to Europe the next ſeaſon, unleſs ſomething unforeſeen ſhould happen, I am to requeſt the favor of your permiſſion to apply to Colonel Coote, for leave to go to Calcutta on his arrival. I ſhould not make this requeſt ſo early, but that I am deſirous to be there in time; that in caſe I go home (which is highly probable) I may be able to get myſelf ready to take the opportunity of the firſt conveyance."

BUT

BUT upon the Colonel's arrival at Patna, this reſolution was preſently altered, and they ſeem to have determined to ſtay there together, on purpoſe to counteract, the more effectually, the Nabob in every ſtep he was taking for regulating that diſtracted province. The Colonel, before he left the coaſt, had declared himſelf to be one of the oppoſition againſt the meaſures taken, ſince my coming to Bengal, and this I well knew; but as I was conſcious of the neceſſity of thoſe meaſures, and the country already felt the good effects of them, I did not apprehend, that any men would be ſo violent, as to riſk the public tranquility to ſatisfy their prejudices, eſpecially as all the orders of the Select Committee, to the commanding officers at Patna, tended to give the Nabob a due authority over his own people, and to aſſiſt his intereſts in all that he could reaſonably aſk. However, it ſoon appeared how little effect theſe orders could have, when oppoſed againſt the reſolutions of a violent party. Hardly

a day paſt, but Colonel Coote, and major Carnac, found ſome opportunity of diſtreſſing the Nabob, and throwing difficulties in his way. The Shahzada, who after his defeat had put himſelf under our protection, and had been acknowledged King by us and the Nabob, was yet at Patna, and the Nabob was deſirous of obtaining his grants for the Subahdarree of the provinces; but Colonel Coote oppoſed the application, and he was obliged to wait, and procure them at a great increaſe of expence, after the King had left the province. Ramnarain, the Naib (or deputy Governor) of the Patna province, had three years accounts of his adminiſtration to ſettle, to avoid which, he made uſe of every ſhift and artifice that could be invented, and ſo effectually ſcreened himſelf under the protection of the Colonel and Major, that for four months together not a ſingle explanation could be had from him. He was well acquainted with their ill diſpoſition towards the Nabob, and flattered himſelf, that he might inflame

flame it ſo far, as to cauſe an open breach between them, and ſo raiſe himſelf upon the Nabob's ruin. Whether Colonel Coote was led by Ramnarain's intrigues, or impelled by his own prejudices againſt the Nabob, I ſhall not attempt to determine; but nothing could be better calculated to produce the effects they both wiſhed, than the ſtep the Colonel took upon a report, abſolutely incredible. It was pretended, that the Nabob, with the undiſciplined rabble, which devolved to him from his predeceſſor, had a deſign of attacking our army within the city of Patna, whereupon Colonel Coote made a ſally to the Nabob's camp, with a large eſcort at ſuch an hour, and in ſuch a humor, that if he and the Nabob had met, in all probability, it would have cauſed an immediate ſcene of hoſtility; but the Nabob was in his ſleeping tent, and did not appear.

I LEAVE the world to judge of this, and all the tranſactions during the time that Colonel Coote and major Carnac

were at Patna, from the following original papers.

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob *to Mr.* Vanſittart. *Received* April 12, 1761.

" THROUGH the inſtigations of the diſaffected, the ties of friendſhip are broke between the major and me. He gives me ſuch orders, as it is not in my power to comply with, and will not liſten to the anſwers I make him. For ſeveral days it has been reported, that the Shah will march from hence, and the Major told me to-day, that he would accompany him to the Currumnaſſa, and deſired, I would let Mharajah Ramnarain proceed with him, and that I would give the Shah two lacks of rupees more for his way charges; I replied, that Mharajah Ramnarain was the commander of this country; and that it was neceſſary he ſhould ſtay to regulate the affairs.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob *to Mr.* Vanſittart. *Received* April 28, 1761.

"I BEFORE heard of the imprudence and evil intentions of Ramnarain; but ſince my arrival at Patna, I have ſeen nothing but his baſeneſs and deceit; and therefore major Carnac is diſpleaſed with me, and has ſent me ſuch meſſages by Mr. Luſhington, as it is not in my power to comply with. Till this time, I did not think it neceſſary to acquaint you with the whole affair; but the buſineſs is now going out of my hands, and through the wickedneſs of my enemies, my affairs will be ruined. It is neceſſary for me to acquaint you with all the particulars, and to deſire your advice.

FROM what the Major wrote me, I imagine he is diſpleaſed. Incloſed I ſend you two of his letters for your peruſal. I am much ſurprized, that tho' you wrote to the gentlemen to be in friendſhip with me, and follow my advice, yet they act in ſuch manner, that

I have no power over my own Naib; and then what other buſineſs can I carry on? Now Colonel Coote is coming, and major Carnac is on good terms with him, doubtleſs you have properly repreſented to him, that according to the firſt agreement, whoever remains in this province, on the part of the Company, is to be my ally, and act agreeably to my deſire. Take care that what regulations I think proper to make in this province, may be conſented to by the gentlemen, or elſe give me orders to deliver the affairs of the province into their hands."

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob *to Mr.* Vanſittart. *Received* April 30, 1761.

"YOU acquaint me, that I muſt reſt ſatisfied, and put an end to the buſineſs, and that I muſt not be under any apprehenſions of others. Before my arrival here, I underſtood, that the affairs of the province were ruined, and that Ramnarain acted contrary to my intereſt; but ſince my arrival, I have been an

an eye-witneſs of it. Ramnarain, by his deceits, has brought the Major over to his intereſt, and it was through his repreſentations, that the Major ſent Mr. Luſhington ſo often to me, to deſire I would give him leave to depart. Ramnarain, well knowing that the Major accompanied the Shah, was deſirous of going with him, becauſe his paying the money due from him, and giving me an account of his conduct, would be delayed by that means."

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob *to Mr.* Vanſittart. *Received* June 15, 1761.

"YOU have ſeveral times wrote me to procure a ſunnud for the Subahdarree. In conſequence of your letters, I drew up an addreſs to his Majeſty, when he had intentions of proceeding to Delly with his royal ſtandard; and I wanted to preſent it, and get it ſigned by his Majeſty; but Colonel Coote would not conſent to it, and therefore I deferred it."

Extract

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob *to Mr.* Vanſittart. *Received* June 16, 1761.

" THE ſtate of affairs here is as follows. You were pleaſed to intimate to me, that I ſhould examine the accounts of Mharajah Ramnarain; in conſequence of which, I appointed Mharajah Rajebullub to examine the ſaid accounts in the preſence of Colonel Coote; and ſent word to Mharajah Ramnarain of the reſolution taken by the council; he replied, that he would conſider upon it, and give an anſwer; and for four or five days, Mharajah Rajebullub conſtantly attended the Colonel, in order to examine the papers. Yeſterday Ramnarain made this anſwer to the Colonel; " I will not oppoſe the order of the council, and now, that you ſay, the Nabob is my maſter, I will attend upon and confer with him." Laſt night the Colonel came to my tent, and told me, that he had received no orders from the council for the diſmiſſion of Ramnarain; that I might make a ſcrutiny into

into his accounts, and if he was convicted of any miſconduct, and the council's orders ſhould authorize it, he ſhould be diſmiſſed, but without this, it could by no means be done: and Mr. Watts came to me with Rajebullub in the name of the Colonel, and propoſed the confirmation of Camgar Cawn, with many other demands, and ſaid ſeveral unbecoming things, which I think not fit to repeat; in ſhort, I have no power in any one affair of the government. The Colonel deſired me to go into the * Kellah. How can I go to the Kellah without any authority, and whilſt my enemy is in full poſſeſſion? When I talk of going to Moorſhedabad, he replies, that Shuja Dowla is at hand, and adds, that I pay no regard to his words: I anſwer, "In the name of God, in what inſtance have I been, or am I deficient? Do you take the provinces of Bengal and Bahar into your own hands, and make me accountable for all that I have received theſe ſeven months paſt." But nothing I ſay

* The palace within the city.

ſay is complied with; I have no reliance on any one but you, and none elſe can conduct my affairs. There is a juſt demand on Mharajah Ramnarain of large ſums, on account of the laſt four years. If I make an enquiry into his accounts, I ſhall receive a large ſupply of money; notwithſtanding this, I remain here wearied out, and involved in vexations. The army murmurs on account of the dearneſs of grain, and the ſubjects are reduced, by their diſorders, to the moſt fatal extremities. This * wretch ſits here fomenting diſſentions, and giving my life and fortune a prey to my ſeepoys. For God's ſake let not go my hand in the middle of the ſea, but aſſiſt me as you have always done; and write, in the moſt preſſing terms, to the Colonel, and ſend an order of the council, that he oppoſe not the removal of the Naib of this place, and leave the country now in my hands. After this, I will finiſh all the accounts.

* Ramnarain.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from the Select Committee *(Meſſieurs* Vanſittart, Amyatt, Ellis *and* Sumner) *to Colonel* Coote. June 18, 1761.

"WE hope your advice has had ſome effect upon Ramnarain. It ſeems, however, by his delays in ſettling accounts upon the footing directed in our joint letter to yourſelf and Mr. M'Gwire, dated the 17th of laſt month, that he is endeavoring, by evading the delivery of his accounts, to preſerve his own authority of the Subahſhip, and prevent the Nabob from 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 Ramnarain's power be ſuſpended until his accounts are ſettled; and a computation of the rents tranſmitted us, with the Nabob's propo-

propoſals, for our determination, as deſired in our before-mentioned letter.

THE ſpeedy execution of this is the more neceſſary, as our only dependence for ſupplying the army with money is from the Nabob's balance of about eight lacks, which we have deſired him to pay to the chief and council at Patna; but which, in his letter to the Preſident received laſt night, he ſays it is impoſſible for him to do, or indeed to pay his own troops, until his Aumildars are put in poſſeſſion of the growing revenues, and he is fully ſupported in calling Ramnarain to an account for his adminiſtration, as well as collecting the balances due from the Zemindars. He adds in the ſame letter, "I have not now the power of collecting a ſingle rupee."

IN another letter received at the ſame time, and of which incloſed is a copy, he ſpeaks of an application made to him in behalf of Camgar Cawn, and other recommendations of the ſame nature: he complains of the unbecoming manner in which theſe applications have been made;

made; and repreſents the bad effects ſuch protections have upon his authority. As he leaves us in the uncontrouled poſſeſſion of the countries made over to the Company, ſo neither ought we to interfere in his diſpoſition of thoſe remaining under his juriſdiction; nor indeed, is it conſiſtent with the treaty ſubſiſting between the Nabob and the Company, or the good government of the country. You will be pleaſed to let the Nabob ſettle all the affairs of his dependence as he thinks fit; and only grant him, upon his application, ſuch military aſſiſtance as he may require, and the ſtate of our army permit."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to Mr.* Vanſittart. *Dated* June 16, 1761.

"SINCE the arrival of Col. Coote, agreeably to your directions, eſteeming his will worthy of my principal attention, and regarding our mutual friendſhip, I have never been deficient in acting agreeably thereto. After his arrival here, he ſpoke to me in the following

lowing manner concerning the King's affairs; "that as long as he ſhould remain here, I ſhould conſent to allow him a lack of rupees monthly for his expences; and that when he ſhould go to Delly, I ſhould conſent to diſmiſs him with twelve lacks of rupees and a few troops." Theſe articles, for the Colonel's ſatisfaction, I was under a neceſſity of conſenting to; and I went to his Majeſty, and told him I would be anſwerable for theſe conditions; but he would not conſent to it. Afterwards the Colonel directed me to pay, beſides what I before gave him, fifty thouſand rupees. Agreeable therefore to the Colonel's deſire, I gave him the ſaid ſum by the means of Mharajah Ramnarain, beſides what I paid before. His Majeſty made no ſtay here, but determined to proceed to Delly, and is now on his march that way. When his Majeſty was departing, I ſpoke to the Colonel concerning the obtaining of the ſunnud; but he was not ſatisfied, and forbad me. I was under a neceſſity of acquieſcing in his pleaſure, and deferred it,

it, nor mentioned it again. Roy Shitabroy, who is appointed for the negotiation of affairs at his Majeſty's court, always endeavors to throw things into confuſion: I frequently deſired the Colonel to diſmiſs him as an incendiary, and appoint another in his place, but he would not liſten to it. Ever ſince the Colonel came here, to this time, I have regarded what he ſaid and directed, as of the greateſt importance; and have done every thing according to his will, in order to gain his friendſhip; I have looked upon every thing he ſaid as of the greateſt conſequence, making it a principal point to eſtabliſh a friendſhip between us, and to gain his affection. According to the rules of friendſhip, I have obſerved all the cuſtoms and forms in entertainments of eating and reciprocal viſits more attentively and more heartily with him, than I ever did with any other perſon. In every reſpect, I have done every thing to pleaſe and ſatisfy him, and entered into mutual engagements with him; notwithſtanding which behavior, he has

not conſented to a ſingle thing that I have requeſted of him. Agreeably to what you wrote to me formerly concerning Mharajah Ramnarain's affairs, I ſpoke to the Colonel, and at his recommendation appointed Mharajah Rajebullub to examine the accounts. Golaum Allee Cawn, and the ſaid Mharajah, went backwards and forwards to the Kella for fifteen or ſixteen days together; but Ramnarain neither gave them a ſingle paper, nor a writer to attend them. Afterwards the Colonel came and ſaid to me, "We Europeans do not underſtand the country accounts, I will ſend Mharajah Ramnarain to you; he ſhall not be diſmiſſed, but you may examine his accounts yourſelf." This I would not conſent to; nevertheleſs, the next day he ſent him to me, contrary to my will, with Mr. Watts. Since that day, to the preſent moment, he (Ramnarain) protracts the time in going backwards and forwards, and fixing the time for preparing his papers, but he has not produced a ſingle paper, nor paid a ſingle cowry,

conſy, not delivered over the charge of a rupee's worth of the country. Tho' I have complained, no one would liſten to me, nor give me redreſs. Ever ſince my arrival here, the Engliſh ſeepoys have been ſtationed at the gates of the city, and would not permit my people to paſs and repaſs. Mr. M'Gwire being ſomewhat indiſpoſed, I went to ſee him at the factory; and from thence I went to the Colonel, and ſat down and converſed with him. He deſired, that on Tueſday the 12th of Zeckaada, I would go into the Kella, and on Friday the 15th, cauſe the Coolba to be read, and ſicca ſtruck in the name of his Majeſty. This I agreed to, and returned home. When the officers of my troops heard that I was going into the Kella, they repreſented, that they ſhould have frequent occaſion to come to me, in order to lay their requeſts and petitions before me; and that till the ſeepoys, &c. were taken off, they could not paſs and repaſs without interruption; that when Meer Mahomed Jaffier Allee Cawn, and Na-

