CORRESPONDENCE

OF

CHARLES, FIRST MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.

EDITED, WITH NOTES,

BY CHARLES ROSS, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1859.

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PREFACE.

I HAVE been induced to publish the following volumes from a conviction that the documents contained in them would not only illustrate the character of LORD CORNWALLIS, but would also throw much light upon the history of his times. His military and political career extends from 1776 to 1805, and embraces many most important events. He was engaged in the American War from 1776 to 1781, and during the last two years held an independent command in the only quarter where active operations were carried on. He was twice Governor-General of India. During his first administration, which lasted from 1786 to 1793, he was engaged for upwards of two years in the Mysore war, and promulgated his revenue, judicial, and police regulations, which, with some modifications, are still in force throughout the Presidency of Bengal. To him was entrusted the duty of effecting that most important but difficult measure—the Union between Great Britain and Ireland; and a little later he was charged with the task of restoring tranquillity to Europe by completing the peace of Amiens.

Even if the limits to which a preface must be confined permitted me, I should not be disposed here to discuss the conduct and measures of Lord Cornwallis; nor, indeed, have I thought it fit to enter at all on that subject, but I have been satisfied with printing his own letters and despatches, with some of those addressed to him, either interesting in themselves or necessary to explain the context. To these I have added occasionally a few paragraphs or pages when the narrative appeared incomplete.

The great length of many of the documents has compelled me to print in an Appendix most of the military despatches from America and India, and numerous other important letters and

minutes. Among these will be found the details of the surrender of York Town, and the papers relating to the Zemindar settlement, which are peculiarly interesting.

With respect to the orthography, I have, in the letters, retained that of the several writers. In those parts of the work for which I am responsible, I have, in regard to the spelling of Indian proper names and words, followed the advice of those whose opinions are of very high authority; and as many of the Indian terms may not be familiar to English readers, I have added a short Glossary.

My principal labour has been to furnish short biographical notes on the various persons whose names occur in the letters and despatches. These I have endeavoured to make as complete and accurate as I could.

But among the many thousand dates given numerous errors have, I fear, crept in. Some have been corrected in the errata prefixed to each volume, others have doubtless escaped detection. Nor can I implicitly rely on the works to which I have referred for such information, as, most certainly, many inaccuracies exist in them. For instance, Collins's Peerage, the Gentleman's, European, and Scots Magazine, each give a different date for the death of Lady Mary Duncan. Three, at least, of these, perhaps all four, are wrong, though the Magazines were published within one month of her decease. The books which I have consulted are far too numerous to be particularised here—Annual Registers, Magazines, Peerages, Biographical Dictionaries, French and German as well as English (the latter being by far the most imperfect), Encyclopedias, individual Biographies, and an immense number of Memoirs, Pamphlets, &c., &c., relating to those times.

The MSS. to which I have had access are:—

1st. The family papers now at Audley End, comprising:—1. A collection of those relating to the American War, for the most part imperfect, but tolerably complete for the years 1780 and 1781. 2. An almost entire series of papers connected with the first Indian administration of Lord Cornwallis, including upwards of two hundred confidential communications between the Governor-General and the Secret Committee, the Court of Directors, and Mr. Dundas (none of the latter having ever before been pub-

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lished), and above a thousand private letters addressed to Lord Cornwallis. 3. The whole of the despatches written from Amiens, with the exception of about the last ten. 4. Originals or drafts of letters written by or to the different members of the Royal Family. 5. Some miscellaneous papers of various dates.

2ndly. More than four hundred letters written between the years 1782 and 1805 to my father, with whom Lord Cornwallis kept up the closest correspondence, broken only when they were in daily, or almost daily, intercourse. These contain his private sentiments, as communicated to an intimate friend, and are very interesting.

3rdly. The papers at the India House, consisting of more than nine hundred volumes, freely placed at my disposal by the kindness of the Chairman and the Court of Directors; and of the Secret Despatches, for the use of which I have to thank Mr. Vernon Smith, the President of the Board of Control.

4thly. The documents in the State-Paper Office. Some belong to the Secretary of State for the Colonies; others, perhaps the most material, relate to the Union, and to these no person had previously been allowed access. I am, therefore, under great obligations to the several Secretaries of State—Lords Clarendon, Panmure, and John Russell, and Sir George Grey, under whose control these papers were—for permission to examine and copy the papers belonging to their respective departments, either in the State-Paper Office or in Downing Street and Pall Mall.

5thly. The papers preserved in Dublin Castle.[1] To these I obtained unrestricted access through the kindness of the Earl of St. Germans, during his Lord-Lieutenancy. Though a large number of valuable documents still exist, many have been irretrievably lost, owing to the neglect of former years; but the whole collection is now well arranged.

[1] A letter appeared in the 'Athenæum' of Feb. 1859, stating that within the last few years, many confidential and secret papers deposited in Dublin Castle, had been destroyed by order of the Irish Government. It is true that from the neglected state in which, for a length of time, these papers had been left, many were lost, or inadvertently destroyed. But no intentional destruction ever took place.

In 1841 all that remained were most carefully arranged, and every measure is now adopted for their future preservation.

The above statement is made on the best possible authority.

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6thly. Between forty and fifty MS. volumes in the library of the Royal Institution, for the use of which I am indebted to the kindness of the secretary, the Rev. John Barlow. These volumes are part of Lord Dorchester's papers, and contain many despatches relative to the American War, no copies of which exist in the State-Paper Office.

7thly. Private papers and letters in the possession of various individuals, who have most cordially granted me permission to examine and make use of them. To my applications for such favours I have only met with one refusal, and that from a quarter where I had every reason to anticipate a different answer.

Among the valuable sources of information thus freely opened to me I must mention the Spencer, Hardwicke, Sydney, and Melville papers. Many other collections have been as cordially submitted to my inspection, but upon investigation it appeared that such documents as might have thrown additional light on the history of those times, and especially of the Union, had been purposely destroyed. For instance, after a search instituted at Welbeck by the kindness of the Duke of Portland, it was ascertained that the late Duke had burnt all his father's political papers from 1780 to his death. In like manner, the Chancellor Lord Clare, Mr. Wickham, Mr. King, Sir Herbert Taylor, Sir Edward Littlehales, Mr. Marsden, the Knight of Kerry, and indeed almost all the persons officially concerned in carrying the Union, appear to have destroyed the whole of their papers. Mr. Marsden, by whom many of the arrangements were concluded, left a MS. book containing invaluable details, which was burnt only a few years ago by its then possessor. The destruction of so many valuable documents respecting important transactions cannot but be regarded as a serious loss to the political history of those times. Lord Normanton, Lord Donoughmore, and a few others who had fortunately retained some original letters, &c., have kindly allowed me to make use of them. Lord Teignmouth, Sir Alexander Malet, and Mr. F. H. Robinson have most obligingly sent me the papers of their respective fathers, relating of course to the Indian portion of this work.

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I have obtained much information from the British Museum, where my researches have been most kindly and effectually aided by Mr. Jones, the Curator of Printed Books, and by every gentleman in that establishment to whom I had occasion to apply. The Committee of the Athenæum have likewise been good enough to allow me access to a considerable collection of pamphlets, &c., referring to Irish affairs.

In many cases I have applied to individuals for particulars respecting their own families or those of their friends, and I must bear testimony to the invariable kindness with which such applications have been received and answered,—often, I fear, at much trouble to my correspondents. Greater difficulty has naturally been experienced in regard to foreign families, but on this point my researches have been facilitated by the courtesy of the several British Ministers abroad, and by the assistance of the public authorities on the Continent, especially that of Count Buol, who has furnished me with various dates in reference to German families, which I had not been able to obtain from other quarters. I have also derived important assistance from Professor Wilson, who has examined the proof-sheets relating to India, and has kindly given me the benefit of his thorough knowledge of Indian affairs, &c. Mr. Prinsep, likewise, whose acquaintance with that country is most extensive, has, besides the official aid he could afford as a Director, given me many valuable suggestions. My researches among the papers in Dublin Castle have been materially aided by Colonel Larcom, the Under-Secretary, and Sir Bernard Burke, who have also obtained for me information from other sources. But it would be impossible for me adequately to thank, or even to enumerate, all to whom I am indebted for the materials necessary to the completion of my work; and I must therefore content myself with a general but imperfect acknowledgment of their various services, earnestly entreating all who have in any way aided me, to believe that I most gratefully appreciate their courtesy and kindness.

I cannot, however, conclude without speaking of one, from whom I originally received encouragement to commence this work, by whose counsel and advice I have often profited during

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its progress, and for whose approbation I had hoped on the conclusion of my labours; but this hope has unhappily not been realized. I allude to the late Lord Braybrooke, whose death took place while these sheets were going through the press, and I shall, I am sure, be forgiven for taking this occasion to express my sincere regard and attachment for one with whom for upwards of thirty years I have been so nearly connected.

CHARLES ROSS.

London, July, 1858.

Subsequently to printing the above, the Marquis of Lansdowne discovered among the papers at Bowood, some additional letters addressed to his father by Lord Cornwallis. These were immediately offered to me, and for this, and many other acts of kindness, I have to return him my sincere thanks. As the letters in question could not be inserted in their proper places, they have been printed together at the end of the 3rd volume.

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PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

A NEW Edition having been very suddenly called for, I have not had time to make such a revision of this work, as I should have wished. I have therefore been obliged to content myself with inserting some misplaced letters in their proper places, correcting the errors I have discovered, and introducing fresh information into many of the Biographical Notes. Some very few letters have been added: among them are one or two kindly supplied by the Knight of Kerry, whose father's papers I had erroneously been led to believe had been destroyed. I should add that owing to the rapidity with which these sheets have been printed, I have been compelled to trust to the printer only for correcting the Press.

I must once more express my warmest thanks to all those who have so kindly afforded me their assistance, and without whose aid many more deficiencies must have existed.

CHARLES ROSS.

London, April, 1859.

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GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS.

ABKARRY, excise.
ABWAB, item, cess.
ADAWLUT, court of justice.
ADAWLUT, DEWANNY SUDDER, chief civil court.
ADAWLUT, MAAL, court of revenue.
ADAWLUT-NIZAMUT SUDDER, chief criminal court.
ALTUNGHA, a royal grant.
ARRACK, a strong spirit.
AUMEEN, an agent, a commissioner.
AUMIL, a revenue officer.
AURUNG, a factory.

BATTA, allowance to troops.
BAZAR, market.
BEGAH, a measure of land—one-third of an acre.
BEGUM, a lady of rank, a princess.
BERKENDOSSES, a matchlock-man.
BINJARRIES, an itinerant dealer in grain.
BRAHMIN, one of the religious order of the Hindus.

CANONGOE, village registrar.
CASH, a Madras copper coin.
CASTE, class, a social distinction.
CHOKIE, a police or custom station.
CHOUDRIE, head man of a trade.
CHUNAM, lime, mortar.
CHOUT } a fourth of revenue imposed by
CHOUTH } the Marathas.
CHOWDRY, same as Choudrie.
CIRCAR, a province, applied also to the chief government.
CRORE, 100 lacs—10 millions.

DAROGAH, head of police.
DEWAN, financial officer.
DEWANNY, collection of public revenue.
DOOLIE, a litter.
DROOG, a fort, a hill fort.
DUBASH, a native interpreter.
DURBAR, court, audience.
DUSTUCK, a custom-pass, a permit.

FETWAH, dictum of a Mohammedan law-officer.
FOUJDARRY, criminal jurisdiction.
FOUJEDAR, police magistrate.
FUSSILY (year), the harvest year, minus the A.D. by 592; 1858 = Fasti 1266.

GHAUT, a landing-place, a mountain-pass.
GOLD MOHUR, a gold coin, value about thirty-two shillings.
GOMESHTA, an agent.
GUNGE or GUNJ, a store-house, a mart, especially for grain, where a compulsory tax was often levied by the Zemindar, on whose land it was situated.

HAUT, a fair, a market.
HIRCARRAH, a messenger, a spy.
HUSTABOOD, rent-roll.

JAEDAD, a grant for maintenance.
JAGHIRE, a grant for military service.
JUMMA, total income or revenue.
JUNGLE, forest, a place overrun with bushes, a thicket.

KESAUS, lex talionis.
KHALSA, exchequer, government treasure or land.
KHAS, special, noble.
KHELAUT, a dress of honour.
KHIST or KIST, revenue instalment.
KILLEDAR, commandant of a fort.

LAC or LACK, 100,000.
LAKERAGE, exempt from tax or revenue.
LASCARS, native sailors, tent-pitchers, &c.
LOOT, plunder.

MALGUZARRY, payment of revenue.
MOKUDDIM, head of a village.
MONSOON, season, rainy season.
MOULAVIE, a Mohammedan teacher, a man of learning.
MUNDUL, head of a village.

NABOB } a deputy, a viceroy.
NAIB }
NAIB NAZIM, the deputy governor.
NAZIM, a governor, a viceroy.
NIZAM, a governor, a viceroy.
NIZAMUT, criminal administration.
NUZZER, present from an inferior.

PADDY, rice in the husk.
PAGODA, Hindu temple, also a gold coin.
PAGODAS, LAC OF, 100,000 pagoda coins, about 16,000*l.*
PARCARRY or PANSARI, a druggist.
PASBAN, a watchman.

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PATWAN, an athlete.
PERGUNNAH, a province, division of a zola.
PERWANNAH, a pass, a passport.
PESHCUSH, tribute.
PETTAH, town adjacent to a fort.
POLYGAR, petty chief in the Dakkin.
PUNDIT, a learned Brahmin.
PYKE, a foot-soldier, or militia man.

RAJA or RAJAH, Hindu prince.
RAKDARRY / RHADARY } Ráhdári, transit duty, tax for keeping roads in order, a passport.
RISSALAS, a troop of horse.
RUPEE, silver coin, formerly exchanged at 2*s.* 6*d.*, now 2*s.*
RUPEE, ARCOT, Madras silver coin.
RUPEE, SICCA, Bengal silver coin.
RYOT, peasant, cultivator.
RYOTWAR, tax or revenue levied on actual cultivators.

SAYER DUTIES, miscellaneous duties and customs.
SEPOY, native soldier.
SHASTER, Hindu Scriptures.
SHIAS, Mohammedans holding the Khalifs before Ali to be usurpers.
SHOOKA / SHUKHA } a royal letter.
SILVER FANAMS, small silver Madras coin.
SOONIES, Mohammedans maintaining the preference of the three first Khalifs to Ali.
SOUBAH, a province, a viceroyalty.

TALOOK, an estate.
TALOOKDAR, holder of an estate.
TEHSEELDAR, native collector of revenue.
TEHSEELDARY SETTLEMENT, settlement of a collectorate.
TOPAZZES (COMPANY OF), native troops, especially Portuguese and half-castes.

VAKEEL, ambassador, agent.
VIZIER, minister.

ZEMINDAR, landholder.
ZILLAH, a province, the jurisdiction of a superior judge.
ZIMMI, one living under security or protection, especially an infidel enjoying toleration under a Mohammedan government.

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Wars in support of Charles I.; and followed his royal master, Charles II., to the Continent. If, as has been stated, his property was sequestrated, it was restored to him on his return from exile. At all events, the estate of Culford was not confiscated, as it was the property of his mother, Jane Lady Cornwallis,[1] to whom it had been left by her second husband, Sir Nathaniel Bacon. On his mother's death, Sir Frederick removed from Brome to Culford Hall, near Bury St. Edmunds, which then became the usual abode of the family.

Sir Frederick was created Baron Cornwallis of Eye, April 20, 1661. His grandson Charles, third lord, who is mentioned in the Memoirs of Grammont, married, first, Dec. 27, 1673, Elizabeth, daughter, and after her brother's, death sole child, of Sir Stephen Fox by his first wife. It has been always understood in the family, that Sir Stephen had intended to leave his large fortune to his daughter or her children; but she predeceased him, and he, being offended at some neglect on the part of her husband, at the advanced age of seventy-six took a second wife, Christiana, daughter of the Rev. Charles Hope, by whom he had two daughters and two sons, the latter, ancestors respectively of the Earls of Ilchester and of the Lords Holland, who inherited his estates. Like his father-in-law, Lord Cornwallis also married a second time, May 16, 1688, Anne Scott, Duchess of Monmouth and Buccleuch, by whom he had several children, who all died s. p.; but the Duchess left descendants by her first husband, James Duke of Monmouth.[2]

In the reign of William III. Lord Cornwallis was made Lord-Lieutenant of Suffolk, and First Lord of the Admiralty. His son Charles, fourth lord, after serving for several years in Flanders, was also appointed Lord-Lieutenant of the county, and successively Postmaster-General and Paymaster of the Forces.

Charles, fifth lord, was Chief Justice in Eyre south of Trent, and afterwards Constable of the Tower. He married, in 1722, Elizabeth, daughter of Charles, second Viscount Townshend, brother-in-law, and for many years colleague, of Sir Robert Walpole.

[1] She was dau. of Hercules Meautys, b. 1580, d. May 8, 1659; m. 1st, 1608, Sir William Cornwallis, K.B., then a widower, who was knighted in Dublin Aug. 5, 1599, for his services against the Irish rebels; and 2nd, May 1, 1614, Sir Nathaniel Bacon, K.B., youngest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon of Redgrave, Premier Baronet.

[2] The Dukedom of Monmouth and the other English titles were forfeited by the attainder of the Duke, but the Dukedom of Buccleuch, and all the Scotch titles, were enjoyed by the Duchess (the representative of the family of Scott) in her own right, and therefore descended to her grandson, the ancestor of the present Duke of Buccleuch. In 1743 the attainder was reversed as to the Earldom of Doncaster and the inferior titles, but the jealousy of the Dukes, over whom as 3rd in that rank the Duke of Monmouth would have had precedence, frustrated the more liberal intentions of Ministers.

It is this Duchess of Buccleuch before whom Sir Walter Scott supposes the "Last Minstrel" to recite his "Lay;" but the character portrayed was meant to represent Harriet, wife of Charles, 4th Duke.

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He was made Earl Cornwallis and Viscount Brome, June 30, 1753; and died June 23, 1762, having had four sons and five daughters, of whom three sons and three daughters survived him.

His sixth child, but eldest son, Viscount Brome, of whose public life these pages are designed to preserve a record, was born in Grosvenor Square, Dec. 31, 1738, and baptized at St. George's, Hanover Square, Jan. 15, 173⅞. Lord Brome went at an early age to Eton. The exact year has not been ascertained; but in an old Eton School list of Aug. 26, 1754, his name stands fourth among the 6th form Oppidans. During his Eton career he received, while playing at hockey, a blow on the eye, which produced a slight but permanent obliquity of vision. The boy who accidentally caused this injury was Shute Barrington, afterwards the highly esteemed Bishop of Durham.[1] Many biographical dictionaries state, that on leaving Eton, Lord Brome was entered at St. John's College, Cambridge; but the Rev. Dr. Tatham, the late Master, who, at the request of the editor, kindly searched the college books, ascertained that his name does not appear in them.

Before he attained the age of eighteen Lord Brome had chosen the army as his profession. His first commission, as ensign in the First Guards, now the Grenadiers, bears date Dec. 8, 1756.

His other commissions were—

A.D.C. to Lord Granby	August, 1758.
Captain 85th Foot	August 5, 1759. (A new regiment raised by J. Crauford, Esq.)
Lieut.-Colonel 12th Foot	May 1, 1761.
A.D.C. to the King	August 2, 1765.
Colonel 33rd Regiment	March 21, 1766.
Constable of the Tower	December 8, 1770. (Resigned Feb. 10, 1784.)
Major-General	September 29, 1775.
Lieut.-General in America	January 1, 1776.
Lieut.-General	August 29, 1777.
Re-appointed Constable of the Tower ..	Nov. 16, 1784.
General	October 12, 1793.
Master-General of the Ordnance	February 13, 1795. (Resigned June 16, 1801.)

Lord Cornwallis was, besides,

Commander-in-Chief in India from September 12, 1786, to October 28, 1793.
" " " again from March 20 to Oct. 5, 1805.
" " Ireland from June 13, 1798, to March 17, 1801.

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[1] Hon. Shute Barrington, son of John, 1st Viscount Barrington, b. May 26, 1734, d. March 25, 1826; m. 1st, Feb. 2, 1761, Diana, dau. of Charles, 2nd Duke of St. Albans; 2nd, June 20, 1770, Jane, dau. of Sir John Guise, Bart. Consecrated Bishop of Llandaff, Oct. 4, 1769; translated to Salisbury July, 1782, and to Durham July, 1791.

Anxious to fit himself for the profession he had adopted, he applied for leave to go to some foreign academy, where alone it was then possible to acquire military knowledge. The following reply from the Duke of Cumberland,[1] then Captain-General, is copied *punctatim* from the original:—

MY LORD CORNWALLIS Dunkerran, July ye 1st 1757.

I had not time before to answer your letter concerning Lord Broome I have no doubt but the King will immediately permit him to go abroad which is if properly attended to very usefull to our young country men tho' I must do Ld. Broome the justice to say he has less of our home education than most young men if you will desire the Secretary of Warr to get His Majesty's licence it will be done immediately.

I remain your very affectionate friend

WILLIAM

The desired permission having been obtained, Lord Brome left England, and, accompanied by a Prussian officer, Capitaine de Roguin, travelled for some time on the Continent, before establishing himself at Turin, where he was entered at the Military Academy, then held in high estimation.

The following letter from M. de Roguin to Lord Cornwallis gives an interesting description of the manner and mode of academical life at that period:—

TO THE RT. HON. EARL CORNWALLIS, IN HILL STREET, BERKELEY SQUARE, LONDRES.

MILLORD, Turin, le 23me Janvr. 1758.

J'eus L'honneur de vous escrire conjointement avec Millord il y a quelques jours pr vous aprendre notre Heureuse arivée icy et le dessein dans lequ'el il etoit d'entrer à Lacademie ce que nous n'avons peut mettre en execution qu'apres avoir été presenté au Roy[2] et à Toutte la famille Royalle ce qui prend toujours quelque tems a cause du Ceremoniel. Millord come fils de Pair d'Angleterre à eu audience de S. Mtie. dans son cabinet ce qui ne se pratique pas pour d'autres il en a été acceuilli tres gracieusement de meme que de L. A. Rlles Princes et Princesses qui ont aussi eu la bonté de se souvenir de moy come d'un ancien officier cy devt au service du Roy.

[1] William Duke of Cumberland, son of George II., b. April 15, 1721, d. Oct. 31, 1765.

[2] Charles Emanuel III., King of Sardinia, b. April 27, 1701, d. Feb. 20, 1773; m. 1st, Feb. 16, 1722, Anne Christine, dau. of the Duc de Neubourg; 2nd, July 2, 1724, Christine Jeanne, dau. of Ernest, Landgrave of Hesse Rheinfels; 3rd, April 1, 1737, Elizabeth Therese, dau. of Leopold, Duc de Lorraine. He assumed the reins of government on the voluntary abdication, Sept. 3, 1730, of his father, Victor Amadeus II.

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Nous fimes notre entrée à Lacademie le 20me de ce mois J'etois un ancienne connoissance du Chevallier de Ville gouverneur de Lacademie, avec lequel j'avois été fait prisonier la guerre passée et je conoissois beaucoup le Chevallier de Malthe M. de Cravette le sous Gouverneur avec lequel j'avais été de guarnison; ces Mrs se sont empressés de faire milles politesses à Millord et l'on asseuré qu'ils chercheroient touttes les occasions de Lobliger.

Lacademie est sur un fort bon Pied. Le Roy ne veut pas permettre qu'il si comette le moindre desordre et les academiciens sont obligés de se trouver aux Exercices. Le logemt y est passable la Table y est fort bonne et l'on mange tous ensemble avec le Gouverneur et sous Gouverneur avec beaucoup d'ordre et de descence. L'on dine à Midy et un quart cepandt avec apetit a cause des exercices.

à 7 heures du matin il y à salle de dance publique.

à 8 heures Millord à son maitre de Langue Allemande.

à 9 heures le manege tous les jours excepté le Jeudy: il dure jusques a 11 heures.

à 11 heures Maitre d'Armes particulier pr Millord.

à 3 heures apres midy, Maitre de Mathematiques et Fortifications particullier.

à 5 heures Lecons de dances particullieres.

Ensuitte quelques visittes, L'Opera, et le souper.

Le Jeudy et le Dimanche l'on va à la cour; les autres jours les Academiciens ne sortent point le mattin pouvant venir à Table en desabillié.

Nous serons obligé de payer come tous les autres les premiers 6 mois de Pansion pr Table Logemt Manege et les maitres; mais avec cette Reserve que si nous ny finissons pas le tems, L'on nous en tien conte une autre fois à notre Retour sans payer de nouveau. Je vous enveray Millord copie du conte detaillé que l'on me remettra.