ſir-ool-moolk, deceaſed, reſided in the Kella, the ſeepoy guards were not upon the gates; and that till they were taken off, they ſhould not be able to paſs; conſidering, therefore, that the ſeepoys were men of low diſpoſition, frequently oppoſing men of credit in paſſing, and preſenting their pieces to them, and that many of my people were proud and haughty, ſo that diſputes might ariſe, and diſturbances be created; I therefore wrote a letter to the Colonel, requeſting he would take off the ſeepoys from the gates, and that then I would go to the Kella. Upon the receipt of this letter, which contained no more than what I have here mentioned, the Colonel was very angry, and flew into ſuch a paſſion, that he ſaid he would ſend for the King again; and told Golaum Allee Cawn, who was then preſent, that he would not take the guards off the gates, and that I might ſend troops to drive them off. Since the day the Colonel arrived here, he has declared to me, that I muſt comply with every thing that he ſhall recom-

recommend; and, accordingly, he has ſince told me in perſon, and by meſſages brought by Mr. Watts and Sheik Camaul, that "I muſt appoint Nundcoomar to the Fougedarree of Hoogly, give the government of Purnea to the ſon of Allee Cooley Cawn, reſtore Muzuffer Allee (who plundered Naſir-ool-moolk's jewels to the amount of eight lacks of rupees) to the Zemindarree of Carrackpoor, reſtore Camgar Cawn to the Zemindarree of Mey, and regulate the Zemindarrees of Radſhay and Dinagepoor, according to his pleaſure." Tho' I deſired the Colonel to appoint a Muttaſeddee, to examine the accounts of my eight months government, and ſet me free, he would not liſten to it. All my hopes of reliance are on your friendſhip and attachment to your engagements. This is the only conſolation I have under my preſent afflictions; it is the dependence I have upon your word that keeps me alive, without this, it would be impoſſible to ſurvive them. My hopes were, from the revenues of this pro-

vince, to pay my debt to the Company, and reduce the number of my forces; but nothing is yet done, I apprehend the ſeepoys will aſſemble, as in Meer Jaffier Allee Cawn's time, and put my life in danger, and bring ſhame and diſhonor upon my family. In the eight months of my government, I have ſcarce had leiſure to drink a little water, I have not had a minute's time to eat or enjoy ſleep. The four months that I have been here, involved in troubles, I have not enjoyed the leaſt happineſs, except in the confidence I have in your friendſhip. My ſhame and diſhonor are compleated, and I have no one to complain to but you; I hope you will ſpeedily write me in what manner I can extricate myſelf from theſe difficulties, and eſtabliſh my credit and reputation. Every particular of what I have now wrote has befallen me, God is my witneſs, and Mr. M'Gwire is acquainted with every circumſtances. I am ſorry that you, who are my patron, and the partaker of my afflictions, ſhould at this time be at ſuch a diſtance,

a diſtance, and that ſo much time ſhould be taken up in writing and receiving letters. The rains are come on, and the ſeepoys wages daily increaſe. The affairs of the country fall every day into greater confuſion, and every thing contributes to make my life a burthen to me; my hopes are in your favor, for God's ſake make no delay; if you do, my affairs are utterly ruined. Now this remains that you, who are concerned in my welfare, come here yourſelf, or ſend for me to relate my ſorrows to you.

In the Nabob's *own Hand.*

ALL affairs here are at an end, and the ruinous ſituation of my affairs, at this place, has rendered my caſe deſperate. I have wrote to you every particular, and hope from your benevolence, that you will conſider every ſyllable, and ſpeedily redreſs my complaints.

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob *to Mr.* Vanſittart. *Dated* June 17, 1761.

"YESTERDAY I ſent you by the means of Mr. M'Gwire a letter, containing all the news, the contents of which you will underſtand. Laſt night Colonel Coote made an entertainment for the Dutch, and was making merry. His guards were ſtationed all round the Kella. About twelve at night Mharajah Ramnarain collected his people together, and ſent word to the Colonel, that I had got my troops in readineſs to attack the Kella in the morning, and that I would ſpare neither of them. The Colonel, being deceived by the ſnare, got his people ready. My Hircarras brought me intelligence of it, but I gave no credit to it. This morning Mr. Watts entered my private apartment, which is near the Zenana, calling out, "Where is the Nabob?" and then ſtopt. After him Colonel Coote, in a great paſſion with his horſemen, Peons, Seepoys and others, with a cocked piſtol in each hand,

hand, came ſwearing * into my tent. It ſo happened, that I was aſleep in the Zenana, and none of my guards were preſent. How ſhall I expreſs the unbecoming manner in which the Colonel went about from tent to tent, with thirty-five horſemen and two hundred ſeepoys, calling out, "Where is the Nabob?" He left ſome of his people at the Zenana and Dewanconna, and went towards the ſouth tent. The eunuch of the Serai and Mr. Watts prevented his entering, ſaying, the Nabob is aſleep, and this is the private tent of the Zenana. The Colonel returned, and proceeded through my whole army, and ſeeing every one without arms, or any preparations, went back to the Kella. This baſe † man is ungrateful, treacherous, and intent only on miſchief; and to ſupport ſuch a wicked man, who has not any fear of God, and has even forgot himſelf, is to give cauſe for continual animoſities. This you never ſuſpected. He

* The original is, *uttering God-dammees.*

† Ramnarain.

He is arrived at this pitch now, and God knows what lengths he will go to hereafter. In the beginning of the night, unknown to me, he ſtruck ſiccas, to ſhow his own zeal, and be before hand with me, and paſſed them. At midnight he ſet on foot this diſturbance. I appeal to your judgment, what ſhame and diſgrace the news of this event will bring upon me in the minds of my enemies and equals, from this place to the bounds of Hindoſtan: a loſs of honor is not to be retrieved. You have ſeveral times wrote me with great aſſurances of friendſhip, that the Engliſh troops were mine, and under my command. The meaneſt wretches would not have behaved as theſe people have done. In what manner will my troops behave to me, after ſeeing theſe things? Notwithſtanding all the care I have taken, and ſtill continue to take, it is impoſſible for me to prevent this traitor from breeding diſſentions, and giving my life and honor to the winds. If you are determined to countenance him, my buſineſs is at an end; you may then

then inveſt him with the Subahſhip, and I ſhall be contented with the continuance of your friendſhip alone. If you approve of continuing me in the Subahſhip, ſend orders without delay for his diſmiſſion, and an enquiry into his accounts. There is great danger in delay, and it will tend to my detriment. If this traitor is allowed the leaſt occaſion or opportunity, like a ſnake half killed, he will never leave off his venom or inveteracy, but will throw every thing into confuſion, and then all your endeavors will prove ineffectual; there is an end to every thing. It is now the time to give me a definitive anſwer, and to ſend expreſs orders upon this ſubject to the gentlemen, who have been, and are the dupes of his craft and deceit. As it was incumbent on me, I have now told you every thing; the reſt I leave to you and your reſolutions.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from Mr. M'Gwire *to Mr.* Vanſittart. *Dated* June 17, 1761.

"THIS morning I forwarded you a letter received laſt night from his Excellency, and this will incloſe another, at which your ſurprize will not be greater than mine was, when the Nabob ſent me advice of the treatment he had met with this morning from the Colonel. In my letter yeſterday, I offered it as my opinion, either immediately to have Ramnarain diſmiſſed, or to come yourſelf to ſettle matters here, otherwiſe the poor Nabob muſt fall. I have not heard any thing from the Colonel concerning this affair; or of his motives, further than that he expreſſed himſelf yeſterday diſſatisfied with the Nabob, for ſending him word, that he would not coin the ſiccas, or read the Cootba, till the guards were taken off the city gates. But no doubt he will write the account of his proceedings, and give you reaſons for his conduct. I foreſaw in ſome degree

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the bad conſequences of giving ſuch ample powers to your commanders in chief. Few men can brook the loſing any part of the authority wherewith they are veſted; and fewer ſtill, who can ſupport that authority with moderation. If you cannot come yourſelf, as I find the gentlemen at Madras will not ſend the regiment, have not you the power to recall him, and confine the Major to military operations only? I am perſuaded, this * Gentoo Rajah has laid a trap, into which the Colonel has fallen, by raiſing a report, that the Nabob intended to attack the city as laſt night. However, when the Colonel arrived at his tents this morning, there was not even his cuſtomary guard there; and as there were not the leaſt grounds or appearances of hoſtility on his Excellency's part, the engagement is deferred till another opportunity. I have ſent the Nabob word, to bear with his treatment a few days longer till your anſwer arrives, and not to take any haſty determination thereon.

* Ramnarain.

thereon, that you will certainly bear him through; but he apprehends daily inſults from his own people, now they find he is inſulted publickly by the Engliſh, by whom they were before kept in ſome awe. If you find yourſelf unable to carry the Nabob through his preſent difficulties, let the Rajah be declared Subah, and let this miſerable great man return inglorious, diſgraced, and deſpiſed to Moorſhedabad, there to enjoy a ſingle day of quiet, to which he has been an entire ſtranger ever ſince his arrival here.

I AM told the Rajah ſtruck ſiccas yeſterday in the Mint; if ſo (and I eſteem my authority good) it is plain that he is certain of ſucceeding to the government of this place, for he had not permiſſion from the Nabob to act in this manner.

HIS Excellency's Moonſhee is juſt arrived: I aſked him the purport of the letter he wrote the Colonel. He ſays it amounted to this; "That he would come into the Kella agreeable to appointment,

ment, but that his Zemindars would not acquieſce thereto, until our guards were taken off of the city gates, that they might have liberty to enter and go out when they thought proper; that this being granted, he would enter the Kella, and then and there ſtrike the ſiccas, and read the Cootba." But as the Nabob will tranſmit you a copy of the letter, I refer you to it.

I WILL now ſuppoſe the Nabob to have refuſed complying with the ſtrikeing the ſiccas, and reading the Cootba, as alledged againſt him (but before this comes to hand you will know to the contrary, by his having previous to this ſent orders to Moorſhedabad, Dacca, &c. to ſtrike the ſiccas on the 25th of this moon, being a lucky day, and of theſe his intentions he has wrote the King). Was this a reaſon for the Colonel's going armed to his tent? or has he authority to act in this manner unnoticed? Should he not have complained of the Nabob's having broke his promiſe to him, that the board might take notice of his behavior?

havior? May not the Nabob with juſtice ſay, that he has purchaſed a ſtick to break his own head? In ſhort, Sir, it appears plainly to me, that the board meets with more inſult from this ſtep than the Nabob, who throws himſelf on them for protection.

HAD the Nabob formed the deſign of forcibly taking poſſeſſion of the city, could we not have had Hircarras, to have given the earlieſt intimations of his firſt motions to this proceeding, without the Colonel's taking it for granted, and going, with two companies of ſeepoys, and a troop of horſe, to the Nabob's tents, two gurries before the day broke?

THE Nabob continues to requeſt you will give his letters a careful peruſal, without ſhowing them to your Moonſhee."

Copy of a Letter from Mr. M'Gwire *to Mr.* Vanſittart. *Dated* June 18, 1761.

"I WROTE you laſt night to encloſe an account from his Excellency, ſetting forth the ſituation he was in, and the

the conduct of the Colonel towards him. This evening I was favored with a viſit from the Colonel, in which he gave me the whole account, declaring, that the Nabob took every ſtep, he could think of, to render the ſervices he propoſed doing him of no effect; that they had agreed, at their laſt meeting, to ſtrike the ſiccas, and read the Cootba, as to-morrow; that the Nabob was to come into the city and live there; and that he propoſed doing every thing, the Nabob could wiſh, to render him eaſy; and, in conſequence of this agreement, he, as well as the Nabob, had wrote circular letters of their intentions; that he was ſurprized, inſtead of finding the Nabob reſolute in this agreement, to receive a letter from him, ſetting forth, he would not come into the city, till he had taken off the ſeepoy guards; and about the ſame time he received intelligence, that his Excellency had a conſultation with his Jemmatdars; and that he had further reaſons to believe he intended to raiſe his forces, and attack

the city; that he had taken the neceſſary precautions, the night before, to prevent any ſuch deſign taking place; and in the morning went himſelf to ſee the Nabob (taking with him his troop) to let him and his forces know, that he was not to be terrified. I obſerved to him, that the Nabob intended to keep to his agreement; but his Jemmatdars were averſe to it, unleſs they might come in, and go out, when they thought proper. He replied, he was ſo far from hindering them, that he had conſented to put ſome of the Nabob's people Chowkeys on the gate, together with his own; that the intention of keeping thoſe Chowkeys there, was to keep out the rabble of his army. To-morrow was the day fixed upon for ſtriking the ſiccas; and whilſt the Colonel remained here, Mr. Watts arrived with a meſſage from the Nabob, to whom I underſtand the Colonel ſent him, with ſome terms of accommodations, as I imagine; for after a private conference in my chamber, he told him when he came out, to return

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to the Nabob, and know if he would ſtrike the ſiccas to-morrow. Here you have all I know of the matter."

Copy of a Letter from the Nabob *to Colonel* Coote. June 15, 1761 *.

"IT was agreed, that on Tueſday, the 12th of the month Zeecada, I ſhould enter the Kella, and publiſh with your concurrence the Cootba, and ſiccas, in the name of his ſacred and high Majeſty; conformably thereto, I was reſolved upon going to the Kella. The Riſſaladars and Jemmatdars, with me, hearing of this, repreſented to me, that from the continuance of the guards of ſeepoys, at the gates of the city, their paſſing and repaſſing would be obſtructed; that in the time of the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn, and the Nabob Naſir-ool-moolk, deceaſed, it never happened, that Telingas had the guard of the gates of the city, and that till thoſe guards were taken off they would not go. For

* Referred to in the Nabob's and Mr. M'Gwire's Letters.

this reaſon I trouble you, that it is neceſſary to take off the Telingas from the gates of the city, that I may go to the Kella, and attend with you to the publication of the Cootba and ſiccas: and theſe people, as they deſire, may have free ingreſs and egreſs to and from me."

JUDGING it abſolutely neceſſary to put a ſtop, as ſoon as poſſible, to ſuch dangerous animoſities, as ſeemed to threaten the country with a new war, I loſt no time in laying before the council, the repreſentation I had received of this inſult offered the Nabob, by Colonel Coote, and requeſted them to apply an effectual remedy to ſuch diſorders. The following is a copy of my letter delivered into council, the 26th of June.

GENTLEMEN,

"IT is with the utmoſt concern I lay before you two letters, received laſt night from the Nabob, containing a detail of ſome late occurrences at Patna, which ſerve to ſhew how much the preſent happy tranquility of theſe provinces

provinces is threatened by the effects of the violent prejudices, which were taken up ſoon after the late Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn reſigned his government, and have been ſo induſtriouſly propagated ever ſince.