L'Ecuyer du Manege à êté fort content de Millord de meme que le Maitre de Dance qui le trouve en etat de dancer à la Cour. Ils esperent l'un et lautre qu'il fera beaucoup de progres dans peu veu ses bonnes dispositions. J'espere qu'il en fera de même pr les autres maitres mais il seroit à souhetter pr L'avantage et le bien de Millord qu'il puisse faire un certain sejour icy et cela dependra beaucoup des lettres que luy escrira le Colonel Boyd,[1] qui est aupres de S. A. S. le Duc Ferdinand[2] à L'armée qu'il a prié de l'informer

[1] Colonel, afterwards General, Sir Robert Boyd, K.B., Colonel 39th regt., originally rose from the ranks, d. April 28, 1794. He was second in command at Gibraltar under Lord Heathfield.

[2] Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, a younger son of Ferdinand Duke of Brunswick, b. Jan. 11, 1721, d. July 3, 1792, the very day on which his nephew (the reigning Duke) left Brunswick to take the command of the army destined for the invasion of France.

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des mouvemts de l'armée lorsqu'elle se remettra en campagne Je vous dis cecy en confidence p^r^ prendre vos mesures consequenment dè meme que lidée ou sont les Colonels Durand, et Boyd qui m'ent ont parlé qu'il seroit à souhetter que Millord fut placé la campagne Prochaine ailleurs qu'aupres de Millord Gremby,[1] par ce que c'est une bonne maison ou l'on boit trop, et plus que dans toutte autre au seû et au veû de toutte L'armee et il est a craindre qu'on ne prenne un peu trop cette bonne Habitude et que cela ne peusse nuire à la santé de Millord qui avoit deja pris qu'il y etoit quelques petits saignem^ts^ de nes qui n'ont pas eu de suitte ce qu'il avoit deffendu à son domestique de me dire et dont je l'ay bien grondé.

J'ay pris la Liberté de dire amicallemt tout cecy à Millord come amis il a pris fort bien la chose et est convenu que j'avois raison. J'ay crû de mon devoir et en conscience etre obligé de vous donner part de tout cecy cepend^t^ sous le sceau du secret grace que j'espere que vous ne me refuseres pas veû les consequences, et ne m'en feres pas mention dans vos lettres que je luy montre touttes. Millord se porte a merveille icy mene une vie des plus reglées et des plus sages ce que font aussi tous les academiciens sans distinction.

Il voit dans les Assemblées tous les jours jouer au Pharaon sans qu'il nous prenne à l'un et à Lautre la moindre envie de jouer. Il à meme de Laversion pour le Jeu excepté quelque petitte partie de comerce qu'il fait quand L'occasion s'en presente par complaisance p^r^ les dames. Millord a recu aujourdhuy une lettre du 27^e^ du passé de Millady qu'il asseure conjointement avec vous de meme que moy de ses obeissances tres Humbles sans oublier le reste de La famille. La lettre de M^r^ son frere luy à fait bien plaisir Nous attendons avec impatience d'en avoir des votres bientot. J'ay l'honneur d'etre tres respectueusemt

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant et devoué serviteur,
H. G. DE ROGUIN, Capitaine.

Malgre touttes les raisons que j'ay eu L'hon^r^ de vous dire si Millord Grenby nome Millord son aide de camp effectif en cas qu'il fut L Gen^l^ je ne sais coment il pouroit le refuser veû touttes les marques d'attachmt de bonté, et d'amitié qu'il a eu p^r^ luy.[2]

On leaving Turin, Lord Brome and his companion visited several of the German courts, on their way to Geneva, where they received

[1] John Marquis of Granby, son of John, 3rd Duke of Rutland, b. Jan. 2, 1720, d. v. p. Oct. 19, 1770; m. Sept. 3, 1750, Frances, dau. of Charles, 6th Duke of Somerset. M.P. for Grantham Dec. 1741 to 1754, and then for Cambridge County till his death; Lieut.-General of the Ordnance Sept. 15, 1759, to May 14, 1763; then Master-General till his death; Commander-in-Chief from Aug. 1766, to Jan. 1769.

[2] The letter is written, as will be seen, in indifferent French, and the spelling is very antiquated. One or two words are illegible.

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intelligence that a British army was collecting in Germany. Lord Brome at once determined to join the army, without waiting for orders, or even asking for leave. The following letter gives a short account of his proceedings on this occasion.

VISCOUNT BROME TO THOMAS TOWNSHEND, ESQ.[1]

DEAR THOMMY, Dulmen Camp,[2] Sept. 2, 1758.

I received yours yesterday, and am very glad to hear that the Foudroyant[3] and Orphée are taken. If you can contrive any method of sending your letters, so that they should not be quite four months on the road, I think we cannot do better than agree on a correspondence. As an account of myself will be much more extraordinary than any news I can send you, I shall give it you first. Our voyage began very prosperously; and having passed through many of the German courts, and very often talked over the battle of Campo Santo,[4] and the excellent discipline of the "Reg. de feu mon oncle," we arrived at Geneva. I there first heard of the expedition; and when I saw that the Guards were ordered, I immediately ordered the horses, d—d Switzerland for having no posts through it, and made the best of my way to the Isle of Wight. At Cologne I found I was too late. Only imagine having set out without leave, come two hundred leagues, and my regiment gone without me! I wrote immediately to my father, and represented all this in the strongest light, and told him that, if he did not find out some service for me, I could never expect any promotion as long as I stayed in the army. The express orders of the King, and, as I then thought, Prince Ferdinand's resolution not to take any (volunteers), gave me but little encouragement. I resolved however to try, and was received in the kindest manner. I had been here about six weeks as a volunteer when the English joined us, and have since that been appointed aide-de-camp to your friend Granby.

I beg when Harry[5] comes home, covered with laurels and the

[1] Thomas, eldest son of the Hon. Thomas Townshend, created Lord Sydney March 6, 1783, and made a Viscount June 9, 1789; b. Feb. 24, 1723, d. June 13, 1800; m. May 19, 1762, Elizabeth, dau. and coheir of Richard Powys, Esq., of Hentlesham. M.P. for Whitchurch from Nov. 1762, till he became a Peer; a Lord of the Treasury from July, 1765, to Dec. 1767; Paymaster-General Dec. 1767; then Secretary-at-War March to July, 1782; then Secretary of State to April, 1783, and again from Dec. 1783 to June, 1789; and then Chief Justice in Eyre till his death.

[2] Dulmen, a town in Westphalia, about 20 miles from Munster.

[3] The 'Foudroyant,' of 80, and 'Orphée,' of 64 guns, part of the Marquis du Quesne's squadron, were taken, April 28, by the 'Monmouth' and 'Revenge,' two ships of inferior force, belonging to Admiral Osborne's fleet.

[4] A town in the duchy of Modena. A battle was fought there Feb. 3, 1743, between the Austrians and Spaniards, and the latter had the advantage.

[5] Henry Townshend, Captain and Lieut.-Colonel 1st Guards, third son of the Hon. Thomas Townshend; b. Sept. 26, 1736, killed June 24, 1762, in action at Wilhelmstadt. He had been wounded at Minden. M.P. for Eye from April, 1758, to Jan. 1760, and from Nov. 1761, till his death.

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spoils of Cherburg,[1] you will assure him of my sincere joy at his succeeding Hardinge, as I have never known where to find him since I have heard of it. It is a thing I have long thought of and wished for. You will expect to hear something from us. Our main army is encamped near Dulmen. The Hereditary Prince[2] is with an advanced corps at Haltern.[3] The French are encamped in several separate bodies on the other side the Lippe; and though our posts are within thirty yards of theirs, I don't think we shall be able yet to attack them, as the Lippe is not fordable in many places. Granby is very well, and gives his compliments to you. I beg mine to Mr. Townshend[4] and all other friends.

I am most sincerely and affectionately yours,

BROME.

Lord Brome continued for some time on Lord Granby's staff, and was of course present at the various actions, including Minden, in which his general was engaged. But he returned to England on being promoted into the 85th regiment, and does not appear to have gone back to Germany till June 26, 1761, when he went to take the command of the 12th regiment as lieut.-colonel. A very few days after his joining the army, the French, under the Prince de Soubise[5] and the Maréchal de Broglie,[6] drove in the British outposts near Kirch Donkern.[7] On the 15th of July Lord Brome was ordered to support the pickets; and on that and the ensuing day a severe action took place, which terminated in the total defeat of the French, whose loss was estimated at 5000 men, besides 6

[1] Cherburg was taken on the 8th of August.

[2] Nephew of Prince Ferdinand, and son of Charles, Duke of Brunswick, whom he succeeded March 26, 1780; b. Oct. 9, 1735, d. at Altona Nov. 10, 1806, of wounds received in the battle of Jena Oct. 14 preceding; m. Jan. 17, 1764, Princess Augusta, sister of George III. He commanded the Prussian army in 1792. No satisfactory explanation has ever been given of his conduct in that campaign, or of his sudden retreat from France.

[3] A small town in Westphalia, 20 miles from Munster, near the Lippe, a river which falls into the Rhine above Wesel.

[4] Hon. Thomas Townshend, 2nd son of Charles 2nd Viscount Townshend, and brother of Elizabeth, wife of Charles 1st Earl Cornwallis; b. June 2, 1701, d. May 21, 1780; m. May 2, 1730, Albinia, dau. of Colonel Selwyn of Matson, to whose estates she became sole heir on the death of her brother, the well-known George Selwyn; M.P. for Winchelsea 1722 to 1727, and then for Cambridge University to 1774.

[5] The Prince de Soubise, b. July 16, 1715, d. July 4, 1787; m. 1st, Dec. 29, 1734, Mad^lle de Bouillon, dau. of the Grand Chambellan de France; 2nd, Nov. 3, 1741, Anne Therese, dau. of Victor Amadeus, Prince de Carignan; 3rd, Dec. 24, 1745, Princesse Christine de Hesse Rheinfels. The prince was a bad general, and owed his being employed to his interest with the King's mistresses, especially Madame de Pompadour. He commanded at the battle of Rosbach.

Soubise après ces grands exploits
Peut bâtir un Palais qui ne lui coûte guère;
Sa femme lui fournit le bois,
Et chacun lui jette une pierre.

[6] Victor François, Duc de Broglie, b. Oct. 19, 1718, d. March 30, 1804; m. 1st, May 2, 1736, Marie Anne, d. of Claude Thomas Dubois de Villers; 2nd, April 11, 1752, Louisa Augustine, d. of Louis Antoine, Baron de Thiers. Made a Marshal at the early age of 42. He was recalled and disgraced in consequence of the loss of this action.

[7] Kirch Donkern, a village near Vellinghausen, about 7 miles N.W. of Soest.

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pair of colours and 12 guns. The casualties of the allies were 301 killed, 1011 wounded, and 192 missing. The 12th, which was much distinguished, lost 1 officer and 20 rank and file killed, 1 officer and 50 rank and file wounded, and 27 rank and file missing. This regiment was during the remainder of the campaign repeatedly engaged in minor actions in Hesse and the bishopric of Paderborn, until it went into winter quarters in the bishopric of Osnaburgh.

Early in 1762 the British army again took the field. On the 24th June they surprised the French at Grœbenstein,[1] and crossed the Dymel[2] at Leibenau.[3] The enemy retreated towards Cassel; but one division, which had been left in the woods of Wilhelmstadt, was nearly annihilated. In this affair, the 12th were warmly engaged, and also in another on the 23rd of July, when they drove the Saxons, under Prince Xavier of Saxony,[4] from Lutterberg,[5] and captured 13 guns. They subsequently formed part of the corps which acted on the Ohn and the Lahn,[6] and was afterwards employed in covering the siege of Cassel.

During this time Lord Brome, who came of age Dec. 31, 1759, was, in Jan. 1760, elected member for Eye, Col. Henry Townshend having vacated the seat. He continued to represent that borough until he succeeded to the earldom, June 23, 1762; and in the November following he took his seat in the House of Lords.

It does not appear that Lord Cornwallis returned to Germany, where the British army had ceased to carry on active operations, but he continued to perform his military duties at home. He retained the command of the 12th till August, 1765 (when he was appointed Aide-de-Camp to the King), and generally accompanied his regiment in their country quarters, a practice which he followed after he was made Colonel of the 33rd in March, 1766. He was in Scotland in 1765, then at Derby, Gloucester, and other places in England, once at Gibraltar, and once in Dublin. On the 14th of July, 1768, he married Jemima[7] Tuleken, daughter of Colonel

[1] A village about 4 miles N. of Wilhelmstadt, which is 8 miles to the N. of Cassel, the capital of Hesse.

[2] A river which rises in Waldeck, passes by Warburg, and falls into the Wesel at Karlshafen in Hesse Cassel.

[3] A town of Hesse Cassel, situated on an island in the Dymel or Diemel, 30 miles W. of Gottingen.

[4] Prince Xavier de Saxe, b. Aug. 25, 1730, d. June 21, 1806. He was son of Frederick Augustus II., King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, of which country he was Regent during the minority of his nephew.

[5] Lutterberg, in Hanover, district of Gottingen, 3 miles S.S.W. of Munden, on the banks of the Oder.

[6] Two small rivers in Hesse. The Lahn rises in Westphalia, passes by Ems, and joins the Rhine near Coblentz. The Ohn falls into the Lahn near Marburg.

[7] Lady Cornwallis was born Sept. 1747, d. Feb. 13, 1779.

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James Jones.[1] By her he had two children, Mary,[2] and Charles Viscount[3] Brome.

Lord Cornwallis did not for several years take any active part in politics; but he seems to have voted usually in the House of Lords with Lords Shelburne[4] and Temple,[5] and the only protest he ever signed, was one drawn up by the latter Nov. 29, 1763, against agreeing to a resolution brought up from the House of Commons, "That the privilege of Parliament does not extend to cases of seditious libel."[6] In the same year he strongly opposed the Cyder and Perry Bill,[7] which had given rise to violent discussions.

On the change of Government in 1765, Lord Cornwallis was made a Lord of the Bedchamber,[8] and on Nov. 8 following, he officiated as assistant to the Duke of Grafton,[9] chief mourner at the funeral of the Duke of Cumberland, who died on the 31st of October. From Dec. 23, 1766 to Feb. 19, 1769, he was Chief Justice in Eyre South of Trent, and Vice-Treasurer of Ireland[10] from Feb. 27, 1769 to May 5, 1771.

[1] Captain and Lieut.-Colonel 3rd Foot Guards, d. about 1758. His mother was a dau. of General Tuleken, a Dutch officer, who came to England with William III.

[2] Lady Mary, b. June 28, 1769, d. May 26, 1857; m. Nov. 1785, Mark Singleton, Esq., then an ensign in the 1st Guards.

[3] Afterwards 2nd and last Marquis Cornwallis; b. Oct. 19, 1774, d. Aug. 9, 1823, without any male issue; m. April 17, 1797, Louisa, dau. of Alexander, 4th Duke of Gordon.

[4] William, 3rd Earl of Shelburne, K.G., made Marquis of Lansdowne Nov. 30, 1784; b. May 2, 1737, d. May 7, 1805; m. 1st, Feb. 3, 1765, Sophia, dau. of John, 1st Earl Granville; 2nd, July 19, 1779, Louisa, dau. of John, 1st Earl of Upper Ossory. In early life he was in the Guards, and served under Prince Ferdinand in Germany, where his intimacy with Lord Cornwallis began, and he died the senior general in the army. President of the Board of Trade from April to Sept. 1763; Secretary of State Aug. 1766 to Nov. 1768, and again from March to July, 1782; then First Lord of the Treasury to April, 1783; M.P. for Wycombe in England and for the county of Kerry in Ireland from May, 1760, till he became a peer, May 14, 1761.

[5] Richard, 2nd Earl Temple, K.G., b. Sept. 26, 1711, d. Sept. 11, 1779; m. May 9, 1737, Anne, dau. of Thomas Chambers, Esq., of Hanworth. First Lord of the Admiralty from Nov. 1756, to April, 1757; Privy Seal, June, 1757, to Oct. 1761; M.P. for the town or county of Buckingham from Jan. 1735, till he became a peer, Oct. 6, 1752. Lord Temple's mother was created Countess Temple, and therefore, though the first to bear the title of *Earl*, he is called the 2nd Earl. The same rule has been followed in similar cases throughout this work. And also if an inferior title was granted to an existing peer, his successor in that title has been called the second, although the original grantee had never used it.

[6] This resolution was directed against Wilkes (then protected by Lord Temple), who, when prosecuted for a seditious libel, pleaded privilege of Parliament. The protest was signed by 17 peers.

[7] The principal opponents of this bill were the Dukes of Grafton and Bolton, Lords Rockingham and Temple. The numbers were 83 to 49. It is the first instance of the peers dividing against a money bill.

[8] It is not known how long Lord Cornwallis held this office, as the papers of the Lord Chamberlain's department of that period were destroyed when a large portion of St. James's Palace was burnt, Jan. 22, 1809, and those appointments were then not gazetted. In the 'London Magazine' of 1765 he is said to have declined it, but it is believed he held it for a short time—certainly not beyond Dec. 1766.

[9] Augustus Henry, 3rd Duke of Grafton, K.G., b. Sept. 28, 1735, d. March 14, 1811; m. 1st, Jan. 29, 1756, Anne, dau. and sole heir of Henry, only Lord Ravensworth of that creation; 2nd, June 24, 1769, Elizabeth, dau. of the Rev. Sir Richard Wrottesley, Bart.; Secretary of State July, 1765, to May, 1766; then First Lord of the Treasury to Feb. 1770; Privy Seal from June, 1771, to Nov. 1775, and from March, 1782, to April, 1783; M.P. for Bury St. Edmunds from 1756, till he succeeded to the dukedom, May 6, 1757.

[10] The duties of this office were executed by

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The scheme of taxing the American colonies was one to which Lord Cornwallis was strongly opposed, and against which, notwithstanding the offices he held, he uniformly voted. The early measures proposed by Mr. Grenville [1] had passed with little difficulty—in the House of Lords without even a division; but when Lord Rockingham [2] proposed to repeal the Stamp Duties, the friends of the preceding Ministry offered a strenuous resistance, although in order to maintain the principle of English Supremacy he introduced the well known Declaratory Bill. Considering the importance of the subject, the speed with which this Bill passed through the House of Commons is very remarkable. Mr. Pitt,[3] indeed, though professing himself not satisfied with it, waived all opposition. Eight days sufficed for the different stages: the resolution on which the Bill was founded was reported Feb. 24, 1766, and it was passed March 4. In the House of Lords its progress was quite as rapid, being read a first time on the 5th of March, and a third time on the 13th. The number of Peers present on every stage (among whom Lord Cornwallis was always found) was very large—from 97 to 136.[4]

Lord Cornwallis was also present on almost every other question connected with America, such as the Massachusetts Bill, the Boston Port Bill, &c.: against these he probably divided; but as no lists have been preserved, individual votes cannot be positively ascertained.

In contemporary memoirs, Lord Cornwallis is seldom mentioned, and even in the gossip of Horace Walpole, his name occurs but

deputy, but for that purpose it was necessary, on every fresh appointment, to obtain an Act of Parliament, which was always introduced in the House of Lords on a petition from the person so appointed.

[1] Right Hon. George Grenville, b. Oct. 14, 1712, d. Nov. 13, 1770; m. May 16, 1749, Elizabeth, dau. of Sir William Wyndham, Bart. During a long political life he held the various offices of Lord of Trade, Lord of the Admiralty, Lord of the Treasury, Treasurer of the Navy, Secretary of State, First Lord of the Admiralty, and First Lord of the Treasury. M.P. for the borough of Buckingham from Dec. 1741, till his death.

[2] Charles, 2nd and last Marquis of Rockingham, b. May 13, 1730, d. July 1, 1782; m. Feb. 26, 1752, Mary, dau. and heir of Thomas Bright, Esq., of Badsworth. Lord of the Bedchamber from Oct. 1760, to April 23, 1763; First Lord of the Treasury from July, 1765, to Aug. 1766, and again from March, 1782, till the following July.

[3] Right Hon. William Pitt, b. Nov. 15, 1708, d. May 11, 1778; m. Oct. 16, 1754, Hester, sister of the Right Hon. George Grenville. Created Earl of Chatham July 30, 1766. He successively held the offices of Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, Paymaster-General, Secretary of State and Privy Seal, when he was also Prime Minister, the last instance of such power being possessed by any but the First Lord of the Treasury. M.P. for Old Sarum, Seaford, Aldborough, Okehampton, and Bath, from Jan. 1735 till he was made a peer.

[4] Lord Camden had taken a division, Feb. 10, against the resolution asserting the right of taxation. He was supported only by Lord Cornwallis and three other Peers, said by Lord Mahon to have been Lords Shelburne, Poulett, and Torrington. In the 'Gentleman's Magazine' of 1781 (p. 202) Lord Tankerville's name is substituted for that of Lord Poulett; but this is probably erroneous, as it appears from the Journals that Lord Tankerville was not present that night.

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once or twice. He was, however, the subject of the following violent philippic from Junius, in a letter dated March 5, 1770, signed "Domitian," one of his numerous pseudonymes:—"My sincere compassion for Lord Cornwallis arises not so much from his quality, as from his time of life. A young man by his spirited conduct may atone for the deficiencies of his understanding. Where was the memory of this noble Lord, or what kind of intellect must he possess, when he resigns his place, yet continues in the support of administration, makes a parade of attending Lord North's levee,[1] and pays a public homage to the Deputy of Lord Bute?[2] Where is now his attachment, where are now his professions to Lord Chatham, his zeal for the Whig interest of England, and his detestation of Lord Bute, the Bedfords, and the Tories? Since the time at which these were the only topics of his conversation, I presume he has shifted his company as well as his opinions. Will he tell the world to which of his uncles,[3] or to what friend—to Phillipson,[4] or a Tory Lord—he owes the advice which has directed his conduct? I will not press him further. The young man has taken a wise resolution at last, for he is retiring into a voluntary banishment in hopes of recovering the ruin of his reputation."

It is impossible to explain this letter. Lord Cornwallis was at that time Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and continued to hold the office for another year. Nor is there the slightest trace of his ever having entertained the idea of "voluntary banishment" from the world, or even from public life. In fact, he was present in the House of Lords as frequently as in former years, though his absence from London on account of regimental duties, interfered with a

[1] Frederick, Lord North, K.G., afterwards, Aug. 4, 1790, 2nd Earl of Guilford, b. April 12, 1732, d. Aug. 5, 1792; m. May 20, 1756, Anne, dau. and heir of George Speke, Esq., of White Lackington. A Lord of the Treasury June, 1759, to July, 1765; then successively Paymaster-General, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and First Lord of the Treasury from Dec. 1766, to March, 1782; Secretary of State from April to Dec. 1783; Chancellor of Oxford, Oct. 3, 1772; M.P. for Banbury from Nov. 1754, till he succeeded to the earldom.

[2] John, 3rd Earl of Bute, K.G., b. May 25, 1713, d. March 10, 1792; m. Aug. 24, 1736, Mary, only dau. and heir of Edward Wortley Montagu, Esq., of Wortley. Secretary of State from March, 1761, to May, 1762, and then First Lord of the Treasury to April, 1763. He had been Groom of the Stole to George III. when Prince of Wales, and held the same office in his household when King.

[3] Edward, son of Charles, 4th Lord Cornwallis, a General, Colonel 24th Regiment, and Governor of Nova Scotia from 1749 to 1752, and of Gibraltar from March, 1762, till his death; b. Feb. 22, 1713, d. Jan. 14, 1776; m. March 17, 1753, Mary, dau. of Charles, 2nd Viscount Townshend; M.P. for Eye 1743 to April, 1749, and for Westminster from Jan. 1753 to March, 1762.

Frederick, twin brother with Edward, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry Feb. 18, 1750, and Archbishop of Canterbury Aug. 13, 1768; d. March 19, 1783; m. Feb. 8, 1759, Caroline, dau. of Hon. William Townshend, 3rd son of Charles, 2nd Viscount Townshend.

[4] Richard Burton Phillipson, afterwards a General and Colonel 3rd Dragoon Guards, d. Aug. 18, 1792; unmarried; M.P. for Eye from Nov. 1762 to March, 1768, and from April, 1770, till his death.

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regular attendance in Parliament. But it is equally difficult to understand why he was allowed to retain office, when all his votes on American questions were adverse to the well-known wishes of the King. Not only did he hold a civil office of considerable emolument, but in Dec. 1770 he was made Constable of the Tower, a military appointment to which at that time neither his rank in the army, nor his services in the field, gave him any strong claim.

When the war with America broke out, Lord Cornwallis was ordered to take the command of one division of the British army, and, notwithstanding his opinions of the injustice of that war, he considered that as a military man, he could not decline any employment offered to him. One great man took a different line. When Lord Pitt[1] returned in 1776 from Canada, where he had been Aide-de-Camp to Sir Guy Carleton,[2] Lord Chatham compelled him to resign his commission (an example which was followed by a few others[3]), and he did not permit him to re-enter the army till 1778, when France had declared war against England.