THE urgency of the preſent circumſtances, will not allow me time to enter into a detail of the ſeveral facts, which, when collected, will ſhew the truth of what I have above aſſerted; ſuch a detail ſhall be my next work; and I will engage to prove, that thoſe prejudices are the foundation of the preſent dangers. But firſt let us endeavor, as far as in us lies, to remedy the diſorder, and guard againſt theſe dangers.

I SAY as far as in us lies, becauſe our future orders may perhaps be as little regarded as our paſt. If the officers commanding our troops had attended to the inſtructions we ſent them, the diſputes at Patna had not continued till this time, nor been carried to ſo dangerous a length.

RAMNARAIN the Naïb, or deputy of that province, has been ever remarkable for his capacity in the arts and intrigues of this country. He ſoon diſcovered how many had taken up prejudices againſt the preſent Nabob Coſſim Allee Cawn, and who they were; he had a long account to ſettle of his three or four years adminiſtration; and ſought, with too much ſucceſs, to engage ſuch as he knew to be already biaſſed againſt the Nabob, to ſupport him in refuſing or evading the rendering an account of his adminiſtration.

COMPLEAT tranſlations of the Nabob's two letters ſhall be laid before you at our next meeting. As yet they have paſſed under no eyes but my own; becauſe I think it highly neceſſary we ſhould conceal, as much as poſſible, from the world, the extreme ill uſage which the Nabob has received. Thanks to his moderation, and his entire dependence on our juſtice and good faith, the open hoſtilities, which ſeem to have been intended, were for that time avoided; what he

may

may have been forced to, before now, is a ſubject in my mind of much uneaſineſs.

THE moſt material circumſtances of the Nabob's letter are theſe following. (Here follows a recital of them agreeable to the contents of the letter already entered.)

THIS, gentlemen, is the ſubſtance of the Nabob's letter, dated the 16th of June. The other, of the 17th, contains the relation of a fact, yet more ſurpriſing and alarming. (Here follows the account of Colonel Coote's behavior, in the Nabob's camp, as related in the Nabob's ſecond letter already entered.)

THIS, gentlemen, is the fact as related in the Nabob's ſecond letter, to which he adds a ſtrong repreſentation of the ill effects, which ſuch an affront put upon him, muſt have on his reputation in all parts of India, and even among his own people; and he concludes, with requiring juſtice to be done him.

NO account of this affair is yet arrived from the Colonel; but along with the Nabob's letters I received one from

Mr. M'Gwire, dated the 17th; and another of the 18th, is juſt come to hand. Copies of ſuch parts of theſe as relate to this affair I have annexed hereunto; and as I regard that gentleman always as a member of the Board, and of the Select Committee, I think ſome regard is to be had to his opinion upon the ſtate of affairs on the ſpot where he is, notwithſtanding the Colonel's refuſal to be guided by, or even to reply to the inſtructions we addreſſed to him and Mr. M'Gwire jointly.

THAT gentleman has however tranſmitted me, from time to time, accounts of what has been paſſing at Patna; and obſerved to me in two or three different letters, that he ſuſpected, from the many unreaſonable applications made to the Nabob, and from other circumſtances, that there was a ſettled and fixed deſign of bringing things to an extremity. I muſt own, that ſome of the meaſures taken here, and which ſhall be particularized in the Narrative I propoſe to lay before you, ſeemed to favor ſuch an opinion;

nion; yet I could never bring myſelf to believe, that prejudice could hurry men ſo far, as to make them careleſs of the preſent happy tranquility of theſe provinces in general, and of the Company's valuable poſſeſſions; and deſirous of putting theſe bleſſings, and the lives of thouſands to riſk, by opening a ſcene of freſh troubles, which could not fail to ſucceed the going to war with the Nabob without reaſon, and without proviſion made for the better regulation of the government after his death or expulſion, ſuppoſing one of theſe to be the conſequence of our taking up arms againſt him, as it probably would. Beſides theſe reflections, another conſideration prevented my giving credit to there being really ſuch a deſign, and which indeed would have led me to hold the deſign, and the authors, in contempt, if I could have perſuaded myſelf ſuch did exiſt; I mean the repeated orders of the Select Committee to the commanding officer of the army to ſupport and aſſiſt the Nabob, which I thought ſufficient to prevent any bad

bad effects. But this affair is grown more ſerious than I could have imagined.

WHEN I conſider the frequent repreſentations made to the Board, both by Major Carnac and Colonel Coote, of the little ſervices to be expected from the Nabob's troops; that he was incapable even of calling an ordinary Zemindar to account without our aſſiſtance; when I conſider alſo, that not only the city of Patna, but all the reſt of the frontiers of the Nabob's dominions, are and have been defended by our troops, as Beerboom, Midnapoor and Chittagong, I find it almoſt impoſſible to perſuade myſelf, the Colonel could really think the Nabob had a deſign to aſſault the city; and if he could entertain ſuch a thought, he ſhould have let the Nabob begin the aſſault, in which he could not poſſibly have ſucceeded, and then the whole world would have been convinced that the Nabob was in the wrong.

BUT whatever might have been the Colonel's deſign, his ſally, as related in the Nabob's ſecond letter, was ſo conducted,

ducted, as might naturally have been expected to produce ſome diſturbance in the Nabob's camp, and of that the immediate conſequence would have been a general engagement between two armies, which I have always regarded as acting in concert as ſtrict friends and allies: I have ſaid, gentlemen, and I repeat it, that it was owing to the Nabob's moderation, and his entire confidence in our juſtice and good faith, that hoſtilities did not immediately follow this affront put upon him. But as I am doubtful what further meaſures may have been purſued to this time;

I DO therefore, in the firſt place, ſolemnly proteſt againſt thoſe whom it may concern, for all the bad conſequences that may enſue before the directions of the Board hereupon can reach the army; and declare myſelf not accountable for the blood that may be ſpilt, the diſturbances that may lay waſte the country, and the loſſes which the Company in particular may ſuſtain in their poſſeſſions, by any meaſures which may be purſued

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in contradiction to the orders of the Select Committee, corroborated and confirmed by repeated letters from myſelf to the commanders of our army, to whom, as well as to the Nabob, I have continually recommended reciprocal reſpect and friendſhip; and moderation in all differences of opinion.

AND in the next place I do propoſe, and moſt ſtrenuouſly recommend to the board, to come to ſuch reſolutions, as may beſt tend to prevent any danger of this unexpected kind in future; and particularly, that the charge of the army may be given to ſome officer who will obey our orders."

THIS account of the ſituation of affairs at Patna being read in the council, occaſioned very ſerious reflections; for indeed there was great reaſon to fear, that as Colonel Coote had proceeded to ſo great a length againſt the Nabob, ſome other aggravation would have happened, and open hoſtilities have enſued. And as the King's departure from Patna ſome days before had made it needleſs

to

to keep ſo large a force there; therefore to prevent further diſputes with the Nabob, it was determined by the majority, that Colonel Coote and Major Carnac ſhould be ordered down to Calcutta, leaving only four companies of infantry, and two battalions of ſeepoys, under the command of captain Carſtairs, the ſenior officer of the Company's troops there, after major Carnac; and that captain Carſtairs ſhould act entirely under the orders of Mr. M'Guire, the chief of the factory. Meſſieurs Amyatt and Ellis gave it as their opinion, that Colonel Coote ſhould have the choice of coming down to Calcutta, or remaining at Patna; but as this would not have removed the danger which threatened the province, from the ill-will thoſe gentlemen bore againſt the Nabob, the motion was overruled by the majority, Meſſieurs Vanſittart, Sumner and Smith.

THE foregoing repreſentation of Colonel's Coote's ſally to the Nabob's camp is ſuch, as was immediately tranſmitted by

by the Nabob. It is juſt to inſert the Colonel's own account of it.

Copy of a Letter from Colonel Coote *to Mr.* Vanſittart. *Dated* June 19, 1761.

"IN the poſtſcript of my letter of the 13th inſtant, I acquainted you of the Nabob's having been with me; and by the converſation I had with him, Rajebullub and Golam Allee Cawn that day, I had all the reaſon to expect, that I ſhould ſoon have his affairs ſettled to the ſatisfaction of every body, and my own credit. I likewiſe informed you, of his agreeing to proclaim the King this day. He aſked me, whether it would not be proper for him to come into the Kella on this occaſion? I told him, it was a very proper ſtep, and what I had long wiſhed for, as by that means I could be oftener with him than my health would permit me now. Upon which, he ſaid he would come in on Wedneſday the 17th; and aſked me, if I would pay him a viſit that day upon his arrival? I replied, that I would with pleaſure;

pleaſure; and that I would likewiſe wait on him the morning he intended proclaiming the King, receive a dreſs from him, and proceed in public with him to the Moſque; and told him, that as I had wrote to all Zemindars of the country, to come in and ſettle their accounts with him, and had promiſed to write to the King by the Vakeel, I thought the more public we appeared together, it would have the greater weight in tranſacting his affairs; on this occaſion the Nabob, and his attendants above-mentioned, expreſſed their ſatisfaction in the ſtrongeſt terms.

HE then aſked me to have our ſeepoys taken off the gates of the city. In anſwer I told him, it ſurprized me he ſhould ſtill harp on that ſubject, as I had before given him ſufficient reaſons of their utility; and added, that thoſe ſeepoys were a part of his army, and under the command of captain Robertſon, and were therefore ready to obey his orders; that the directions I had given captain Robertſon were, that they ſhould ſtop nobody

nobody belonging to the Nabob from paſſing and repaſſing into the city, only not to deliver the gates to an armed force without my order, and to keep their poſt quiet. That he had himſelf often declared he had no command over his own forces; and that it was very well known, that thoſe very forces had formerly an intention (and were near putting it in execution) to plunder the city; that at this particular time I had but very few troops with me, and therefore, for his ſecurity as well as my own, I could not be too much on my guard. He likewiſe aſked me, if he ſhould bring in ſome of his principal people to reſide with him? I replied, by all means: they then took their leave ſeemingly very well ſatisfied.

I HEARD nothing from him afterwards till the 15th at night, when he ſent me by one of his Chubdars a letter (the copy of which I now incloſe you, together with others relative to the tranſactions here) requiring an immediate anſwer. The method of his ſending the letter,

letter, and the purport of it ſurpriſed me not a little, and I ſent for Golam Allee Cawn, who was then in the houſe, to come to my room, and aſked him, if he knew the purport of the letter I had juſt received from the Nabob. He ſaid, that before he left the Durbar, he heard there was a letter to be ſent; and by what he could find, he thought a very improper one after what had paſſed at our laſt meeting, and wiſhed, that the Nabob had better adviſers; I told him I wiſhed ſo too, and that I thought it muſt appear very odd, after I had wrote that morning to the King, and that I had ſent circular letters to the Zemindars, to come and ſettle their accounts with him as Subah, to have the ceremony of proclaiming the King performed, in the capital of the province, by his ſervant, a Gentoo, whilſt he, a Muſſulman, remained in his camp in the neighborhood. This affair ſeemed to me to be of ſuch conſequence, that I deſired to have nothing more to do with meſſages, but deſired to ſee himſelf next day. When

I was informed that the Nabob would not come; and by intelligence, that he had moſt of his Jemmatdars in conſultation with him; I, at night, ſent to captain Robertſon, to keep a good look out, and ſee that no miſchief was done; and I likewiſe ſent Hircarras into his camp, to obſerve what paſſed, and bring me an account. At midnight I was acquainted, that their guards were doubled, and a great ſtir among them. This I find, by the following expreſſion of Golam Allee Cawn, was partly occaſioned by Coja Gregory, which he has ſince dropt in company with Mr. Watts, that he was not afraid to tell Coja Gregory, at the time he was ordering it, that it would be productive of no good, and muſt give offence to the Colonel. Next morning, in order to be better acquainted how things went, I thought it neceſſary to go with my uſual attendants, to the Nabob's tent, to ſpeak with him about thoſe matters, and finding he was not up, I departed, leaving Mr. Watts with him, to let him know how ſenſible I was of

his

his ill treatment, having always acted the friendly part by him; and that by theſe proceedings, he was putting it out of my power to ſerve him: I then took a tour round his encampment, where I found every thing wore the appearance of tranquility."

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Coote *to the Governor and Council. Dated* July 17, 1761.

"A FEW hours before I left Patna, I had the honor of your letter of the 26th of June, together with copies of the Nabob's and Mr. M'Gwire's letters to the preſident; as alſo extracts of the minutes of council.

As I have not been the firſt perſon, whoſe actions have been condemned unheard, I therefore cannot look upon it as a particular misfortune attending me alone. The Nabob's diſagreement with me, on account of proclaiming the King, which ſeems to be the ſource of the indignities ſhewn me, I ſhould have before now related to the Board, had I

looked on it as an affair of any conſequence to trouble them with; but as a common occurrence, I related it in my private correſpondence with Mr. Vanſittart (in my letter of the 19th of June, to which I beg leave to refer you) whoſe weight with the Nabob, as it ſeemed to me, might have been ſufficient to ſettle any little points of variance. But to my great ſurprize, the moſt ſcandalous conſtructions are put upon all my actions, and the greateſt falſehoods, no ſooner propagated than credited; which word has any weight, will evidently appear by the letter before-mentioned, and what follows.

On the 16th of June in the evening, having had different reports brought me, concerning the Nabob's proceedings, I told captain Eiſer, I intended paying him a viſit next morning, to endeavor to ſettle matters with him; and at ſupper time, defired that gentleman to order the troopers, and my uſual attendants, to be ready a little after day-light. About ſix o'clock next morning, I ſet out from my

my quarters to the Nabob's (which is about two coſs) with about twenty-five European cavalry, and one company of ſeepoys, which happened, at that time, to be a fewer number than uſually attended me, when I went upon public viſits; and I ſent Mr. Watts on before, to let the Nabob know I was coming to wait on him. By the time I arrived at his tents it was near ſeven o'clock. The Nabob I find accuſes me of going, in a violent manner, through his tents; on the contrary, the place where I alighted from my horſe was near the Durbar tent, and the place where I always had alighted; and upon ſeeing Mr. Watts, I aſked him where the Nabob was? Who replied, he was aſleep in his Zenana; and as I had reaſon to ſuſpect from my intelligence, the laſt twenty-four hours, that his intentions were not the beſt, I therefore alighted, took my piſtols out of my holſters for my own ſecurity (as I ſeldom ride with a ſword) but declare they were not cocked; and I affirm, that I went no further than the Durbar tent,

where I ſat down for a little time; till, finding the Nabob did not come, I deſired captain Eiſer to order two troopers, to ſee that no body of troops came in at the back part of the tent; and I now declare, that no one was placed on his Zenana. As the Nabob did not come, I went away; and for the reſt of this affair, I refer you to my letter to the Preſident.

THE Nabob further accuſes me, of having endeavored to oblige him to make up matters with Camgar Cawn, and the Curruckpoor Rajah. I declare, I never mentioned them to him in any other light than that, if he could not by any means take them, to make up matters with them; and that I particularly refuſed to ſee their Vackeels; and never had any correſpondence with them, but by two letters, which I wrote them by the Nabob's deſire; copies of which have been tranſmitted to the Preſident. With regard to the Dinagepoor people, I was petitioned by the ſons of the late Rajah (whoſe country had been taken from them

them by the Nabob, after taking a nezzer of ten lacks of rupees) requeſting, that I would ſpeak with the Nabob in their behalf, and deliver their petition to him; which was all the part I acted in that affair. With reſpect to the * Rajah of Radſhay, Mr. Batſon deſired I would endeavor to ſerve him with the Nabob, as he had been fleeced by the Royroyan, and his country taken from him. I accordingly repreſented it to him; ſince which repreſentation, that poor unhappy man (tho' ſeventy years of age) has been tied up by the heels, and flogged

* It ought to be remarked, that the perſon, whoſe ſufferings are here ſo pathetically deſcribed, was not the Rajah, but Dewan or Steward to the Raunee of Radſhay. This country (the richeſt in Bengal) had been put under the inſpection of the officers of the Durbar, by Jaffier Allee Cawn, who managed the collections jointly with the Dewan. In the ſame ſtate it now remained. I take notice of this, becauſe it ſhews how great the Colonel's prejudices againſt Meer Coſſim were, which could make him ſo readily ſwallow every ſtory told him againſt the Nabob; ſince, in the preſent inſtance, it is plain, that he really knew not who the perſon was, whoſe cauſe he ſo zealouſly eſpouſed.

with rattans almoſt to death. This ſhocking piece of cruelty, not being thought ſufficient, he was put in irons, and remained in that ſituation, till Mr. Batſon, thro' his humanity, with difficulty, by his intereſt, got him freed from his ſhackles; but the poor old man ſtill continues a priſoner. As to Myrza Kelly Allee, I never mentioned him to the Nabob, nor has any body done it by any authority from me. The only perſon, whoſe intereſt I urged, was the unhappy brother of Meer Jaffier, with whom I was formerly acquainted, and whom I found, on my journey to Patna, at Rajemahl, ſtarving with a large family. I begged the Nabob to do ſomething for him; and he ordered him one thouſand rupees *per* month, chiefly through the interceſſion of Rajebullub, who, by my requeſt, uſed his intereſt on that occaſion; but that poor man has not profited by this in the leaſt, having hitherto not received a ſingle rupee. As there was a report ſpread, that the Fougedar of Hoogly was to be turned out, Mr. Watts

Watts mentioned, in a private diſcourſe with Rajebullub, that if the Nabob would give that poſt to Nundcomar, it might be the means of obliging ſome gentlemen, whoſe friendſhip might be acceptable to him; and this was really hinted from a friendly view towards the Nabob.

THE public character I was in, obliged me to receive petitions, and to hear the complaints of every one. I therefore could not do leſs than inform the Nabob of them; but ſince I found, that any applications through me were the ſure means of hurting the poor people who complained (the Nabob having declared publickly, that whoever applied to the Engliſh was not his friend) I afterwards prevented their troubling me with their petitions."

WHETHER the Nabob's account of this affair be conſidered, or the Colonel's own, it is a proceeding which can only be accounted for, from the effects of a ſtrong paſſion; unleſs it be preſumed (which ſo extraordinary a conduct might juſtify)

juſtify) that the Colonel had a further view in this inſult, to provoke the Nabob to ſome act of deſperation, in order to have a pretence to bring about the meaſures planned for his deſtruction. Certain it is, the Nabob, in this inſtance, had too ſtriking an example of the dangers he had to apprehend, from the violence of the party formed againſt him.

SECTION VII.

Major Carnac's Negotiations with the King; and his Diſputes with the Board.

Major Carnac *eſcorts the* Shahzada *to the Limits of the Province.—Two Letters from the Major, with Copies of his Addreſſes, to that Prince.—Mr.* Vanſittart's *Remarks on them.—Anſwer of the Council to Major* Carnac.—*Other Letters from Major* Carnac, *ſhewing his Diſreſpect to the Board.—Their Orders in Conſequence.—Other Letters from Major* Carnac *to the Board, with Mr.* Vanſittart's

Vanſittart's Remarks.—The Moderation of the Board on theſe Occaſions.

WHEN the orders for Colonel Coote's and Major Carnac's coming to Calcutta arrived at Patna, the Major was attending the King, with a detachment, which was directed to eſcort him to the limits of the province. During this march, the Major applied to the King for a confirmation of the Company's grants and privileges, but in a ſtile, and with expreſſions, which tended to deſtroy the Company's influence, and the effects of the ſervices which they had afforded him, by reſting the whole merit of thoſe ſervices upon his own perſon and authority. This the King refuſed, but with the eluſive pretence, that he would grant them, whenever a proper perſon ſhould be ſent with the uſual tribute to receive them. At the ſame time, he made a voluntary offer of the Dewannee of the three provinces to the Company, upon the ſame conditions. I call it voluntary, becauſe it no where

appears

appears that it was ſolicited; nor had Major Carnac any authority or orders to ſollicit ſuch a grant; which could have only ſerved to render the breach between the Nabob and the Company ſtill more irreparable.

THIS is not the only inſtance of Major Carnac's eagerneſs to raiſe his own importance above the level of his ſuperiors; it could only be by his advice the King addreſſed his letters, ſome to the Governor and Council jointly, but moſt to the Council only, without the Governor. An addreſs, as contrary to the cuſtoms of India, where they have no idea of more chiefs than one, as to the Company's eſtabliſhed order and method, which has always been for the Governor only, to carry on the country correſpondence. The Major, although he approved of this innovation, when it leſſened the authority of the Governor, yet could carry on a correſpondence with the King in his own name, and promiſed to continue the ſame after his arrival in Calcutta. The ſame arrogance and

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ſelf-opinion, and the ſame tendency to ſubvert all the order of government, and to keep up the ſpirit of party, appears in many of Major Carnac's letters to the Governor and Council; nothing could be better calculated to that end, than his * remarks upon the orders ſent him by a majority; and what elſe could be the deſign of thoſe remarks? For he could not be ignorant, that in all councils, and particularly in all the Company's governments, the orders of the majority are to be reſpected as the orders of the whole Board. It is true, that Major Carnac was too much encouraged in theſe inſults, on the authority of the Board, by ſome of the members themſelves, who not only vindicated all his opinions, but afforded him an argument to diſreſpect their orders, by ſigning their diſſents to the orders themſelves, inſtead of minuting them in the conſultations; an innovation as dangerous, as contrary to the rules of the government they belonged to.

* In his letter of the 29th of July, 1761, which follows in its order.

to. The truth of these remarks on Major Carnac's conduct, shall be judged of, by the following extracts from his letters, and the consultations of that time.

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac *to the* Select Committee. *Dated* June 16, 1761.

"YOU have not been pleased, gentlemen, to allow me to have any thing to say or do with regard to Ramnarain; but if it depended on me, I declare no consideration whatever should induce me to give my consent to removing a man, whom we are bound to maintain by engagements prior to, and consequently more obligatory, than any we may have since entered into with Cossim Allee Cawn. I have had hints before with regard to this unfortunate Gentoo, to which, if I would have listened, I might probably have turned my campaign to pretty good account; but indifferent as my circumstances are, I thank God, I scorn enlarging them by

any

any means, that would not ſtand the moſt public inſpection."

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac *to the Governor and Council. Dated* June 21, 1761.

"HIS Majeſty croſſed the Caramnaſſa this morning. He made ſuch long marches from Saſeram hither, that it was impoſſible for me to keep pace with him, and I was forced to leave the army a march behind, in order to get up with him. Yeſterday evening, on parting, he made me the moſt public declaration of his particular regard for me, and diſmiſſed me with every mark of honor, that could poſſibly be conferred on me. The accompanying is a copy of two arzees I preſented to him laſt night, with the anſwers he wrote in the body thereof with his own hand, in the preſence of Meſſieurs Luſhington and Ironſide, as well as myſelf. He has alſo wrote to you, gentlemen, with a promiſe of iſſuing out his royal ſunnud, confirming the Company in all their pre-

ſent

ſent poſſeſſions and privileges, provided the proper peſhcuſh be paid. And in the ſame letter, has made you an offer of the Dewannee of Bengal, on condition of your being anſwerable for the royal revenues, of which he declares, he expects no account while Coſſim Allee Cawn has the management thereof. I do not chuſe to venture ſending you this letter, for fear it ſhould be loſt, as I have no duplicate of it; but acquaint you with the purport, that you may be enabled to anſwer his Majeſty; which anſwer he deſires may be tranſmitted to him as ſoon as poſſible."

Copy of a Tranſlation of an Arzee, wrote by Major Carnac *to the King, with the King's Anſwer ſuperſcribed.*

"IT is above five months ſince your Majeſty honored the tents of your faithful ſervant with your preſence at Gya; and from your gracious will and pleaſure, and in conſequence of the addreſs and engagements of your ſervant (devoted to your high and ſacred court) in

in full confidence graced the Kella of Azimabad, God is my witneſs, that from the commencement of my ſervice, to this time, I have never deviated, in the moſt minute circumſtance, from the engagement of fidelity which I made with your Majeſty, but ever heartily attentive to my duty and loyal attachment, and ready to devote my life to your welfare: and regarding always the ſtrict obſervance of my fidelity as my chief happineſs; to the utmoſt of my power I have obeyed your ſacred commands; and you have graciouſly declared, that you were pleaſed with the faithfulneſs of your ſervant, exalting me in honor above the clouds. Relying on that gracious diſpoſition, which affords a ſhadow to the higheſt and the humbleſt of your ſlaves, I am in hopes, that what I ſhall repreſent to you will obtain your royal approbation. For this cauſe your ſervant, who is a dependent of the Engliſh Company, humbly petitions, that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to order, that ſunnuds be granted for all the zemin-

darrees and factories of commerce belonging to the Company in the empire of Indoſtan; at Calcutta in the Subah of Bengal and Madras, and Bombay, and the port of Surat in the diſtricts of Deccan. In theſe four places, which are the principal factories of the Engliſh Company, let the Company have the privilege of a mint in each; and let a ſunnud after the uſual form be granted for the confirmation of the jagheer of Colonel Clive (who is one of the ſervants of the ſacred court, and the patron of this faithful ſervant; whoſe attachment and devotion are notorious to the whole empire) which to this day he has been honored with by the royal donations. And let your Majeſty look upon this your ſervant (who is a ſtranger in theſe regions) as one of the meaneſt of the ſervants of the court, nor forget or blot him from your remembrance; and to the laſt breath of my life I ſhall ever pray, that the Almighty may make your Majeſty (whoſe dignity is equal to Solomon's) an honor and ornament to the

the throne and everlaſting empire of India, an adminiſtrator of juſtice and equity, and a protector of the people of God; greater than the great King Timor; that all the chiefs, and all the inhabitants of the world, may be held in obedience and fidelity by your royal clemency.

Superſcribed by the King.

THE purport of the arzee is fully underſtood. In conſequenc of the faithful attachment of that truſty ſervant, we agree and conſent to it. Whenever the petition for it is ſent in form, and the peſhcuſh delivered to the royal Sircar, the petitioned funnuds we will graciouſly grant. Beſides this, in conſideration of the ſervices of that ſervant, the Dewannee of the Subah of Bengal, on condition of paying the Malguzaree, according to the former amount, and a ſuitable peſhcuſh ſhall be granted."

Copy of Mr. Vanſittart's *Minute, and the Reſolutions of the Board on the Major's Letter.*

" THE Preſident cannot help obſerving on the foregoing, that inſtead of ſetting forth the attachment which the Engliſh nation and the Company have always ſhewn to the Mogul government, and the ſums they have expended in defeating the King's enemies, the Major's whole thoughts are employed in expreſſing his own ſervices and fidelity; in conſideration of which he requeſts, that the indulgencies therein mentioned may be granted to the Company. He has not ſufficiently conſidered, that it is the ſervices of the Nation and the Company that ſhould be pleaded and recorded on all ſuch occaſions, in order to increaſe their reſpect and reputation in foreign countries; ſuch pleas may be uſed in favor of that Nation and Company in future times, when they have any thing to apply for, which is a reſpect that will not be paid to any perſonal

ſonal ſervices. And further, that all thoſe indulgencies he has applied for, were ordered from the Select Committee; and indeed without ſuch orders, he could not juſtify the applying for any thing; yet he takes not the leaſt notice of the Committee, nor the Governor and Council; which the Preſident mentions as one inſtance, among many others, of the great deſire that moſt of our military officers have to conceal to the world, that they have a dependence on any civil power.

WITH regard to the King's offer of the Dewannee, the Board are of opinion, that were the Company to accept of it, it would only be a ſource of perpetual conteſt and ill-will with the Nabob; but leſt ſuch an appointment might at any time hereafter be thought advantageous, we will for the preſent defer coming to any reſolution thereon; and only write the King in anſwer, that we ſhall ſoon ſend our requeſts in form."

Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Council (Meſſieurs Vanſittart, Amyatt, Ellis, Sumner *and* Smith) *to Major* Carnac. *Dated* July 6, 1761.

"WE have received your letter of the 21ſt, encloſing copy of two requeſts you preſented to the King, with anſwers ſubſcribed by him. Thoſe anſwers are very indeterminate, and far from expreſſing his conſent. They are indeed no way ſo favorable, as we think we might have expected, conſidering the good faith, candor and attachment we have ſhewn him in his moſt diſtreſſed circumſtances; and the ſupplies of money he has received by our influence from the Nabob.

WE cannot help remarking upon the ſtile of your requeſts, as it may ſerve for your better guidance on future occaſions. You have ſaid much of your own ſervices and attachment to the King, and neglected entirely ſo fair and juſt an opportunity of ſetting forth the reputation and power of our Nation, the attachment which the Company

pany has always ſhewn to the Mogul government, the ſums they have expended, and the blood that has been ſpilt in defeating the King's enemies in different parts of India; and the particular obligations which he in perſon owes to the government in Bengal. Such ſhould be the ſtile of all public applications to foreign courts, in order that they may ſerve our nation for arguments in all future occaſions.

WITH regard to the Dewannee of theſe provinces, the Shah's offer is as indeterminate as his anſwers to your requeſts; and as it would be a ſource of continual jealouſies between the Naboh and the Company, we do not think it adviſeable to ſue for it at this time."

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac *to the Governor and Council. Dated* June 28, 1761.