The same sense of duty which made Lord Cornwallis disregard his own political views, overcame his reluctance to quit his family, and he embarked Feb. 10, 1776, for America, with the local rank of Lieut.-General. It was rumoured at the time, that Lady Cornwallis, who was strongly averse to his going on active service, prevailed upon his uncle, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to request the King to allow Lord Cornwallis to relinquish his appointment; but that the latter, though the leave was given, peremptorily declined to avail himself of the permission. He returned to England in Jan. 1778, but sailed again from St. Helens in the 'Trident' on the 21st of April following. Lady Cornwallis and her children accompanied him to Portsmouth,[4] and after his departure she

[1] John Lord Pitt, afterwards, May 11, 1778, 2nd Earl of Chatham, K.G., a General, Colonel 4th Regiment, and Governor of Gibraltar; b. Sept. 10, 1756, d. Sept. 24, 1835; m. July 9, 1783, Mary Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas, 1st Viscount Sydney. First Lord of the Admiralty July, 1788, to Dec. 1794; then Privy Seal, or President of the Council, to July, 1801; then Master-General of the Ordnance to Feb. 1806, and again from April, 1807, to May, 1810. On re-entering the army, March 1, 1778, he went to Gibraltar as aide-de-camp to Sir Robert Boyd, and was thus absent from his father's funeral.

[2] General Sir Guy Carleton, K.B., Colonel 4th Dragoons; created Lord Dorchester Aug. 21, 1786; b. Sept. 3, 1724, d. Nov. 10, 1808; m. May 22, 1772, Maria, dau. of Thomas, 2nd Earl of Effingham. For his services in America Lord Dorchester received a pension of 1000*l.* for three lives.

[3] Among the few other officers who resigned, Lord Effingham, a Lieut.-General, was the only one of high rank. His mother was sister of Beckford, who made himself so conspicuous as Lord Mayor of London. He may possibly have been influenced by family reasons. A Captain Watson, M.P. for the county of Antrim, also resigned his commission.

[4] Lord Carlisle, who was going to America as one of the commissioners to negotiate peace, and also sailed in the 'Trident,' describes, in a letter to George Selwyn, his own misery at leaving England, and adds,—"Poor Lord Cornwallis is going to experience perhaps something like what I have felt, for he has brought with him his wife and children, and we embark to-morrow, if the wind serves. My heart bleeds for them."

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returned to Culford, where she resumed the solitary life she had led since his first departure; but grief so preyed upon her health as to bring on a kind of jaundice, of which she eventually died, Feb. 14, 1779. When Lord Cornwallis heard of her dangerous state, he threw up his command and again came to England, where he arrived a few weeks before her death.

Lady Cornwallis always declared to her confidential attendant that she was dying of a broken heart, and she requested that a thorn-tree should be planted above the vault where she was buried, as nearly as possible over her heart—significant of the sorrow which destroyed her life. She also directed that no stone should be engraved to her memory. Both wishes were complied with.[1]

The death of his wife changed Lord Cornwallis's intention of remaining at home, and he shortly afterwards again offered his services, which being accepted, he returned to America, and there remained until he was taken prisoner at York Town.

His civil as well as his military talents[2] obtained for him so high a reputation that, early in 1782, Lord Shelburne was desirous of appointing him Governor-General of India. This offer he hesitated to accept, both because he was not yet released from his parole, and because he considered the powers of the Governor-General too limited. Ultimately he was induced to waive his objections; but the political changes in 1783 put an end to the proposed nomination.

With the exception of a short mission to Frederick the Great[3] in 1785, Lord Cornwallis was for some years unemployed, and lived principally at Culford. But when Mr. Pitt,[4] having in the new East India Bill largely increased the powers of the Governor-

[1] The niche in the vault in which her remains were placed was closed by a plain slab of marble, not even bearing the name; which was, however, added in 1851, shortly after the funeral of the late Marchioness Cornwallis, who was also buried at Culford, though the estate had passed out of the possession of the family on the death of the last marquis in 1823. The thorn-tree was necessarily removed in March, 1855, in consequence of alterations to the church: it was carefully replanted in the churchyard, but did not live more than three years afterwards.

[2] Mr. Fox, who certainly was neither personally nor politically a friend of Lord Cornwallis, thus spoke of him, on bringing in the India Bill, Nov. 18, 1783:—"A learned gentleman (Mr. Dundas) last year proposed to give the most extraordinary power to the Governor-General of Bengal; he at the same time named the person who was to fill the office. The person was Earl Cornwallis, a person whom he (Mr. Fox) named now only for the purpose of paying homage to his great character. The name of such a man might make Parliament consent to the vesting of such powers in a Governor-General; but certain he was that nothing but the great character of that noble lord could ever induce the Legislature to commit such powers to an individual at the distance of half the globe."

[3] Frederick 2nd, King of Prussia, commonly called Frederick the Great, b. Jan. 24, 1712, d. Aug. 17, 1786; m. June 12, 1732, Elizabeth, dau. of Frederick Albert 2nd, Duke of Brunswick.

[4] Right Hon. William Pitt, 2nd son of William, 1st Earl of Chatham; b. May 28, 1759, d. Jan. 23, 1806, having, with two short intervals, held the offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury from July, 1782, till his death.

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General, again tendered that office, united to that of Commander-in-Chief, he accepted the offer and embarked for India, May 5, 1786, having very shortly before received the Order of the Garter. He had hardly returned home in 1794, with a reputation so highly and so justly increased, when he was called upon to take the command of all the allied armies on the Continent. The jealousy of Austria and Prussia—the weakness of Holland both in the cabinet and in the field—the little military talent displayed by the Duke of York,[1] or indeed by any of the allied generals—all combined to render it advisable to give the supreme command to some man, whose position and character would inspire general confidence. The proposition to nominate Lord Cornwallis emanated from Austria. Why this scheme failed will appear in the proper place.

In Feb. 1795, Lord Cornwallis was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance. Mr. Pitt had long been desirous of having his assistance in the Cabinet; and, when he was about to return from India, kept the office of Secretary of State open for him. This, however, Lord Cornwallis declined, assigning as his reason, that having no habit of public speaking, he did not feel equal to the defence of the measures of Government; but that objection did not apply to a military office.

The mutiny of the officers of the Bengal army in 1796 was considered so serious, that Lord Cornwallis, yielding to the earnest solicitations of Mr. Pitt, agreed to go again to India to quell the spirit of insubordination. After being sworn in as Governor-General, Feb. 1797, circumstances occurred which rendered it unnecessary for him to proceed on his voyage.

In 1798, the state of Ireland became most alarming; and as the Lord-Lieutenant and the Commander-in-Chief did not cordially agree, it was determined to unite the two offices in one person. Lord Cornwallis was selected for this important post, which he held till May, 1801.

Towards the close of that year, he was sent as Ambassador to France, where he negotiated the Peace of Amiens. A few subsequent years were passed in domestic life; his only son, Lord Brome, who had married, April 17, 1797, Lady Louisa Gordon,[2] generally residing with him at Culford.

The displeasure which Lord Wellesley's[3] proceedings in India

[1] Frederick, Duke of York, 2nd son of George III., b. Aug. 16, 1763, d. Jan. 5, 1827, m. Sept. 29, 1791, Frederica, d. of Frederick William II., King of Prussia.

[2] Fourth dau. of Alexander, 4th Duke of Gordon, by Jane, dau. of Sir William Maxwell, Bart., of Monreith; b. Dec. 27, 1775, d. Dec. 5, 1850.

[3] Richard, 3rd Earl of Mornington, created Baron Wellesley Oct. 20, 1797, and raised to the Marquisate Dec. 2, 1799; K.G.; b. June 20, 1760, d. Sept. 26, 1842; m. 1st, Nov.

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excited, both in the Government and in the Court of Directors, induced them to urge Lord Cornwallis to accept for the third time the post of Governor-General. Though advancing age and impaired health might well have excused him, he would not refuse the appointment, but embarked early in 1805. His physical powers were however overtasked; the confinement and privations of a long voyage produced their effect; his body, though not his intellect, failed. Very shortly after his arrival in India, he set out for the Upper Provinces, where his presence was greatly needed. But he was unable to proceed further than Ghazepoor, where he died, Oct. 5, 1805, in the 67th year of his age.

During many years of active service in the field, Lord Cornwallis was struck but once, and he would not then allow his name to appear in the list of wounded. Though himself devoted to his profession, he was unwilling that his only son should follow the same line. He had no grandson; but in the next generation six of his descendants embraced the military profession. Two[1] of them had retired from the army before the war with Russia broke out. The remaining four all fell in the Crimea within the space of ten months. Two[2] were killed at Inkerman; one[3] died of wounds received in the battle of Balaclava; and the fourth[4] was killed in the trenches, about a week previous to the fall of Sebastopol.

29, 1794, Hyacinthe, dau. of M. Pierre Roland; 2nd, Feb. 29, 1825, Marianne, dau. of Richard Caton, Esq., and widow of Robert Patterson, Esq. Lord of the Treasury from Sept. 19, 1786, to Aug. 1797; Governor-General of India from Oct. 1797 to July 30, 1805; Ambassador to Spain from July to Dec. 1809; then Secretary of State to March, 1812; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland Dec. 1821 to March, 1828, and from Sept. 1833 to Dec. 1835; Lord Steward from Nov. 1830 to Sept. 1833; and Lord Chamberlain from April to May, 1835; M.P. for Berealston, Saltash, and Windsor, from March, 1784, to May, 1796.

[1] Hon. Richard Cornwallis Neville, Lieutenant and Captain Grenadier Guards, eldest son of Lord and Lady Braybrooke, b. March 17, 1820, m. Jan. 27, 1852, Charlotte, d. of Hector, 3rd Earl of Norbury. Edward, Lord Eliot, Captain 1st Life Guards, eldest son of the Earl and Countess of St. Germans, b. April 2, 1827.

[2] Hon. Henry Aldworth Neville, Lieutenant and Captain Grenadier Guards, 3rd son of Lord and Lady Braybrooke; b. Oct. 26, 1824; mortally wounded Nov. 5, 1854, while cheering on his men, and died that night. Hon. Granville Charles Cornwallis Eliot, 2nd son of the Earl and Countess of St. Germans, Lieutenant and Captain Coldstream Guards; b. Sept. 9, 1828; killed Nov. 5, 1854.

[3] Hon. Grey Neville, Cornet 5th Dragoon Guards, 5th son of Lord and Lady Braybrooke; b. Oct. 5, 1830, d. at Scutari Nov. 11, 1854, of wounds received at Balaclava Oct. 25.

[4] Charles Cornwallis Ross, Captain 3rd Regiment (the Buffs), eldest son of Charles Ross, Esq., and Lady Mary Ross, b. April 5, 1827. On the night of Aug. 31, 1855, he was engaged in posting sentries in advance of the trenches when the Russians fired upon the party. Captain Ross never returned to the camp, and all efforts at that time to learn his fate were unavailing. About a year later it was ascertained that he was carried mortally wounded into Sebastopol, and lived only long enough to give his name. His brother officers erected a monument to his memory on Cathcart's Hill.

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Pedigree of Cornwallis.

From the Records of the College at Arms, Wills, Registers, and other Authorities.

THOMAS CORNWALLIS, Sheriff of London, 1378; ob. Jan. 4, 1384.

From him descended in the 7th generation—

Elizabeth, d. of Sir John Ashburnham, of Ashburnham. = FREDERICK, created a Baronet May 4, 1627, and Baron Cornwallis of Eye April 20, 1661, ob. Jan. 7, 1662.

CHARLES, 2nd Lord Cornwallis, ob. April 13, 1677 = Margaret, d. of Thomas Playsted, Esq., of Arlington.

1st, Elizabeth, d. of Sir Stephen Fox, Bart. = CHARLES, 3rd Lord Cornwallis, ob. April 29, 1698 = 2nd, Anne, Duchess of Buccleugh, and widow of James, Duke of Monmouth.

CHARLES, 4th Lord Cornwallis, ob. Jan. 19, 1722 = Lady Charlotte Butler, d. and sole heir of Richard, Earl of Arran.

CHARLES, 5th Lord and 1st Earl Cornwallis, ob. June 23, 1762 = Elizabeth, d. of Charles, 2nd Viscount Townshend.

CHARLES, 2ND EARL AND 1ST MARQUIS CORNWALLIS, ob. Oct. 5, 1805. = Jemima Tuleken, d. of Col. James Jones.

JAMES, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, b. Feb. 25, 1743; ob. Jan. 20, 1824; Succeeded as 4th Earl, Aug. 9, 1823. = Catherine, d. and ultimately coheir of Galfridus Mann, Esq., of Linton.

HENRY, b. Sept. 10, 1740; ob. April, 1761.

WILLIAM, Admiral of the Red, b. Feb. 20, 1744; ob. July 5, 1819, unm.

Five daughters.

CHARLES, 2nd and last Marquis Cornwallis, ob. Aug. 9, 1823. = Lady Louisa, d. of Alexander, 4th Duke of Gordon, and coheir of George, 5th Duke of Gordon.

MARY, b. June 28, 1769; ob. May 26, 1857. = Mark Singleton, Esq.

1st ux. Maria Isabella, d. of Francis Dickens, Esq. = JAMES, 5th Earl Cornwallis, b. Sept. 20, 1778; ob. May 21, 1852, when all the titles became extinct. = 2nd ux. Laura, d. of William Hayes, Esq. 3rd ux. Julia, d. of Thomas Bacon, Esq.

HORACE, b. Mar. 27, 1780, ob. Feb. 6, 1799, unm.

ELIZABETH, b. Mar. 5, 1774; ob. Jan. 24, 1813, unm.

JANE b. Oct. 5, 1798; ob. Sept. 23, 1856. = Richard, 3rd Lord Braybrooke, ob. March 13, 1858.

LOUISA, b. Feb. 24, 1801.

JEMIMA, b. April 1803; ob. July 2, 1856. = Edward Granville, 3rd Earl of St. Germans.

MARY, b. Nov. 17, 1804. = Charles Ross, Esq.

ELIZABETH, b. Jan. 16, 1807.

HENRY and FREDERICK, died young.

CHARLES JAMES, Viscount Brome, b. Dec. 17, 1813, ob. Dec. 27, 1835, v. p. unm.

JEMIMA, b. Jan. 25, 1807, ob. Dec. 17, 1836. = Charles Wykeham Martin, Esq., M.P., of Leeds Castle.

JULIA MANN, b. July 2, 1844.

1. RICHARD CORNWALLIS, now 4th Lord Braybrooke, b. March 17, 1820. = Charlotte, d. of Hector, 3rd Earl of Norbury.
   1. a dau. stillborn, 1854.
   2. CATHERINE ELIZABETH, b. Aug. 8, 1855.
   3. a son, stillborn, 1856.
   4. MARY ISABELLA, b. Jan. 21, 1858.
   5. a son, stillborn, Jan. 1859.
2. MIRABEL JANE, b. April 6, 1821. = Sir Henry Mervyn Vavasour, Bart.
   1. BLANCHE, b. June 6, ob. July 14, 1854.
   2. CONSTANCE, b. March 16, 1856.
3. LOUISA ANNE, b. July 18, 1823.
4. CHARLES CORNWALLIS, b. Aug. 29, 1823. = Florence, d. of Cornwallis, 3rd Viscount Hawarden.
5. HENRY ALDWORTH, b. Oct. 25, 1824; killed at Inkermann, Nov. 5, 1854.
6. LATIMER, b. April 22, 1827. = Lucy, d. of John Le Marchant Thomas, Esq.
   1. a son, b. and d. April 3, 1854.
   2. HENRY, b. July 11, 1855.
   3. GREY, b. Dec. 4, 1857.
7. LUCY GEORGINA, b. Dec. 2, 1828. = Hon. and Rev. Arthur Savile.
   1. ELIZABETH JANE, b. Sept. 28, 1853.
   2. MIRABEL ANNE, b. Dec. 8, 1854.
   3. ALETHEA MAUDE, b. Mar. 11, 1856.
   4. GREY HENRY, b. Feb. 23, 1858, ob. Apr. 16, 1858.
8. GREY, b. Oct. 15, 1830, ob. Nov. 11, 1854, of wounds received at Balaclava, Oct. 25, 1854.

1. LOUISA SUSAN CORNWALLIS, b. Dec. 17, 1825. = Hon. and Rev. Walter Ponsonby.
   1. EDWARD, b. March 1, 1851.
   2. MARIA, b. June 4, 1852.
   3. CYRIL WALTER, b. Sept. 8, 1853.
   4. GRANVILLE, b. Sept. 13, 1854.
   5. ARTHUR CORNWALLIS, b. Jan. 8, 1856.
   6. ETHEL JEMIMA, b. April 8, 1857.
2. EDWARD JOHN CORNWALLIS, LORD ELIOT, b. Apr. 2, 1827.
3. GRANVILLE CHARLES CORNWALLIS, b. Sept. 9, 1828, killed at Inkermann, Nov. 5, 1854.
4. WILLIAM GORDON CORNWALLIS, b. Dec. 14, 1829.
5. ERNEST CORNWALLIS, b. April 28, 1831, ob. Jan. 16, 1832.
6. ELIZABETH HARRIET, b. Aug. 24, 1833, ob. Mar. 16, 1835.
7. HENRY CORNWALLIS, b. Feb. 11, 1835.
8. CHARLES GEORGE CORNWALLIS, b. Oct. 16, 1839.

1. LOUISA ISABELLA, b. Jan. 25, 1826. = James Whatman, Esq., M.P. West Kent.
   1. MARY ELIZA CORNWALLIS, b. Jan. 19, 1852.
   2. ELLEN PHILIPPA LOUISA, b. June 18, 1854.
   3. FLORENCE EMMA JEMIMA, b. Apr. 30, 1857.
   4. LOUISA ELIZABETH, b. Aug. 24, 1858.
2. CHARLES CORNWALLIS, b. Apr. 5, 1827, killed before Sebastopol, Aug. 31, 1855.
3. ALEXANDER HENRY, b. Oct. 21, 1829.
4. MARY JEMIMA, b. June 10, 1833.

PHILIP, b. Jan. 18, 1829.

FIENNES, b. Nov. 1, 1831.

CORNWALLIS, b. June 10, 1833.

MARIA, b. July 5, 1836.

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CHAPTER II.

Causes of the revolt of the American colonies — Congress at Philadelphia — Skirmish between Royal troops and militia — Evacuation of Boston — Lord Cornwallis sails in command of an expedition to America — Defeat of the Americans at Brooklyn and at White Plains — Lord Cornwallis overruns Jersey — Attack on Trenton by the Americans — Discontent of the loyalists of Jersey — Force of the two armies — Battle of the Brandywine — Lord Cornwallis returns to England — Negotiations between France and America — Resumes his command — Returns to England on account of the illness of Lady Cornwallis — Rejoins Sir Henry Clinton at New York — State of affairs at the close of 1779.

THE events which led to the revolt of the American Colonies have been so often described, that more than a very brief outline would be superfluous. The Seven Years' War had involved England in financial difficulties, and, as many expeditions had been undertaken mainly for the benefit of the Colonies, it was not thought unreasonable that they should contribute to defray some portion of the expenditure. The Colonial agents, among whom was Franklin,[1] expressed no serious objection to this principle, nor did they strongly oppose the Stamp Act, which passed in 1765. In the following year the Declaratory Act was passed, and the Stamp Act repealed.

In 1767 the Duke of Grafton, or rather his Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend,[2] reproduced a scheme of taxation, which two years later, when the disaffection in America had so greatly increased, he was anxious to modify, if not to abandon altogether. But even this feeble attempt at conciliation was overruled by the Cabinet, and the Duke, with several of his colleagues, resigned. The new Administration proposed the repeal of all the taxes except that on tea;[3] but such was the temper of the House,

[1] Benjamin Franklin, b. Jan. 17, 1706, d. April 17, 1790; m. Sept. 1, 1730, Deborah, d. of —— Read, Esq., of Philadelphia.

[2] Right Hon. Charles Townshend, 2nd son of Charles, 3rd Viscount Townshend, b. 1725, d. Sept. 4, 1767; m. July 18, 1755, Caroline, dau. and coheir of John, 2nd Duke of Argyle, and widow of Francis, Earl of Dalkeith; she was created Baroness Greenwich Dec. 22, 1766. At various times Mr. Townshend held the several offices of Lord of Trade, Treasurer of the Chamber, Secretary at War, First Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, Paymaster-General, and lastly, Chancellor of the Exchequer. M.P. for Great Yarmouth, Saltash, and Harwich, from Nov. 1747 till his death.

[3] In a speech on American taxation Lord North estimated the duty on tea at only 12,000*l.* a-year.

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that this concession was carried only by a majority of 204 to 142. The Colonists, though partially gratified by this measure, did not regard it as completely satisfactory. In 1772, a large body of armed men boarded the Gaspee, a small man-of-war stationed off Providence to prevent smuggling, and burnt it. Another event occurred about the same time, which added to the irritation felt in England. On the death of Mr. Whateley,[1] a number of letters addressed to him by the Governor[2] of Massachusetts, and other intimate friends, during the years 1767-8-9, were abstracted from his papers, and placed in the hands of Franklin, then agent for that colony. By whom this act was committed has never been clearly ascertained,[3] but there can be little doubt that it was done at the instigation of Franklin, who at once transmitted the papers to the House of Assembly at Boston. As they contained severe remarks on the conduct of many leading men in the colony, they excited much anger, and a petition was immediately sent over praying for the removal of the Governor. The case was heard before the Privy Council Jan. 29, 1774. Wedderburn,[4] then Solicitor-General, not content with opposing the petition—which was rejected without hesitation—was led by feelings of private animosity to make a violent personal attack[5] upon Franklin, who from that moment became an inexorable enemy to England. The destruction in Boston Harbour (Dec. 18, 1773) of several cargoes of tea, valued at 18,000*l.*, by a body of men disguised as Mohawk

[1] Thomas Whateley, d. May, 1772; unmarried. For some time Private Secretary to Mr. Grenville; then Secretary of the Treasury from April, 1764, to July, 1765, and Under Secretary to Lord Suffolk, 1772. He was not in office at the time the letters referred to were written, but he probably communicated them to Government. M.P. for Ludgershall from 1762 to 1768, and then for Castle Rising till his death. He was author of an anonymous book on Modern Gardening, which ran through several editions.

[2] Thomas Hutchinson, b. 1711, d. June 3, 1780. A native of Massachusetts, and Governor of that colony from 1770 till April, 1774.

[3] Mr. John Temple, who had lately been Lieut.-Governor of New Hampshire, was suspected to have been the person who actually took these letters. In consequence of some altercation on this subject, Mr. Temple called out William, the brother and executor of Thomas Whateley. They met in Hyde Park without seconds, Dec. 11, 1773, and after a harmless exchange of shots, fought with swords; Mr. Whateley received 9 wounds, not without suspicion of unfair dealing on his adversary's side. A few days after the duel Dr. Franklin inserted a paragraph in the papers, with his name affixed, accepting the whole responsibility of the transaction.

[4] Alexander Wedderburn, created Lord Loughborough June 14, 1780, and made Earl of Rosslyn April 21, 1801; b. Feb. 13, 1733, d. Jan. 3, 1803; m. 1st, Dec. 31, 1767, Betty Anne, dau. and heir of John Dawson, Esq., of Morley; and 2nd, Aug. 1782, Charlotte, dau. of William, 1st Viscount Courtenay. Solicitor-General Jan. 1771 to June, 1778; then Attorney-General to June, 1780; Chief Justice of the Common Pleas to Jan. 1793, and Chancellor to April, 1801; M.P. successively for the Ayr boroughs, Richmond, Okehampton, and Bishop's Castle, from Nov. 1761 till he was made a peer.

[5] He called him "Homo trium litterarum," a classical mode of designating "fur"—a thief. This speech was never forgotten nor forgiven by Franklin, who carefully preserved the velvet coat he happened to wear on the occasion, and put it on again the day he signed the preliminaries of peace in 1783.

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Indians, brought matters to a crisis. The indignation raised in England induced Parliament to pass, upon very short notice, two Bills, one to close the port of Boston, the other to make material alterations in the charter of Massachusetts. These measures produced such excitement in that province, that the Governor, General Gage,[1] was compelled, June 17, 1774, to dissolve the Assembly—the last held under royal authority. He moreover considered his own position so precarious, that he thought it necessary to seize the arms and stores (partly private property) at Charlestown (a suburb of Boston), Cambridge, and other places; and to throw up some fortifications at Boston.

In September the discontented party held a congress at Philadelphia, which, after sitting for fifty-two days, closed its discussions Oct. 26. It was attended by fifty-one delegates, sent from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Providence, Connecticut, New York, Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas; Georgia did not join till later. Although the terms in which the resolutions were couched were still loyal, the tone and temper of the Assembly were of a different character, and plainly indicated the ultimate intentions of the delegates. It is now well known that the extreme party dreaded nothing so much as some concession on the part of England which would have justified their more moderate colleagues in withdrawing from the approaching contest. On the meeting of Parliament, Jan. 1775, Lord Chatham, then in opposition, laid a Bill on the table, with a view of conciliation. But as it asserted in distinct terms the supreme legislative authority of the mother country—the very principle so warmly repudiated by the colonists—it is difficult to conceive what good it could have effected. The measure was, however, rejected, ministers being uniformly supported by large majorities in both houses. Before intelligence of these proceedings reached America, the first blood had been shed there. On April 19, 1775, the royal troops endeavoured to seize large stores at Concord and Lexington, and, though partially successful, lost 300 men in a skirmish with the militia.