"IN my laſt, I mentioned my having a letter for you from his Majeſty, relative to his confirmation of all the Company's poſſeſſions and privileges; and

containing an offer to yourſelves of the Dewannee of Bengal; and my unwillingneſs to ſend a letter of ſuch conſequence by the ordinary conveyance. I have likewiſe ſeveral other letters for you from him, ſome of a public, and ſome of a private nature. For fear therefore any inconvenience ſhould reſult from their being delayed, I ſhall give them in charge to enſign Swinton, with orders to convey them to you as faſt as poſſible, if the Colonel will give him permiſſion. I have done every thing for the ſervice of my maſters, that the little power you were willing to inveſt me with would admit of my doing. I have obtained a promiſe from his Majeſty, under his own hand, of his royal confirmation of all your poſſeſſions and privileges, provided you pay him a proper peſhcuſh, as has been always cuſtomary, in return for ſuch grants. It reſts with you, whether or not you will be at the expence of procuring them; if you intend it, it is neceſſary you ſhould, without loſs of time, ſend an able and truſty Gentoo,

to

to reſide as your Vackeel with the court, and bring the buſineſs to a ſpeedy iſſue."

Copy of a Letter from Mr. M'Gwire, *Chief at* Patna, *to Major* Carnac. *Dated* July 6, 1761.

"IN anſwer to my requeſt for leaving two hundred rank and file, excluſive of the ſick, Mr. Reed, by your directions, has acquainted me, that you have orders from the Colonel to include the ſick; and that if I ſhould ſtill be of opinion, it is neceſſary to keep up the number of effective here, I muſt write to Calcutta for freſh orders, which will arrive before your departure, as you cannot execute your orders, for returning, in leſs than twenty days.

THE Colonel, you acquaint me, has ſent orders to Saſaram, for captain Hart to return directly; and you have, as I underſtand, ſent the like to captain Champion, from whence it may be preſumed, they will arrive here in about ſix days. In the mean time, preparations may be made for their embarking, and what is

to

to detain them afterwards, I am at a loſs to find out.

HOWEVER, Sir, that I may execute my orders, without loſs of time, I requeſt you will deliver over the command, ordered to remain here, to captain Carſtairs; they may be ſelected hereafter; and as his Excellency is deſirous of coming into the city, you will order the centries at the gates to be taken off.

I AM further to requeſt, an old battalion may be left me in the room of the ſepoys, commanded by captain Stibbert, as they are at preſent unfit for immediate ſervice."

Copy of Major Carnac's *Anſwer to the foregoing Letter. Dated* July 6, 1761.

"AS the Board neither have, nor indeed have they the power to put me under your directions, I am not accountable to you for my proceedings here; nor are you to preſcribe the time, that may be requiſite, for getting every thing ready for the tranſporting that part of the army, which I am to take down with

with me. Of this you will allow me to be as good a judge as yourſelf, eſpecially as there are two or three things to be done, before we ſet out, which you are probably unacquainted with; both a general muſter, and general court martial, to be held, which muſt employ a few days. You may be aſſured, however, no time ſhall be loſt, as I am as impatient to get away from Patna, as you can be to have me away; but, in the interim, I will deliver over the command to no one.

COSSIM ALLEE CAWN may come into the Kella when he pleaſes; and I will be anſwerable for the ſecurity of his perſon, but I will not take off the guards that have been ſo long poſted at the gates. Were that armed rabble about him to have free ingreſs and egreſs, ſome quarrel would inevitably happen between them and our people; which, as well as any accident happening to the city, I will endeavor to prevent, during my continuance in it.

I THINK

I THINK captain Stibbert's battalion full good enough for any ſervice they can be employed on, at this ſeaſon of the year; and as they have been all along appropriated for the uſe of your factory, I ſhall certainly include them in the two thouſand ſeepoys, directed to be left with you, unleſs I receive orders from the gentlemen below to the contrary."

Copy of a Letter from the Board (Meſſ. Vanſittart, Amyatt, Sumner, *and* Smith) *to Major* Carnac. July 14, 1761.

"WE have received a letter from Mr. M'Gwire, dated the 6th inſtant, accompanied with a copy of your letter to him of the ſame date.

WE deſire to know by what authority you have kept the command of the army at Patna; becauſe, either in Colonel Coote or you, there is a manifeſt contempt of our order of the 26th ultimo, which directed, that both you gentlemen ſhould return to Calcutta, and that the troops ſhould be left under the command

mand of captain Carſtairs, to follow the inſtructions of Mr. M'Gwire.

THE muſtering the army, or holding a court martial, are not ſufficient reaſons, as both thoſe ſervices might be performed in Calcutta. We would aſk you further, whether it is poſſible, that an officer, receiving orders for leaving two hundred Europeans, and two thouſand ſeepoys, to aſſiſt the Nabob in ſettling the affairs at Patna, can, without a manifeſt intention of counteracting our determination, underſtand, that the ſick ſhall be included amongſt the Europeans, and the ſeepoys, left on ſervice, to be the worſt of the army?

IT is true, that we ſhould avoid, as much as poſſible, putting an officer, entitled to a ſeat at the Board in military affairs, under the orders of any member of that Board, who, on ſuch occaſions, would ſit below him; and this regard for your rank was one reaſon, among others, why we did not propoſe to you to remain at Patna, under the orders of Mr. M'Gwire; however, Sir, that you may

may not think that rule invariable, you will give us leave to inform you, that we can, when the Company's ſervice requires it, oblige any officer, in their ſervice, to act under the directions of their Governor or factors, at any of their ſettlement.

NEITHER is it poſſible the ſervice can be well conducted, on the independent footing which you are pleaſed to claim; witneſs your little regard to the repreſentations of Mr. M'Gwire, with reſpect to the choice of the troops to be left at Patna, as before-mentioned, although the Company's factory, and effects there, as well as the execution of the ſervice for which thoſe troops are to be left, is committed to the charge of that gentleman.

TO put an end to theſe diſputes, we direct, that on the receipt of this letter, you give over the command of the army to captain Carſtairs, with orders to follow the directions of Mr. M'Gwire, to whom we have given the neceſſary inſtructions concerning the draughting

of

of the troops to be kept at Patna, and the embarkation of the reſt for Calcutta.

AND you will repair to Calcutta yourſelf, with all convenient ſpeed."

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac *to the Governor and Council. Dated* July 7, 1761.

"IN conſequence of an order from Colonel Coote, I left the detachment, with which I had the honor to eſcort his Majeſty at Saſſaram the 30th of June, and arrived here the 3d of July; on which the Colonel reſolved to return to Calcutta, and was preparing to ſet out on the morning of the 4th. In the interim, he received a letter from the Board, which only ſerved to confirm him in his reſolution, and he gave me directions to execute their orders, which I ſhall do with the utmoſt expedition, being as averſe as the Colonel, from having any hand in the buſineſs that is likely to be carried on. I eſteem myſelf extremely happy in being removed from the command of the army, as I could not

not have ſuffered it, whilſt I was at the head thereof, to be employed on the purpoſes for which I find it is intended, without a direct breach of the declarations I have formerly made to you in regard to Ramnarain. I cannot help, on this occaſion, laying before you two paragraphs, the one extracted from your letter to me of the 9th of February, *viz.*

"WE obſerve, when Colonel Caillaud began his march to Patna, the beginning of laſt year, he had particular inſtructions from Colonel Clive, and the reſt of the Committee, to protect Ramnarain, in caſe of the Nabob's making any attempt againſt his perſon or honor. We believe ſuch an injunction at this time unneceſſary, as the preſent Nabob ſeems to be well inclined towards Ramnarain. But ſhould it prove otherwiſe, it is our reſolution to have the ſame regard to the former engagements in his favor, as was then deſigned; and therefore direct you, in caſe of neceſſity, to protect Ramnarain againſt all violence and injuſtice, that may be offered to his perſon, honor,

or

or fortune." The other, from your letter of the 28th of April. "We ever intended to preſerve Ramnarain in the government of Patna; and have therefore recommended it to Colonel Coote, to give him his protection in all circumſtances." Pray how are theſe reconcileable to the inſtructions addreſſed to Mr. M'Gwire, of which I have ſeen a copy, atteſted to be a true one, by the ſubſecretary. The force to be left at Patna, is expreſſly ſaid to be, "only to aſſiſt the Nabob in ſettling accounts with Ramnarain, and the ſeveral Zemindars of the Patna province." After which is the following article. "This you (Mr. M'Gwire) are to do in general, to the utmoſt of your power, in ſuch manner, as he may apply to you; with reſpect to Ramnarain, it may be neceſſary to be ſomewhat more particular. Colonel Coote is already directed to aſſiſt the Nabob ſo far, as to ſuſpend him (Ramnarain) from his government, until the accounts are ſettled, and to put the Nabob's people in poſſeſſion of all the reve-

nues. This you will conform to, and let him be brought to an adjuſtment of his accounts, by ſuch meaſures, as the Nabob ſhall think proper." By this Ramnarain is abſolutely left at the Nabob's mercy, and thrown out of that protection, which he has hitherto all along received from the Engliſh, and the continuation whereof, he had an undoubted right to expect in virtue of our engagements; and in return for the attachment he has ever ſhewn us. The Preſident mentions, indeed, his having wrote to the Nabob in his favor, which may ſo far have an effect, as to prevent his daring directly to get him made away with; but he may eaſily manage to behave to Ramnarain, in ſuch a manner, as to cauſe him to make away with himſelf; which thoſe of his caſt have been frequently known to do, when they have happened to be diſhonored; be this as it will, the Mharajah is frightened beyond expreſſion. He was with me the day before yeſterday in the evening, and repreſented, with tears in his eyes, his

ſurprize,

ſurprize, at finding himſelf abandoned by thoſe, who had ſo long ſupported him. He declared, that as the Colonel was now gone, and I to follow him in a few days, he had no longer any refuge, and muſt inevitably fall a ſacrifice to his enemies, if he continued here; and therefore requeſted, with extreme earneſtneſs, that I would let him quit the country, and have him ſafely conducted over the Soane. It is hard to pronounce of any other perſon's intentions, but we may reaſonably preſume the Nabob's deſigns cannot be very good, when he endeavors to ſecure the execution of them by the force of bribes; I can produce proofs of the offers he made me, provided I would let him act as he pleaſed with regard to Ramnarain; and few people will doubt, that the notes which Mr. Luſhington and I received from Rajebullub, and which I keep by me, were ſent by the Nabob's approbation, if not by his immediate direction. I am alſo well aſſured, very large offers have been made to the Colonel for the ſame ends, but he had

too much virtue and honor to accept them."

Copy of the Preſident's Minute of the 20th of July, 1761.

"THE Preſident obſerves, that as Major Carnac has nothing to do but to obey the orders of the Board, and has no right to queſtion or diſpute upon them; his letters of the 7th inſtant will require no anſwer.

IT ſeems, however, by the tenor of many of the Major's letters, and this in particular, that he thinks himſelf the higher power, and the Board accountable to him. Upon this principle, after quoting the former orders of the Select Committee, in favor of Ramnarain, he proceeds to demand, "Pray how are theſe reconcileable to the inſtructions addreſſed the 26th of June to Mr. M'Gwire?

ALTHOUGH the Board might do themſelves juſtice upon an officer who thus forgets the reſpect due to them, yet we chuſe rather to refer it to the determination

tion of our honorable maſters, to whom it ſhall, at the ſame time, be made appear, that thoſe orders in Ramnarain's favor, are now the ſtrongeſt judgments that can be produced againſt him, as they are inconteſtable proofs of our deſire to protect him, although the engagements which are ſo much talked of are no where to be met with. It ſhall be proved alſo, that thoſe who profeſs the greateſt friendſhip for Ramnarain, and who have permitted, if not encouraged him, in refuſing or evading, for five months together, to render any account of his adminiſtration, are in effect his greateſt enemies, by putting it out of our power to protect him longer in ſo ſhameful an injuſtice, in which he has already been upheld, until he had well near carried his point, that of bringing the Nabob to ruin, by a diſgraceful reſidence at Patna, at an immoderate expence, without any income from the province. This, it is imagined, will hardly be ſaid to be the intent of the ſuppoſed engagements; and therefore, if any have made Ram-

narain believe the meaning of them would be ſo far ſtretched, it is they that are the cauſe of his fears; and it is they that muſt anſwer for his unhappy death, if he ſhould deſtroy himſelf, as Major Carnac ſeems to apprehend. It is, however, more than probable, that he will not prove quite ſo deſperate; and that when he is convinced he is not independent of the Subah of Moorſhedabad, he will do what he ought to have done five months ago; that is, render to the Nabob an account of his adminiſtration, and in ſuch caſe he will be treated better than he pretends to expect, better a great deal than he deſerves.

He has yet hopes, that Major Carnac may keep the command of the army. A delay of twenty days, and Colonel Coote's coming down to Calcutta, might produce freſh orders. A man of Ramnarain's diſpoſition, will conſtrue ſuch a poſſibility into a certainty; and while he can hope for ſuch a protection at the head of our army, he will continue to think he has a right to an unlimited protection, and

and continue to evade rendering the Nabob any accounts.

MAJOR Carnac declares himſelf very freely on this occaſion, and gives at the ſame time a freſh inſtance of the reſpect he has for our authority. This paſſage of his letter of the 17th is worthy the obſervation of the Board, as well as of our honorable maſters, who ſeldom write to their Preſidents and Councils with ſo great an air of ſuperiority. "I eſteem myſelf extremely happy in being removed from the command of the army, as I could not have ſuffered it, whilſt I was at the head thereof, to be employed on the purpoſes for which I find it is intended, without a direct breach of the declarations I have formerly made to you in regard to Ramnarain."

IF more inſtances of a like nature are wanting, they may be ſeen in many of the Major's letters; particularly in one to the Select Committee, dated the 16th of June, 1761. "His own opinion and declarations ſhall be the rule of his actions, and ſhall ſuperſede the orders of

the Board." If our declarations had merited a ſmall part of his attention, Ramnarain would not have been deceived ſo long. The repeated orders of the Select Committee for obliging him to ſettle accounts with the Nabob, ſhew, that it was never our intention to ſcreen him from that juſt demand; the firſt of thoſe orders was in a letter to the Major, ſo long ago as the 7th of March, 1761. It is true, we did not fix a day for Ramnarain's rendering his accounts, which is a proof of the regard the Board have ſhewn him, and of the moderation with which they have acted throughout the whole affair.

WEEK after week, we expected to hear that the accounts had been laid before the Nabob; inſtead of that, excuſe came upon excuſe. At length, on the 17th of May, we ſent the Colonel particular directions in what manner to have the accounts ſettled; that Ramnarain ſhould be regarded as the deputy of the government of Moorſhedabad; that he ſhould give the Nabob a faithful account

count of his outſtanding balances, and the Nabob ſend his own people to collect them. Who would have imagined, that after this, freſh evaſions would be admitted for two months more, notwithſtanding the Nabob's entreaties and repreſentations of the ruin, in which he muſt ſoon be involved, by his uſeleſs expences?

THE Preſident wrote more than once to Ramnarain, in conſequence of the reſolutions of the Secret Committee, that our protection would depend upon his rendering a juſt account to the Nabob; but he is lately adviſed by Mr. M'Gwire, that Ramnarain, inſtead of collecting his revenues in a regular manner, has taken, or rather accepted from the Zemindars, large ſums by way of preſents, which not being brought to account, makes their balances appear much larger than they really are, and his own as much leſs. An unwillingneſs to confeſs this fraudulent attempt, ſeems to be the true cauſe of his ſeeking ſo many ſhifts and evaſions.

MUCH

MUCH more ſhall be ſaid on this ſubject hereafter, in order to prove to our honorable maſters, that the reſolutions lately taken by the Board (or as Major Carnac politely expreſſes it, the buſineſs that is likely to be carried on) were abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving the preſent tranquility, for maintaining the conſtitution of the government of theſe provinces, and fulfilling, on our part, the treaty ſubſiſting between the Company and the Nabob, as he has ſo faithfully done on his."

Extract of a Letter from Major Carnac *to the Governor and Council. Dated* July 29, 1761.

"INSTEAD of meeting your thanks, as I imagined, for the great diligence with which I executed your orders, I received, to my great ſurprize, a letter of cenſure from you, dated the 14th inſtant; but it gives me the leſs concern, as I perceive ſo few have ſubſcribed their aſſent thereto.

I HAVE

I HAVE nothing further at preſent to obſerve to you, but that you can never oblige a gentleman to do what he thinks unjuſt and unreaſonable, ſo long as he has it in his option to quit the ſervice; and it is a fortunate circumſtance we have this in our power, in a part of the world where, by reaſon of the extreme diſtance from redreſs, we are expoſed to ſuch frequent ill treatment, as I in particular have experienced; and from no other demerit, that I am conſcious of, but having been impolite enough to declare my diſapprobation of the late meaſures; yet in this I am not ſingular, as I verily believe, if the whole Board could be aſſembled (as in affairs of ſuch importance it ſeems abſolutely requiſite that they ſhould, or at leaſt their opinions be collected) the half, if not the majority, would be found to concur with me in ſentiment."

Extract

Extract of Mr. Vanſittart's Minute of the 3d of Auguſt, 1761.

THE Preſident begs leave to obſerve on reading Major Carnac's letter, that he mentioned to Mr. Ellis ſome time ago, that his ſigning his diſſent to any letter from the Board, is neither cuſtomary nor proper; that the reſolutions of the majority of the Board are to be deemed the reſolutions of the Board, and to be ſigned as ſuch by the whole Board; that any member, who diſſents from the opinion of the majority, is to enter his diſſent, and his reaſons, upon the body of the conſultations; that the ſigning diſſents in the letters is improper; becauſe it makes known to the world the different opinions of the members; by which means it may be the cauſe of promoting a miſunderſtanding; and it alſo expoſes the Board to remarks, ſuch as Major Carnac has not failed to take the occaſion of making.

THE

THE Preſident further obſerves, that he apprehends Major Carnac has not confined his remarks on the opinions of the ſeveral members of the Board to his anſwers to our letters, but has made them known even to the Shah: and this he takes to be the reaſon, why the eight letters laid before the Board are addreſſed ſome to the Council of Calcutta only, and others to the Governor and Council jointly. The King could not have addreſſed his letters thus, from any cuſtom or principles of his own, becauſe in all parts of the Mogul empire, they never know or correſpond with but one chief; and all other forms of government they will regard as a weakneſs, of which they will endeavor to take advantage, as is the Shah's deſign in the preſent caſe; and it is no doubt, in conformity to this ſyſtem of the country government, that the Company have made it a rule in all their ſettlements, that the country correſpondence ſhould be carried on through the channel of the Governor alone."

Extract

Extract of the Tranſlation of a Letter from Major Carnac *to the King.*

"THE letters, which you ſome time ago was pleaſed to honor the Council with on certain affairs, were not ſent, for want of a truſty perſon to be charged with them. On my arrival at Patna, I found Colonel Coote was preparing to ſet out for Calcutta; I therefore delivered them to him, who will carry them ſafe to the Council, who will be greatly honored by the receipt thereof. The Colonel will, with his whole heart and ſoul, exert all his power and influence that your royal orders may be complied with, and ſpeedily ſend moſt reſpectful anſwers in anſwer thereto from the Council. At this writing your ſervant is preparing to ſet out for Calcutta in a day or two; and by the help of God will, in conjunction with the Colonel, exert his utmoſt to have every thing accompliſhed agreeable to your Majeſty's orders. I will not delay to acquaint your Majeſty of what may be determined

determined on by the Colonel's and my advice."

Extract of Mr. Vansittart's *Minute of the 22d of* September, 1761.

"WITH respect to withdrawing Major Carnac from the command of the army, reasons were given at the time the resolutions were taken on the consultation of the 29th of June, and the same reasons still subsist; for Major Carnac declared, no longer ago than last Thursday, at the Select Committee, that he would be the judge of what orders he might receive from the Board. The President observes, that no service can be carried on, where there is more than one authority; if an officer is to be the judge of the orders he receives from the Board, the execution of those orders will depend on his judgment, and not on the judgment of the Board."

Copy

Copy of Major Carnac's *Anſwer to the foregoing.*

"THE Preſident has been pleaſed to alledge, in juſtification of his having recalled the Major from the command of the forces at Patna, the Major's inveterate hatred againſt the Nabob, and his declaration, that he would be the judge of the orders he received. For the anſwer to the firſt, he refers to his letter which he now delivers in; and with reſpect to the other, he begs leave to obſerve, that he is truly concerned orders of ſuch a nature have been given, as to oblige him to make that declaration, and to repeat now to the Board, that he had rather incur the charge of diſobedience, than bring diſhonor upon the nation, and diſgrace upon himſelf and the forces under his command."

SUCH repeated inſults from an officer to the Governor and Council, under whoſe orders and authority he held his commiſſion, highly merited ſome public cenſure, and the world may be ſurprized

prized that he eſcaped it. The ſame majority of the Board, who gave the orders to Major Carnac, and who were thus inſulted, might, and in juſtice ought to have diſmiſſed him from the Company's ſervice; but we forbore making uſe of the power which was in our own hands; and referred it to the Court of Directors, to take ſuch notice of theſe proceedings, as might prevent the like diſorders in future. On this and all occaſions it will be found, that I have choſen the moſt moderate meaſures, and particularly avoided ſhewing any marks of reſentment againſt thoſe who had violently oppoſed me; judging this to be the moſt likely method of abating the rage of party.

SECTION VIII.

Mr. Ellis's Appointment to the Chiefſhip of Patna; and his Diſputes with the Nabob.

Mr. Ellis *ſucceeds to the Chiefſhip of* Patna.—*His Inſtructions from the Board.*—*Debate upon the Inſtructions.*—*Mr.* Ellis *arrives at* Patna.—*He gives Orders for ſeizing one of the* Nabob's *Officers.*—*Letter from the* Nabob *to Mr.* Ellis, *and his Anſwer.*—*He ſeizes another Officer of the Government, and ſends him to* Calcutta.—*The* Nabob's *Letter to Mr.* Ellis *on that Subject.*—*Letter from the* Nabob *to Mr.* Vanſittart.—*Mr.* Ellis *ſends a Detachment of Seepoys, to ſearch the Fort of* Mongheer *for Deſerters.* —— *Informations given to the* Nabob *upon this Proceeding.*—*The Seepoys being refuſed Admittance, take Poſt near the Fort, and continue there three Months.*—*Lieutenant* Ironſide *ſearches the Fort, and the Seepoys are recalled.*—*Two Letters, giving*

an

an Account of a Diſpute between Mr. Ellis *and the* Naib *of* Patna.—*Many Letters on the Subject of theſe Diſputes; and the Debates of the Board upon them.* ——*Mr.* Vanſittart's *Conduct in the Courſe of theſe Debates.*—*Alarms occaſioned by theſe Diſputes.*——*An Attempt to raiſe Suſpicions againſt the* Nabob.—*Jealouſy on both Sides.*

HARDLY had the alarm, occaſioned by Colonel Coote's diſputes with the Nabob at Patna ſubſided, when a * conſiderable change happened in the Council, with this additional misfortune, that it brought Mr. Ellis into the chiefſhip at Patna; an event from which I dreaded bad conſequences, foreſeeing he would ſet on foot continual diſputes with the Nabob's people; and I did my utmoſt to guard againſt this danger, by

* The change in the Council was occaſioned by the diſmiſſion of Meſ. Sumner, M'Gwire, and Playdell; and ſoon after Mr. Smith likewiſe reſigned, and went to Europe. In their places Meſ. Cartier, Haſtings, Johnſtone, and Hay, came into Council.

the clear and explicit inſtructions I propoſed to be given him; and which, after a long debate, were approved by a majority of the Board, determined by the caſting voice of the Preſident. The inſtructions propoſed, and the opinions given, were as follows.

Inſtructions for Mr. Ellis.

"CAPTAIN Carſtairs, the commanding officer of the troops at Patna, is ordered to act under your directions. The reaſon for our keeping up ſo conſiderable a force there, is to be in readineſs to aſſiſt the Nabob, in reducing to obedience and good order any Zemindars of his dependance, that may give him cauſe of complaint, by withholding their rents, fomenting diſturbances, or otherwiſe. Our honorable maſters, ſenſible of the impropriety of protecting a ſervant againſt his maſters, and of the bad conſequences that may reſult therefrom, have cautioned us very particularly on that ſubject, in their laſt general letter. We think ſuch their caution very

very judicious, and that nothing but jealouſy and ill-will, between the Nabob and the Company, can be the conſequence of our interfering in the ſupport of any Zemindar, or other perſon holding office, grant, or authority, under the government. It is expreſſly contrary to our engagements with the Nabob; and beſides, muſt end in the ruin of the perſon ſo protected, who, preſuming on our interpoſition, throws off his reſpect to his maſter, and conſequently ſhuts up all the ways of accommodation. Every one that has been admitted under ſuch protection, from the beginning of Jaffier Allee Cawn's government, may be quoted as an inſtance of the truth of this obſervation. We enjoin you, therefore, not to interfere, directly or indirectly, in any affairs of the country government, or with the people belonging to it; but when the Nabob applies to you for the aſſiſtance of any of our forces, to be ſent to any part of the country, under his juriſdiction, for the execution of any ſervice, you are to take the opinion of

the officer commanding our troops, whether the force under his command is ſufficient for the execution of the ſervice propoſed, or what part of it is requiſite to be ſent. If he judges this force ſufficient, you are to direct him to proceed, and do his utmoſt for the execution of the ſaid ſervice; or if the whole force is not neceſſary, to ſend ſuch a detachment as he judges ſufficient. But if the commanding officer ſhould give his opinion, that the force, under his command, is not ſufficient for the execution of the propoſed ſervice, then you are to tranſmit to us the moſt ſpeedy intelligence, that we may ſend you a reinforcement. After the Nabob's departure from Patna, you are to give the ſame aſſiſtance to the Naib or Deputy, he may leave there, for the management of the affairs of his government.

Debate upon the foregoing Inſtructions.

SOME of the Board being of opinion, that Mr. Ellis ſhould have the power of judging of the nature of the ſervices, on which

which the Nabob might requeſt the Engliſh troops to be employed; and, in conſequence of that judgment, to comply with his requeſt or not; upon which the queſtion being put,

MR. Haſtings thinks he ſhould not have the power, but repreſent to the Council, if he thinks the Nabob requires our troops upon any ſervice hurtful to the Engliſh character, as he has no conception of any ſuch ſervice.

MR. Smith is of the ſame opinion.

MAJOR Carnac thinks, that Mr. Ellis ſhould be a judge of the nature of the ſervice, as well as the ſufficiency of the force required for that ſervice.

MR. Amyatt thinks, that the putting our chief at Patna, with the troops committed to his charge, under the orders of the Nabob, is diſhonorable to our maſters, an indignity to the Board, and an unprecedented caſe till the chiefſhip of Mr. M'Gwire; when Mr. Amyatt diſſented to it, in the proceedings of the Select Committee the 18th of June. The power of calling for our forces

whenever, and for what ſervice he pleaſes, without the chief's being allowed to judge of the nature of thoſe ſervices, may be attended with ſuch fatal conſequences, that it would be the height of imprudence to entruſt any Nabob with it, eſpecially one who we have too much reaſon to ſuſpect, would be glad of an opportunity to make an ill uſe thereof, in order to throw an odium upon us. Mr. Amyatt cannot, therefore, ſubſcribe to the inſtructions now before the Board, while they contain an article of ſuch dangerous tendency.

COLONEL Coote is of the ſame opinion with Mr. Amyatt.

THE Preſident approves of the orders as they now ſtand, being, in his opinion, beſt calculated to prevent diſputes, and moſt agreeable to our honorable maſters intentions."

MR. Ellis arrived at Patna, about the middle of November, juſt after the Nabob had marched from thence for the Bougepoor country. Mr. Ellis's prejudices againſt the Nabob's promotion, and diſaffection

affection to his perſon, had been too publickly expreſſed, and had been made too much the ſubject of his common converſation, to eſcape the Nabob's notice long before this period; and in effect had greatly alarmed him, for the influence, which ſuch a temper might have on his affairs. His ſuſpicions were ſoon confirmed by an order ſent to captain Carſtairs, a very ſhort time after Mr. Ellis's arrival at Patna, to ſeize and impriſon an officer of the government, named Munſeram, on a complaint of a Gomaſtah of the factory. The Nabob was then at Arwel, about forty miles from Patna, a diſtance not ſo great, but that he might (had that reſpect been deemed due to him) have been acquainted with the complaint, before ſuch extremities were proceeded to; and neither the Company's privileges, nor the Engliſh honor, ſuffered by ſuch a condeſcenſion. Captain Carſtairs, either regarding it in this light, or, upon enquiry, finding the complaint of leſs conſequence than it had been made to appear

pear by the Gomaſtah, evaded the execution of this order, but acquainted the Nabob with it, and contented himſelf with deſiring him to reprimand Munſeram in the following letter, dated the 31ſt of January, 1762.

"I HAVE received a letter from Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory at Patna, to this purport: "That one Munſeram Hircara, in the Purgunnah of Arra, has ſtopped ſome opium belonging to Mr. Hay, notwithſtanding there was a duſtuck with it, and will not let it paſs; that I muſt therefore take him priſoner, and freeing the opium from his hands, diſpatch it forwards." Regarding your Excellency's favors, I have judged it not proper to impriſon Munſeram; but ſubmit this matter to your Excellency; and requeſt, that you will write a reprimand to the ſaid Munſeram, and command him to releaſe the opium. I requeſt a ſpeedy anſwer to this addreſs, that I may write accordingly to Mr. Ellis."

THIS

THIS forbearance of captain Carſtairs made no difference in Mr. Ellis's intentions, nor prevented the Nabob from ſeeing to what lengths he would go on greater provocation; nor was he long without receiving freſh arguments for this opinion.