The Congress, which had re-assembled at Philadelphia, then ordered men to be levied, and issued paper-money, thus practically raising the standard of rebellion. Towards the close of

[1] Hon. Thomas Gage, 2nd son of Thomas, 1st Viscount Gage, a General and Colonel of the 22nd Regiment; b. 1720, d. April 2, 1788; m. Dec. 8, 1758, Margaret, dau. and heir of Peter Kemble, Esq., President of the Council of New Jersey. He was made Commander-in-Chief in America 1764, Governor of Massachusetts April, 1774, and resigned both offices Oct. 1775.

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May Sir William Howe,[1] General Clinton,[2] and General Burgoyne,[3] arrived at Boston, with a considerable force. Thinking it necessary at once to dislodge the provincials, who were fortifying the heights which commanded Boston, they attacked Breed's Hill, June 17. In this action, commonly called the battle of Bunker's Hill, from the name of an adjoining height, the British troops were victorious, but, owing to the strength of the position, not without severe loss.[4] Although the repulse of General Arnold,[5] and the death of Colonel Montgomery[6] under the walls of Quebec, Dec. 31, had saved Canada from falling into the hands of the rebels, Sir William Howe determined, early in March, 1776, to evacuate Boston, which he thought he could no longer hold, with a tacit understanding that he should not be molested during this operation. Owing to a deficiency of transport, it was not possible to provide means of escape for all the loyalists. Large quantities of stores and ammunition were left behind, together with 250 pieces of artillery, one-half of which, at least, were serviceable. Every other post held by the royal army was abandoned at the same time, and, instead of

[1] Right Hon. Sir William Howe, K.B., afterwards 5th Viscount Howe, a General, Colonel 19th Dragoons; b. Aug. 10, 1729, d. July 12, 1814; m. June 4, 1765, Frances, dau. of the Right Hon. Thomas Conolly. He had been at the capture of Belleisle and of the Havana, and was Commander-in-Chief in America from May, 1775, to May 24, 1778; Lieut.-General of the Ordnance from April, 1782, to Nov. 1804. In this capacity he served under Lord Cornwallis, whom he had previously commanded.

[2] General, afterwards Sir Henry Clinton, K.B., Colonel 7th Light Dragoons, and Governor of Gibraltar from July, 1794, till his death; son of Hon. George Clinton, and grandson of Francis, 6th Earl of Lincoln; b. 1738, d. Dec. 13, 1795; m. Feb. 1767, Harriet, dau. and coheir of Thomas Carter, Esq. He had been groom to the Duke of Gloucester, and succeeded Sir W. Howe as Commander-in-Chief in America, but resigned that office May, 1782. M.P. for Boroughbridge from Nov. 1772 to 1774, then for Newark to March, 1784.

[3] Lieut.-General Burgoyne, a natural son of Lord Bingley, Colonel 4th Regiment, b. 1730, d. Aug. 4, 1792; m. in early life Charlotte, dau. of Edward, 11th Earl of Derby. Previous to his campaigns in America he had seen some service under the Comte de la Lippe in Portugal; Commander-in-Chief in Ireland from April, 1782, to Dec. 1784; M.P. for Midhurst from Nov. 1762, to March, 1768, and then for Preston till his death. His reputation as an author stood at least as high as his character as a general. In the 'Heiress,' one of his best known comedies, Miss Farren, in the character of Lady Emily, is said to have fascinated Lady Charlotte Burgoyne's nephew, the 12th Earl of Derby, whose wife she afterwards became.

[4] The official return was, 19 officers and 207 rank and file killed, 70 officers and 758 rank and file wounded. The Americans owned only to 449, but their loss was notoriously much larger. The British moved to the attack in heavy marching order, with three days' provisions; altogether a weight of 125 lbs.!

[5] Benedict Arnold, originally a druggist and horse-dealer at Newhaven; b. Jan. 3, 1740, d. June 14, 1801; m. 1st, a Miss Mansfield; 2nd, 1778, Margaret, dau. of Edward Shippen, Esq., of Philadelphia, a collateral relation of William Shippen, the celebrated Jacobite M.P. She was one of the Ladies of the Blended Rose in the Mischianza. After he abandoned the American cause he entered the British service with the rank of Major-General. In July, 1793, a pension of 500*l.* was conferred upon his wife, and of 100*l.* on each of his children.

[6] Richard Montgomery, originally in the King's army, b. Dec. 2, 1736, killed at the attack on Quebec Dec. 31, 1775; m. July, 1773, a dau. of Robert Livingstone, Esq., a judge at New York. He had served in Wolfe's regiment at the capture of Quebec. His brother Alexander, commonly called Black Montgomery, had been present at the capture of Quebec by Wolfe, as a Captain of Grenadiers. He was member for Donegal county for many years.

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occupying New York, which was well affected, or selecting some other important post, Sir William Howe concentrated his whole force at Halifax. Thus it became necessary to open the ensuing campaign with an attempt to recover a country voluntarily relinquished.

Great efforts were made at home to send out large reinforcements. Seven regiments of infantry were assembled at Cork under Lord Cornwallis, on whom the local rank of Lieut.-General in America was conferred Jan. 1, 1776. The arrangements for this expedition were so dilatory, that it did not sail till Feb. 10, and, after a singularly long passage, only arrived off Cape Fear on the 3rd of May.

Earl Cornwallis to Lord George Germain.[1]

On board the 'Bristol,' March 7, 1776.
Latitude 42° 34'; Longitude 13° 42' from London.

My Lord,

I take the opportunity of informing your lordship by a homeward-bound ship, that we have stopped for a few minutes, that our voyage hitherto has been very unsuccessful; the wind has been almost always contrary, and, till the first of this month, constant and most violent gales of wind. We have now but fourteen sail in company with us, notwithstanding the utmost care and attention of Sir Peter Parker;[2] and of the fourteen there are but six or seven transports with troops. I fear there is no chance of our arrival on the American coast before the end of next month at soonest, and the assembling the fleet off Cape Fear, where there is no port, may be a work of some time. The wind is now south-west, which is nearly the course we want to steer. The 'Active' and 'Actæon' frigates are separated from us, and I hope they will make the best of their way and cruize off Cape Fear, for the protection of our transports as they arrive. Sir Peter Parker sends to the Admiralty a more circumstantial account of our voyage. Your lordship will make allowances for the motion of the ship when you are deciphering this scrawl, and believe me, &c.,

Cornwallis.

[1] Lord George Germain, son of Lionel, 1st Duke of Dorset, and godson of George I., created Viscount Sackville Feb. 11, 1782; b. Jan. 26, 1716, d. April 26, 1785; m. Sept. 3, 1754, Diana, dau. and coheir of John Sambrooke, Esq., of Gubbins. He was deprived of his military rank and the Lieut.-Generalship of the Ordnance in 1759 on account of Minden. He had previously been Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant in Ireland from Sept. 1751 to May, 1754, and he afterwards held, with intervals, the various offices of Vice-Treasurer in Ireland, First Lord of Trade, and Secretary of State, from Dec. 1765, to Feb. 11, 1782. M.P. for Dover, Hythe, and Grinstead, from Dec. 1741, till he was made a peer; and in Ireland for Portarlington from 1735 to 1761.

[2] Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Bart., so created Dec. 28, 1782, afterwards Admiral of the Fleet; b. 1716, d. Dec. 21, 1811; m. Jan. 14, 1761, Margaret, dau. of Walter Nugent, Esq. M.P. for Seaford and Maldon from April, 1784, to June, 1790.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

On board the 'Bristol,' April 18, 1776.
Latitude 22° 50′ North; Longitude 60° 00′ West from London.

MY LORD,

I have nothing to inform your lordship of but that our passage has been very tedious, and that we are still about 370 leagues from our rendezvous at Cape Fear. We have with us twenty ships in company, besides two artillery-ships and four victuallers. I hope the rest of the fleet will not be long after us. I hope your lordship received my letter of the 7th of March; this goes by a ship bound to Londonderry. The troops are in general healthy. I most heartily wish that I could be a more agreeable correspondent; and am with great regard, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

MY LORD, Camp at Cape Fear, May 16, 1776.

I arrived here on the 3rd of this month, and had the pleasure of finding that many of the transports had got here before us. Your lordship will hear from General Clinton the present state of this colony, and his intention of going from hence as soon as the transports are watered. From what I have heard since I came here I must *still more* lament the fatal delays that prevented the armament from arriving in time in this province, as I am now convinced that it would have produced the most happy effects in this and probably in the other southern colonies. I shall now probably serve in the army under General Howe. I have only to assure your lordship that wherever it may be my lot to serve his Majesty, I shall do it with the utmost zeal and diligence.

I have the honour, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

This tedious passage appears to have been most unfortunate, and it is impossible now to estimate the advantages which would have resulted from an earlier junction with General Clinton, who had previously arrived from the northward to take the command of the whole force. It had been intended to make a serious attack on the Carolinas, where the loyalists were assembled in arms; but their rising was premature, and they were totally defeated before the regular troops could move to their support. After a delay of nearly two months, General Clinton determined to threaten Charlestown, and a fort on Sullivan's Island, which commanded the approach by water, was cannonaded by the fleet June 28th. But this attack failed completely. The ships were never near enough to be of

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effective service—the troops were unable to land—and the attempt was relinquished—one frigate having been burnt, and several other vessels disabled. A month of inactivity followed, before the troops sailed to join the main army; and in this unsatisfactory manner commenced Lord Cornwallis's American campaigns.

It was not till the month of June that Sir W. Howe had thought fit to leave Halifax. He then took possession of Staten Island, where, early in July, he was joined by Lord Howe,[1] who was at the head of a commission armed with full powers to treat for a reconciliation. Had these overtures been made before the signing of the Declaration of Independence (July 4), some good effect might have been produced; but it was now too late. Congress, after exhausting every subterfuge to avoid meeting the Commissioners, positively refused even to discuss the terms proposed. War became inevitable, and Washington,[2] who had been appointed commander-in-chief, took active measures for the defence of New York.

All hope of a peaceable termination of the dispute being at an end, Sir W. Howe determined at length to commence operations. He landed August 22nd on Long Island, with a large force, of which one division was under the command of Lord Cornwallis; and four days later, the Americans were defeated with great loss[3] at Brooklyn, but so slack was the pursuit that they retired unmolested behind their lines at the extremity of the island, from whence they embarked on the 29th for New York. Had Sir William displayed a little energy, the whole army, 9000 strong, would probably have been cut off. Lord Cornwallis's corps was but slightly engaged, nor had he a more active part in the capture of New York, which took place September 15 after some unimportant skirmishes. Several weeks passed before the British troops again moved, and it was not until October 28 that the two armies came into collision at the White Plains. Sir W. Howe was victorious, but again neglected to improve his advantage. The Americans, feebly pursued, retired behind the Croton, retaining possession of Forts Washington and Lee, situated one on each bank of the Hudson River, and by their

[1] Richard, 4th Viscount Howe in Ireland; a Vice-Admiral; created, April 20, 1782, Viscount Howe in England; and Aug. 19, 1788, raised to an earldom; K.G.; afterwards Admiral of the Fleet; b. March 19, 1726, d. Aug. 5, 1799; m. March 10, 1758, Mary, dau. of Chiverton Hartopp, Esq., of Welby; M.P. for Dartmouth from May, 1757, till he was created an English peer.

[2] George Washington, b. at Bridges Creek, Virginia, Feb. 22, 1732, d. Dec. 14, 1799; m. Jan. 6, 1759, Martha, widow of J. P. Curtis, Esq., and dau. of John Dandridge, Esq. Washington's family, long settled in Virginia, was related to the Earls Ferrers, and quartered the same arms: he himself was proud of his English descent. It is a remarkable fact that of the first five American Presidents four were Virginians.

[3] The English loss was about 70 killed and 230 wounded, the American upwards of 2000. Three of their generals were taken prisoners.

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cross-fire preventing all access to Jersey. Two corps were at length detached to attack them. Fort Washington was captured November 15, and on the 18th Lord Cornwallis crossed the river, and took possession of Fort Lee without resistance. Being reinforced by two fresh brigades, he pushed forward, and before the close of the month had overrun and subdued Jersey. But while the dispirited enemy were flying in confusion before him, his pursuit was unfortunately checked by an order to halt at Brunswick, and a week elapsed before he was authorized to move forward. Such, however, was his activity, that although the enemy were then considerably in advance of him, he reached Princetown only one hour after Washington had quitted it, and arrived at Trenton December 3, just in time to see the last boat crossing to the opposite bank. Had he originally been allowed to continue the pursuit, it appears probable that the whole of Washington's army would have been destroyed.