A COMPLAINT having been made to the Nabob againſt Mr. Gray, the Company's reſident at Malda, by the Naib of the province of Purnea; the Nabob ſent a copy of the complaint to Mr. Ellis, and deſired him to take cognizance of it. His letter and Mr. Ellis's anſwer I ſubjoin hereto; as nothing can ſet the behavior and temper of each in ſo fair and juſt a light.

From the Nabob *to Mr.* Ellis. *Dated* January 22, 1762.

"SOME time ago you wrote to me concerning the ill behavior of the officers of Purnea. At this time I am informed, by a letter from Meer Sheer Allee Cawn, the Naib of Purnea, of great acts of oppreſſion committed by Mr.

Mr. George Gray, chief of the factory at Malda, of his ſeizing and impriſoning the Peſhkar of Heeramun, the Zemindar and Wadadar of Tajpoor, and ſending Sepoys and Europeans to purchaſe grain, and erect new factories in every diſtrict of Purnea. A copy of this letter, with a letter written by that gentleman to Sheer Allee Cawn, I ſend you encloſed, that you may be informed of the particulars. Since the ties of friendſhip and alliance have been eſtabliſhed between me and the Engliſh Company, and our intereſts in this country are united, if you impriſon my people in this manner, to the ruin of my lands, and the impoveriſhing of my revenues, ſuch a proceeding is very foreign from the friendſhip and good underſtanding which ſhould ſubſiſt between us. I deſire that you will take this affair into conſideration; and, regarding our ſeveral concerns as united, direct me how I am to act, and it ſhall be done accordingly. When you have read Mr. Gray's letter pleaſe to return it."

Copy

Copy of Mr. Ellis's *Anſwer to the above. Dated* February 4, 1762.

YOUR Excellency's letter, enclosing a letter from Mr. George Gray, and the copy of one from Meer Sheer Allee Cawn, I have read with great pleaſure, and have underſtood all the particulars. I have before this repeatedly repreſented to you the complaints, which have been made to me againſt the Zemindars of Purnea. Now Mr. Gray's letter has clearly proved the inſolence of the Zemindars, and the juſtice of my complaints. It is fact, that the inſolence of the Zemindars and officers in every quarter exceeds all bounds, and that the Company's buſineſs has been entirely obſtructed and ruined. It appears from Mr. Gray's letter, that he complained to Sheer Allee Cawn twice or thrice againſt the Zemindars; but receiving no anſwer nor redreſs, he was under the neceſſity of taking ſuch meaſures. At this time, a perſon in the diſtricts of Mongheer having ſeized ſome

ſalt-

ſalt-petre of the Company's, I have taken him priſoner, and ſent him to Calcutta. Of this I inform your Excellency. Having learnt the contents of Mr. Gray's letter, according to your orders I ſend it back incloſed."

THE Nabob was ſo much provoked by this letter, and the fixed reſolution, which he now plainly perceived in Mr. Ellis, to take every occaſion to affront him, that he from this time renounced all correſpondence with him.

THE perſon mentioned in Mr. Ellis's letter, to have been ſent a priſoner to Calcutta, was an officer employed by the Nabob as collector of the rents of Punchmahla, in the diſtricts of Monghoer. His name was Coja Antoon. It was his misfortune to be an Armenian, and an agent of Coja Gregore (an Armenian alſo) whom the Nabob had treated with ſome marks of confidence and eſteem. He had been accuſed of purchaſing five maunds * of ſalt-petre. For this he was ſeized, and brought priſoner to the factory

* A maund is a weight of eighty pounds.

tory at Patna, by a party of Seepoys ſent from thence for that purpoſe. The charge could not be denied, he confeſſed that he had bought the ſalt-petre, and for the uſe of the Nabob. But as the ſole privilege of purchaſing that article in the Bahar province had been granted by a perwannah from the former Nabob, and confirmed by the preſent to the Company, this was deemed an infringement of the Engliſh rights, equivalent to a robbery, and was termed ſuch. Rajah Rajebullub, the Naib of Patna, repeatedly and earneſtly ſollicited Mr. Ellis's clemency in behalf of the unhappy delinquent; but his remonſtrances againſt this inſult on the government could not move Mr. Ellis; an example was to be made of ſuch a crime, and ſuch an offender; and he was ſent down to Calcutta, a priſoner and in irons, to be puniſhed as he deſerved. Leſt however this crime ſhould not have ſufficient weight, another charge was likewiſe diſcovered, and ſent after him, viz. that he had treated with contempt the Company's

pany's duſtuck on a certain occaſion, by giving the perſon who carried it a certificate of the goods, having been duly paſſed by the principal chokey; and though upon enquiry it appeared, that he neither ſtopped the goods, nor detained the duſtuck, yet this was made uſe of as an aggravation of his former offence, and a freſh proof of the Nabob's diſregard of our privileges, and the inſolence of Armenian authority. I wiſh I could add, that the blame of this proceeding had been confined to Mr. Ellis, nor received a ſanction from the Board. True it is, that they declined inflicting any puniſhment on him themſelves. By their orders he was remanded to Patna, and from thence (after a confinement of three months, and a journey of above 900 miles, with all the horrors which the proſpect of an ignominious death, or at leaſt the loſs of his ears, could give him) was delivered over to the Nabob, who was deſired to puniſh him.

How ſeverely the Nabob felt the effects of this inſult, will appear from the following

following letter, which was the laſt that he ever wrote to Mr. Ellis *.

"YOUR letter I have received, you write that, "the Company's Gomaſtahs have the free liberty of trading every where; that it is needleſs to enumerate particulars; that you deſire me to write a perwannah to Sheer Allee Cawn, to forbid his officers to ſtop any goods of the Gomaſtahs in Purnea."

I HAVE juſt received intelligence, that you have ſent a large force, and carried off a collector of the government who was at Punchmahla, in the diſtricts of Mongheer. If that perſon had committed any fault, it would have been proper to have informed me of it, ſince my intereſts and the Company's are united. It ill became you to ſeize an officer of my government, who was intruſted with affairs of great conſequence,

* The date of this letter does not appear, but it muſt have been wrote about the 4th or 5th of February, and before the receipt of Mr. Ellis's to the Nabob juſt mentioned.

and then to deſire a letter to Sheer Alloe Cawn. Since my ſervants are ſubjected to ſuch inſults, my writing can be of no uſe. You are the maſter, ſend for any of my officers, Zemindars, Tahſildars, or Fougedars, where and whomſoever you pleaſe. How much my government and authority are weakened by theſe proceedings I cannot deſcribe."

IT may not be amiſs to inſert in this place, an extract of a letter which I received from the Nabob about the time that theſe diſputes aroſe; which will ſerve to ſhew, how little the Nabob was diſpoſed to enter into ſuch conteſts, or to obſtruct the Company's trade or privileges. It muſt be remembered, however, that we had no complaints of the Company's buſineſs being interrupted either at Malda, which borders on Purnea, or in any other part of the country, though their name has been ſo freely made uſe of on this occaſion. But the truth is, every ſtruggle made by the country people againſt the oppreſſions and extortions of the private Engliſh Gomaſtahs,

maſtahs, was immediately conſtrued as an attack upon the Company's rights.

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Preſident. Received* February 10, 1762.

"AT this time Mr. Ellis, the chief of Patna, writes, that the Purnea and other Fougedars moleſt the Company's buſineſs. I have, therefore, wrote expreſſly to the Purnea, Fougedar, &c. not to interrupt the Company's trade, but always to aſſiſt them. I before wrote to the Bengal Fougedars, and others, not to impede the Company's buſineſs in any reſpect, and to adviſe you of any thing that came before them. I am at a great diſtance, therefore, ſhould any thing happen, write to the Fougedars, and others, and they will act as ſhall tend moſt to benefit the Company's trade, and the buſineſs of my Subahdarree."

THE next ſubject of contention aroſe from an information given Mr. Ellis, that two of our deſerters had taken

ſhelter in the fort of Mongheer, then governed by Shujan Sing, as Naib to Coja Gregore. Mr. Ellis applied to Raja Rajebullub, the Naib of Patna, for an order to Shujan Sing to deliver up the deſerters, or ſuffer the fort to be ſearched for them; and contenting himſelf with a verbal reply from Rajebullub, that he would write to Shujan Sing upon the ſubject, immediately ſent a company of ſeepoys to ſearch the fort, and take the deſerters.

WHETHER the Rajah did actually ſend Mr. Ellis word, that he would write to Shujan Sing, and neglected it, or the meſſenger (no uncommon practice of Durbar attendants) had invented that anſwer for him; certain it is, that no ſuch order was ſent, nor indeed had he *any* authority to ſend one, the fort of Mongheer being garriſoned by the Nabob, and entirely independent of the Naib of Patna. In effect, when queſtioned by the Nabob on that head, he not only denied his having wrote ſuch an order, or that he had ever been applied to for one,

but by his letters to the Nabob, at the beginning of the affair, appears to have been almoſt the firſt that gave notice of it, and with expreſſions of the greateſt alarm, on account of ſo violent a proceeding. He acquaints the Nabob with his remonſtrances to Mr. Ellis againſt it; his entreaty to him, to recall the ſeepoys, and that gentleman's declaration in reply, that he would not recall the ſeepoys, till the ſerjeant who commanded them had been admitted into the fort.

THESE particulars will appear from the following letters.

Extract of a Paper of News ſent to the Nabob *from* Patna. *Dated* February 4, 1762.

"FOUR gurries before night, two or three companies of ſeepoys and Europeans, with their baggage, paſſed by land through the Kella, by the eaſtern gate. God knows what is their deſign, and whither they are going. In conſequence thereof Sedderam, the Dewan of

* Goorgheen Cawn, came to the Mharajah; and they have been ſitting together for two hours, in cloſe debate upon this matter. The Mharajah has ſtrictly enjoined Laal, and Rambukſh, and the other Hazzarees, and the † Telingas of Goorgheen Cawn, not to admit any European or Engliſh ſeepoy within the city, but to be on their guard. Conformably to the orders of the Mharajah, all the Hazzarees, and the ſeepoys of Goorgheen Cawn, are on their guard."

Tranſlation of a Letter from Raja Rajabullub *to the* Nabob. *Copy received in* Calcutta, February 22, 1762.

"SHUJAN SING, the Naib at Mongheer, has wrote to Sedderam, the Naib of Coja Goorgheen Cawn, that ſome time ago the ſeepoys ſurrounded the fort; but not ſucceeding, they went to two gardens, which are near the fort, to the northward and ſouthward; and from thence to Seetacoond (which is ſituated near the river) where they

* Coja Gregore. † Seepoys.

they yet remain. Shujan Sing repreſented to them, that there were no Europeans in the fort, and carried two of their own people into it, and ſhewed them every place about it; and tho' no Europeans were to be found, they were not ſatisfied, but wanted to ſend two ſerjeants. But Shujan Sing apprehending they might have ſome view, would not permit the ſerjeants to enter the fort; this account I ſent to Mr. Ellis, thro' the means of Golaum Mahomed Cawn, to know why they acted in this improper manner; and that, at ſeveral times, he was diſpatching many Europeans and ſeepoys from Patna, towards Mongheer fort; on which account the inhabitants were much terrified, and had run away; that thoſe who lived round Mongheer were driven to great diſtreſs; and the Zemindars, ſeeing all this, were dilatory in paying the revenues; and deſiring to know what were his intentions; that it was better for him to recall his people; and if, after enquiry, the Europeans ſhould be in the

ſort, I would get them, and deliver them up. Mr. Ellis anſwered plainly; "Till the ſerjeants go into the fort, I will not recall the men." I apprehend he will ſhortly ſend more people. This I have repreſented for your information."

Copy of a Letter from Mharajah Rajebullub *to the* Nabob. *Dated* March 26, 1762.

"YOUR Excellency's perwannah, ſignifying, that formerly Mr. Ellis wrote, and now Mr. Vanſittart has wrote alſo, that when the company of ſepoys went towards Mongheer, I gave a letter in the name of Shujan Sing, the Naib of that place, for the ſearch and examination of the ſaid fort; that your Excellency is amazed at this information; that I never gave you the leaſt notice of this affair; and that I ſhould inform you fully of the truth of this matter, I have received with pleaſure.

I KNOW not in truth any thing of this affair, neither did any perſon ever demand, or I write ſuch a letter; had any

ſuch

ſuch demand been made, what could have induced me to have given ſuch a letter? Or had there been an abſolute neceſſity for me, I would have firſt acquainted you with the particulars, and waited your orders upon them. This affair is utterly falſe and untrue."

LOOSE as the country diſcipline is, it required little ſagacity in Shujan Sing to diſcover, that it was a part of his duty, as well as a proper caution of ſelf-ſecurity, to deny the party an entrance into the fort, which he did by ſhutting the gates, and threatening to fire upon them, if they approached within gun-ſhot of the walls. This was complained of as the higheſt exceſs of inſolence in Shujan Sing; and the Nabob was deſired to puniſh him, for doing what he would have deſerved to loſe his head, had he not done.

ON this weak pretence was the party continued at Mongheer, for three months. Mr. Ellis (ſupported by the Board) inſiſted on their being admitted to ſearch the fort; and the Nabob, as tenaciouſly

refuſed

refused it, exclaiming all the time against our breach of faith, and continual and unprovoked acts of hoſtility againſt him. At length, yielding to my perſuaſions, he conſented, that any perſon ſent from me might ſearch the fort. This commiſſion was given to lieutenant Ironſide, who accompanied Mr. Haſtings on his journey to the Nabob, and he was admitted accordingly, but found no deſerters; and upon the ſtricteſt enquiry, as well as the declaration of a French invalid, who was entertained in the fort, and who obtained his diſcharge at the ſame time, had all the reaſon in the world to be convinced, that none had ever been in it.

THE event of this enquiry being made known to Mr. Ellis, he was obliged, by the order of the Board, to put an end to the diſputes; which he did by a written order to captain Carſtairs, to recall the ſepoys, in conſideration of the ſerjeant (who had indeed attended lieutenant Ironſide) having been admitted to ſearch the fort.

IF

If Mr. Ellis's real intention, by this open act of hoſtility, was not to provoke the Nabob to retaliate it, it will be hard to aſſign any other reaſon for ſo extraordinary a proceeding; and harder yet to conceive, upon what grounds he ſhould expect to recover the deſerters, by the method which he profeſſed to take for that purpoſe; the fort of Mongheer being near three miles in circumference, encompaſſed by the river on two ſides of it, and a large town on the other, and within crouded with houſes; inſomuch, that five hundred men might have been lodged within the walls when the party firſt arrived, and conveyed away without being detected in their eſcape; or they might even have been concealed in the fort, with almoſt an equal probability of ſecurity, from any ſearch that could have been made for them in ſo wild and intricate a place.

But without ſearching for the hidden motive of this proceeding, the conſequences were but too evident, in the conviction which it gave the Nabob of

Mr.

Mr. Ellis's unconquerable reſolution to create a breach between him and the Engliſh, in the contempt which it brought upon his government, and in the encouragement which it gave to the diſaffected perſons about his court to conſpire againſt his life, in which they had nearly ſucceeded.

I SHALL conclude this article by obſerving, that though every argument was uſed to make good the charge againſt Shujan Sing, and the teſt it was put to ended entirely in his favor. Yet not the leaſt ſatisfaction or apology was made to the Nabob, for the indignities which had been offered him; on the contrary, occaſion was taken, from his complaints againſt Mr. Ellis, to lay a freſh charge againſt him, of diſaffection to the Company, and a diſtruſt of the Engliſh honor.

WHILST this affair was in agitation another diſpute aroſe, which for brevity I ſhall relate in the words of Rajebullub, as contained in the two following letters.

Tranſla-

Tranſlation of a Letter from Mharajah Rajebullub *to the* Nabob.

"TO-DAY a man, mounted on a horſe belonging to Mr. Ellis, chief of the Engliſh factory, was paſſing by the eaſtern gate into the Kella, a Coffree, who commanded the ſeepoys belonging to Goorgheen Cawn, and who had the command of the gate, aſked the horſeman, whom the horſe belonged to? The man refuſed to tell him the owner's name, and gave him ill language. Upon this provocation, the Coffree took hold of the horſe's bridle and ſtopt him. The horſeman drew his dagger upon him, which the Coffree ſeized and took from him. The horſeman went to Mr. Ellis, who ſent ſome ſeepoys to ſeize and carry the Coffree before him. On intelligence of this, I called the ſeepoys of the factory and the Coffree before me, and enquired into the affair in preſence of the Hircarra of the factory. It appeared, that the fact was as I have related it. Afterwards ſpeaking kindly to them,

them, and giving them beetle, I diſmiſſed them. They took their leave of me, but did not go to the factory; and not being able to ſit at the gate, ſix ſeepoys ſtationed themſelves in a ſhop of the Bazar, in the paſſage which leads to my houſe, demanding the Coffree, with ſome gold mohrs, which were plundered. I ſent Golaum Mahomed Cawn to the chief, to expoſtulate with him, for making ſuch trifles a matter of debate; and to deſire him to recall the ſeepoys. He would by no means conſent, but replied in anger, "till the Coffree is brought into my preſence, I will never recall the ſeepoys." Since in this manner the affairs of the government ſuffer indignity, and I am not impowered to do any thing without your commands; I requeſt you will ſpeedily favor me with your orders upon this affair, that I may act accordingly."

Tranſlation

Tranſlation of a Letter from Mharaja Rajebullub *to the* Nabob.

"THE ſubſtance of a quarrel which happened between Mr. Ellis's people and the Coffree belonging to Goorgheen Cawn; and of the ſix ſeepoys being ſtationed at a ſhop in the Bazar, in the way to my houſe, I have before repreſented in an addreſs to your Excellency, which you will have received.

SEVERAL times, both yeſterday and to-day, a perſon came from the factory to demand the Coffree. By the means of Meer Abdoola and Golaum Mahomed Cawn, who formerly paſſed and repaſſed into the factory on buſineſs, I returned a ſuitable anſwer. At length the chief declared, that if the Coffree was not ſent, it would be treating him with contempt; and if he was ſent, for one inſtant only, he ſhould be immediately diſmiſſed. To-day therefore the Coffree was ſent. The chief, enquiring the occaſion of the difference, told him, he forgave him his offence, and at the

ſame

ſame time diſmiſſed him, and withdrawing the ſeepoys, called them home. At preſent there are no ſeepoys at this place."

THESE, and ſuch like diſputes, became, at length, almoſt the only ſubject of the letters, which paſſed between me and the Nabob; of theſe I ſhall produce one or two by way of example, together with Mr. Ellis's own letters, and ſome extracts from the conſultations upon the ſame facts.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ellis *to the Governor and Council. Dated* January 26, 1762.

"FROM the late frequent interruptions given to our buſineſs, I am neceſſitated to acquaint you of the general diſregard ſhewn to the Engliſh duſtucks throughout the country, but more particularly ſo in thoſe parts where the Armenians have any influence.

IN purſuance of our honorable maſters orders, *per* Lord Mansfield, a quantity of turmerick was purchaſed near Mow, which when ready I ſent a duſtuck

tuck for, but to little purpoſe; for Coja Antoon (the priſoner ſent to Calcutta) declared it of no effect; and had the inſolence to give one himſelf under the ſeal of one Coja Gregory, alias Goorgheen Cawn, an Armenian, which I have now the honor to incloſe you. Upon my aſking him, how he dared preſume to give a duſtuck for the Company's goods? He replied, "to prevent their being ſtopped, which mine would not have done, becauſe we are not ſufficiently known."

I HAVE frequently complained to the Nabob of theſe inſolences, and have conſtantly received evaſive and diſſatisfactory anſwers; once, indeed, on a repreſentation made him at the inſtance of Mr. George Gray, he ſent me a letter for Meer Sheer Allee, the Purnea Naib, which he informed me, was an order to give every aſſiſtance to the gentleman reſiding at Malda; but I find it proved of no effect, as I ſuppoſe Mr. Gray has already acquainted you.

MR. Howit has had two boats, with a duſtuck, ſtopped in the Purnea coun-

try, for near three months; and there are many more, on different parts of the river, in the ſame ſituation. This diſregard of the duſtuck, may be attended with the worſt conſequences to the Company's buſineſs, as well as private merchants; I therefore ſubmit it to your determination, whether (ſince the Nabob ſeems to allow of it) it would be moſt eligible for us to puniſh ſeverely any who may impede the carriage of merchandize, having an Engliſh duſtuck."

Extract of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna *(Meſ.* Ellis, Luſhington, *and* Howit) *to the Governor and Council.* January 28, 1762.

"SOME days ago Mr. Smith, being at Mow, informed the chief from thence of one Coja Antoon, an Armenian, having ſeized five maunds of ſalt-petre, and ſent it to Mongheer; in conſequence of which, a party of ſeepoys was detached to bring the Armenian priſoner to this factory. On being examined, he acknowledged the fact, as likewiſe

likewiſe the incloſed letter, in anſwer to one which our gomaſtah wrote to him on the ſubject.

HAVING not the leaſt proſpect of any redreſs from the Nabob for this contempt of the perwannah, we have thought proper to ſend the Armenian under a guard to Calcutta; not doubting, but that you will cauſe ſuch a puniſhment to be inflicted on him, as may deter others from the like practices in future."

Extract of a Conſultation, held at Calcutta *the* 11*th of* February, 1762 *(Preſent Meſ.* Vanſittart, Amyatt, Johnſtone *and* Hay).

"COJA ANTOON, an Armenian, born at Delly, reſiding at Mulky, on behalf of Sedderam, the Naib of Coja Gregory (who rents eight gauts in that part of the country) having been ſeized and ſent down by the chief and council at Patna, for having preſumed to give a duſtuck for goods belonging to the Company, which had before their own proper duſtuck; like-

wiſe for taking from the Company's * Nunneas five maunds of petre; being brought before the Board, was ſhewn the duſtuck which he gave with the goods, and the letter he wrote to our gomaſtah, regarding the five maunds of ſalt-petre, and aſked, whether he wrote them, and what were his reaſons for ſo doing?

COJA ANTOON acknowledges the duſtuck and letter to have been wrote by him; and declares, that he did not tear or take away the Company's duſtuck, but only took a copy of it, and returned it with a duſtuck, under the ſeal of Sedderam, to enable the goods to paſs the gauts belonging to Sedderam; that it was always the cuſtom to do ſo, and that he did the ſame with the Nabob's. With regard to the petre, he ſays, a Nunnea, belonging to the Sircar, came from the oppoſite ſide of the river, in order to purchaſe ten rupees worth of petre; that he thereupon ſent for one of the Company's Nunneas, and deſired him

* The people who work the ſalt-petre.

him to let the other have the petre; to which he readily conſented; that as ſoon as the petre was obtained, he ſent the Nunnea, belonging to the Sircar, with the ſalt-petre acroſs the river, accompanied by one of his own ſervants, to prevent his being ſtopped.

THE Board being of opinion, that upon the whole, Coja Antoon has taken upon himſelf an authority which he has no right to; and it being requiſite, that he be made an example of, to prevent others from the like practices in future; but as he is a ſervant of the government's, it properly belonging to the Nabob to chaſtiſe him:

AGREED he be ſent to Patna under a guard, and that the gentlemen there deliver him to the Nabob with a letter, which the Preſident is deſired to write to him, inſiſting upon his puniſhing Coja Antoon in a public manner, to prevent others from carrying the petre out of the country, and calling our duſtucks in queſtion; and we deſire the gentle-

men at Patna, to inform us particularly what puniſhment he inflicts upon him."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Ellis *to the Governor and Council. Dated* February 13, 1762.

"A Company of ſeepoys was detached down the river, in queſt of deſerters; of which I apprized Rajebullub, and deſired an order for the ſerjeant of the party to be admitted to ſearch the fort of Mongheer. This he aſſured me was ſent down; but the ſerjeant, on his arrival near Mongheer, having diſpatched a meſſenger to deſire admittance, received an anſwer from one Shujan Sing (Coja Gregory's deputy) that if he did not keep out of the reach of his guns, he would fire on him; and, at the ſame time, he poſted all his people round the walls; upon which the ſerjeant, who had poſitive orders to give no offence to any perſon whatever, went about two coſs off, where he remains, with his party, in the utmoſt diſtreſs for proviſion, Shujan Sing having forbid any

any to be ſold them. I have not yet ordered them back, becauſe there is certain advice of four of our deſerters being concealed in Mongheer fort. This, gentlemen, is another inſtance of Armenian inſolence."

Tranſlation of a Letter from the Nabob *to the Governor. Conſ.* February 22, 1762.

"THIS day, which is the 19th of the month Rejub, I have heard by a letter from Shujan Sing, Naib of the fort of Mongheer, and from the advices of my Hircarras, that two or three companies of ſeepoys were ſent out by Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory at Patna, on the report of ſome ſoldiers who had deſerted from the factory, to the eaſt of Patna; who accordingly arrived on a ſudden, near the fort of Mongheer, and marched againſt it, but finding the gates ſhut, they ſurrounded the fort. The Naib of the place faſtened all the gates, and ſat within in fear of his life and honor. I am ignorant what provo-

cation has induced the gentleman to ſend ſeepoys to attack the fort of Mongheer. I have ever regarded the ſolemn and ſacred obligations of the treaty, which ſubſiſts between us; and have, in no inſtance, failed in any of the duties of friendſhip. But why you, gentlemen, in defiance of the treaty, ſhould thus commit hoſtilities againſt my fort, and my ſervants, I cannot conceive. Depending on your juſtice, and the inclination which you have ſhewn to befriend me, in all my affairs, in conformity with the treaty, I have wrote you of this affair, and ſend you the advices above-mentioned for your information. I am here taking ſuch meaſures for regulating the concerns of this quarter, as you might approve of, and have ſtationed men in the forts and tannahs. If this is contrary to your inclination, intimate it to me, that they may be recalled. What neceſſity was there to ſend an armed force againſt my people? Whatever you judge adviſeable and proper on this occaſion, do you determine, and inform

form me, that I, who regard your ſatisfaction, beyond every other conſideration, may act agreeably thereto. The diſgrace which my authority has ſuffered, is beyond deſcription.

P. S. MR. Ellis having wrote to me, and requeſted a perwannah to Sheer Allee Cawn, not to ſtop any goods; I have at this time received advice, that for a trifling cauſe, that gentleman has diſgraced and carried away Coja Antoon, the Aumil of Punchmala Perganah, in the juriſdiction of Mongheer, a priſoner to the factory. The anſwer, which on this occaſion I wrote to him, I ſend you incloſed, and deſire you will read it."

Tranſlation of a Letter from Rajebullub *to the* Nabob.

"THIS day being Sunday, the 27th of the month Jemmady-ul-ſany, at noon, Bya Sedderam, the Peſhkar of Coja Goorgheen Cawn, came and acquainted me, that Coja Antoon, an Armenian, who is one of his (Goorgheen

heen Cawn's) kinſmen, and appointed by him to the charge of the affairs of Punchmala, &c. in the diſtricts of Mongheer, was ſeized and carried away by about four hundred Europeans and ſeepoys in the Engliſh ſervice, who were diſpatched to that place. The affair is this. It was reported, that he had bought a ſmall quantity of ſalt-petre, which he was accuſed of having plundered from the factory. I was going to ſend Golaum Mahomed Cawn to enquire into this affair; when Bya Sedderam again ſent me word, that they had brought Coja Antoon to the factory. Accordingly, I ſent Golaum Mahomed Cawn to Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory, to repreſent to him, that Coja Antoon was a man of credit, and entruſted with affairs of great conſequence under the government; and that to treat him in ſo violent a manner was improper; that if he would ſend him to me (which was proper) I would examine him. But this he would by no means conſent to; but replied, that the man had done great prejudice

judice to the buſineſs of the factory, and that he would put him in irons, and ſend him to Calcutta. I again ſent word, that he ought to ſend the ſaid Coja to me; and if Mr. Ellis had any claim upon him, it ſhould be debated before him. He anſwered, "I will neither releaſe him, nor ſend him to you, but he ſhall not be ill treated." I have wrote this for your information, and wait your orders regarding this affair."

Copy of a Letter from Shujan Sing *to* Dewan Sedderam.

"THIS day, being the 13th of the month Rejub, in the afternoon, a company of Engliſh troops arrived and encamped firſt at Suffiabad; about two hours afterwards, leaving Suffiabad, they entered Mongheer by the road of the Bazar, and paſſing near the eaſtern gate, came at once into the garden, which is a gunſhot to the north of the fort, in a treacherous and deſigning manner, and there pitched their tents. As I was upon my guard in the fort, they could not ſur-

prize

prize it, but went into the garden, and placed guards around the fort. Their deſign is certainly to deal treacherouſly by us, though what their motives are cannot be known, nor have they declared themſelves. As their force is ſmall, they have wrote to their chief, that the fort is ſo well ſecured, that they cannot attack it; but if a reinforcement be ſent them they will ſtorm it. For this reaſon I write to you to acquaint you, that there is no danger from one or two companies; but if the chief of the factory at Patna ſhould ſend a large force to their aſſiſtance, it will not be in my power to oppoſe them. We are but one hundred new raiſed burkundaſſes, with the ſeepoys and peons which belong to the garriſon, and are ready to ſacrifice ourſelves to the ſervice of our maſters. As you are in the place of my commander, I requeſt you will diſpatch two or three hundred good men ſpeedily by water to my aſſiſtance. I ſhall do my duty, but you know that I have but a

few

few men with me, and I before repreſented this to you. I requeſt a ſpeedy anſwer, and a ſupply of three or four thouſand bullets, and ſome lead. If the latter arrives I can make bullets. What happens hereafter I will adviſe you of."

END of the FIRST VOLUME.