The weather had by this time become very cold, and the troops were placed in winter-quarters, the advanced posts of Trenton and Borderton being confided, by the express order of the Commander-in-Chief, to the Hessians under Colonel Rhalle[1] and Count Donop.[2]

SIR WILLIAM HOWE TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

MY LORD, New York, Dec. 20, 1776.

In Jersey, upon the approach of the van of Lord Cornwallis's corps to Brunswick by a forced march on the 1st inst., the enemy went off most precipitately to Princetown, and, had they not prevented the passage of the Rariton by breaking a part of Brunswick Bridge, so great was the confusion among them that their army must inevitably have been cut to pieces.

My first design extending no further than to get and keep possession of East Jersey, Lord Cornwallis had orders not to advance beyond Brunswick, which occasioned him to discontinue his pursuit; but finding the advantage that might be gained by pushing on to the Delaware, and the possibility of getting to Philadelphia, the communication leading to Brunswick was reinforced, and on the 6th I joined his lordship with the 4th brigade of British, under the command of Major-General Grant;[3] on the 7th Lord Cornwallis's

[1] Colonel Rhalle was killed Dec. 26, 1776, at Trenton.

[2] Count Donop was killed Oct. 27, 1777, at Red Bank.

[3] Major-General, afterwards General James Grant of Ballindalloch, after having been brought up for the bar entered the army; Colonel 11th Regiment; b. 1720, d. April 13, 1806; unmarried. In Oct. 1758, he, then a major, was sent with 800 men to reconnoitre Fort du Quesne. He was surprised by the French and Indians, defeated, and, with 19 officers, taken prisoner. (See 'United Service Magazine,' April, 1857, p. 587.) In later

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corps, the Guards excepted, who were left at Brunswick, marched to Princetown, which the enemy had quitted on the same day. This corps marched in two divisions on the 8th; the first advancing to Trenton reached the Delaware soon after the enemy's rearguard had crossed. Their main army, having passed the preceding day and night, took post on the other side of the river.

Lord Cornwallis, with the rear division, halted at Maidenhead, six miles from Trenton, and marched at one o'clock next morning to Corriel's Ferry, thirteen miles higher up the Delaware, in some expectation of finding boats there and in the neighbourhood, sufficient to pass the river, but in this he was disappointed, the enemy having taken the precaution to destroy or to secure on the south side, all the boats that could possibly be employed for this purpose.

The passage of the Delaware being thus rendered impracticable, his Lordship took post at Pennington, in which place and Trenton the two divisions remained until the 14th, when the weather having become too severe to keep the field, and the winter cantonments being arranged, the troops marched from both places to their respective stations, which will be fully explained by a sketch which accompanies this despatch. The chain, I own, is rather too extensive, but I was induced to occupy Burlington to cover the county of Monmouth, in which there are many loyal inhabitants; and trusting to the almost general submission of the country to the southward of this chain, and to the strength of the corps placed in the advanced posts, I conclude the troops will be in perfect security. Lord Cornwallis and Major-General Vaughan[1] having desired to return to Britain, the command in Jersey is given to Major-General Grant, in whose approved good conduct I place the greatest confidence.

I cannot too much commend Lord Cornwallis's good services during this campaign, and particularly the ability and conduct he displayed in the pursuit of the enemy from Fort Lee to Trenton, a distance exceeding eighty miles, in which he was well supported by the ardour of his corps, who cheerfully quitted their tents and heavy baggage as impediments to their march.

I have, &c.,

W. Howe.

life he was a great gourmand, and it is said that he made the cook sleep in his room, that he might at once communicate any new ideas on culinary matters.

[1] Hon. Major-General, afterwards Lieut.-General Sir John Vaughan, K.B., and Colonel 46th Regiment, 2nd son of Wilmot, 3rd Viscount Lisburne; d. June 30, 1795; unmarried; M.P. for Berwick from Nov. 1774, till his death, and for St. Johnstown in Ireland from May, 1776, to July, 1783.

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These successive defeats so disheartened the Americans, that many returned to their allegiance, and a still larger number abandoned their colours. The majority of the men had engaged to serve for one year only, and so difficult was it to persuade them to extend the term, that Washington could now muster scarcely 3000 men, though before New York was taken he had 20,000 under his command. The capture of General Lee,[1] considered one of his best officers, was another severe blow. He was surprised Dec. 13 while at breakfast in a tavern, only a few miles from the main body of his corps, by a patrol under Colonel Harcourt,[2] who carried him safely to New York, through nearly 80 miles of a hostile country. After uniting his detachments, Washington found that the whole force under his immediate command consisted of little more than 5000 men. He was convinced that the freezing of the Delaware would be the signal for an attack upon Philadelphia, where Congress, the members of which were already preparing to fly to Baltimore, held their sittings. Under such circumstances the General felt the necessity of hazarding some enterprise however desperate, and accordingly early on Dec. 26 he crossed the Delaware,[3] and attacked Trenton. Colonel Rhalle, although a gallant officer, was frequently intoxicated, and the discipline of his troops was very lax: they were negligent in their duties, and ignorant of the language of the country. Colonel Rhalle was completely surprised, and, in endeavouring to rally his men, was killed, a few of his soldiers fell, and most of the remainder were taken prisoners. The total loss was about 700 men, and all their artillery. The alarm occasioned by this unfortunate affair was so great that not only was Washington allowed to

[1] Charles Lee, b. 1731, d. Oct. 2, 1782. He was of a Cheshire family, and in early life served in the English army in America, and under General Burgoyne in Portugal. Having resigned his commission, he entered the Polish and afterwards the American service, from which he was dismissed in 1780. At one time he was a correspondent of Lord Charlemont and of Burke, and was by some persons absurdly imagined to be Junius. He was a man of violent temper, and totally destitute of religious principles.

[2] Colonel the Hon. William Harcourt, afterwards, April 20, 1809, 3rd Earl Harcourt, G.C.B., Field-Marshal and Colonel 16th Dragoons, son of Simon, 1st Earl Harcourt; b. March 20, 1743, d. June 18, 1830; m. Sept. 21, 1778, Mary, dau. of William Danby, Esq., and widow of Thomas Lockhart, Esq., of Craig House. Equerry to the Queen 1761; then Groom of the Bedchamber to the King; and Master of the Horse to the Queen from 1809 till her death. M.P. for Oxford city from May, 1768, to June, 1774.

[3] The passing of the Delaware on this occasion is described by Barlow in his "Columbiad" in the most bombastic manner. The Genius of the River calls in the aid of the demon Frost to prevent Washington crossing. The waves accordingly "conglaciate," when the angel Hesper arrives, who mauls the two hostile spirits with the trunk of a fir-tree, and the 50 or 60 lines of the description end with—

"Stroke after stroke with doubling force he plied,
Foiled the hoar fiend and pulverized the tide.
The baffled tyrant quits the desperate cause.
From Hesper's heat the river swells and thaws,
The fleet rolls gently to the Jersey coast,
And morning splendors greet the landing host."

The passage was effected early in the evening, and the action was over before morning!

retreat unmolested, but Count Donop quitted his post to join Brigadier-General Leslie[1] at Princetown, and the Americans re-occupied Trenton a few days later.

SIR WILLIAM HOWE TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

MY LORD, New York, Jan. 5, 1777.

In consequence of the advantage gained by the enemy at Trenton on the 26th of last month, and the necessity of an alteration in the cantonments, Lord Cornwallis, deferring his going to England by this opportunity, went from hence to Jersey on the 1st inst., and reached Princetown that night, to which place General Grant had advanced with a body of troops from Brunswick and Hillsborough upon gaining intelligence that the enemy, on receiving reinforcements from Virginia, Maryland, and from the militia of Pennsylvania, had repassed the Delaware into Jersey.

On the 2nd Lord Cornwallis, having received accounts of the rebel army being posted at Trenton, advanced thither, leaving the 4th brigade, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Mawhood,[2] at Princetown, and the 2nd brigade, with Brigadier-General Leslie, at Maidenhead. On the approach of the British troops, the enemy's forward posts were driven back upon their army, which was formed in a strong position behind a creek running through Trenton. During the night of the 2nd the enemy quitted this situation, and, marching by Allenstown, and from thence to Princetown, fell in on the morning of the 3rd, with the 17th and 55th regiments on their march to join Brigadier-General Leslie at Maidenhead.

Lieut.-Colonel Mawhood, not being apprehensive of the enemy's strength, attacked and beat back the troops that first presented themselves to him; but finding them at length very superior to him in numbers, he pushed forward with the 17th regiment, and joined Brigadier-General Leslie. The 55th regiment retired by the way of Hillsborough to Brunswick; and, the enemy proceeding immediately to Princetown, the 40th regiment also retired to Brunswick.

The bravery and conduct of Lieut.-Colonel Mawhood, and the behaviour of the regiments under his command, particularly the 17th, are highly commended by Lord Cornwallis. His Lordship, finding the enemy had made this movement, and having heard the

[1] Brigadier-General, afterwards Lieut.-General the Hon. Alexander Leslie, son of Alexander, 5th Earl of Leven and Melville, Colonel 9th Regiment; b. 1731, d. Dec. 27, 1794; m. Dec. 23, 1760, a d. of Walter Tullidelph, Esq., of Tullidelph.

[2] Lieut.-Colonel Charles Mawhood, 72nd Regiment, afterwards Brev. Col., retired from the service Oct. 13, 1780.

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fire occasioned by Colonel Mawhood's attack, returned immediately from Trenton, but the enemy, being some hours' march in front, and keeping this advantage by an immediate departure from Princetown, retreated by Kingstown, breaking down the bridge behind them, and crossed the Millstone River at a bridge under Rocky Hill to throw themselves into a strong country.

Lord Cornwallis, seeing it could not answer any purpose to continue his pursuit, returned with his whole force to Brunswick, where he waits the enemy's further motions; and the troops upon the right being assembled at Elizabethtown, Major-General Vaughan has that command.

I have the honour, &c.,

W. HOWE.

After this action of Colonel Mawhood's, Lord Cornwallis marched to Brunswick, where great alarm was felt on account of the large bodies of militia which had been encouraged to re-assemble by Washington's recent success. Brunswick and Amboy were the only two posts retained in Jersey, a country so lately in the undisputed possession of the British, and which would probably have been held had Sir William Howe moved forward part of the 20,000 men lying inactive in New York. The loyalists of Jersey, who had furnished two brigades for the King's service, finding their property unprotected and their families exposed to the cruel oppression of the enemy, quitted the army in disgust, and disaffection spread rapidly through the whole province. Such was the inauspicious close of the campaign of 1776.

To Lord Cornwallis individually the warm approbation expressed in the following letter must have been highly satisfactory, although the conduct of Sir W. Howe had prevented Lord George Germain's expectations being realised:—

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN TO SIR WILLIAM HOWE.

SIR, Whitehall, March 3, 1777.

. . . I read with much pleasure your commendation of Lord Cornwallis's services during the campaign; and I am to acquaint you that the King very much applauds the ability and conduct which his Lordship displayed in the close pursuit of the enemy from Fort Lee to Trenton; and has also condescended to express his royal approbation of the exemplary ardour which was manifested on the march by the corps under his Lordship's command.

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It will give his Lordship additional satisfaction, when he reflects that he has, by his bravery and the rapidity of his motions, not only secured a great quantity of provisions and forage for the use of his Majesty's troops, but has been the happy instrument of saving so large a tract of country from the destruction that threatened it. . . . I have, &c.,

GEO. GERMAIN.

The respective force of the two armies may be estimated as follows, at the several dates:—

		British.		American.
1776	August	24,000	..	16,000.
„	November	26,900	..	4,500.
„	December	27,700	..	3,300.
1777	January	26,500	..	No accurate account can be given, as the militia were so rapidly pouring in.

The main body of the American army was encamped during the winter on some high ground called the Manor of Courtland—a position of considerable strength. The English made several desultory attacks on Peek's Hill, Danbury, and other places, where they destroyed large quantities of stores and ammunition, and on April 12 the posts at Bondwick were surprised by Lord Cornwallis. These successes were counterbalanced a few days later by the destruction of the British vessels in Saggy Harbour. Towards the middle of June Sir W. Howe, finding his army raised by considerable reinforcements to upwards of 30,000 men (exclusive of 29 corps of embodied provincials, above 20,000 strong), determined to commence active operations. By a sudden retreat from Brunswick to Amboy, he induced Washington to descend from the hills and advance to Quibble Town. This object being effected, Lord Cornwallis was detached on the 27th to intercept the communication of the Americans with the upland ground. He encountered early in the morning a large body of the enemy and routed them completely by an impetuous attack. The intense heat of the weather, however, retarded his pursuit, and prevented his occupying the passes in time to cut off Washington's retreat.

Sir W. Howe then altered his plan; evacuated Jersey, and leaving 17 battalions, some cavalry, and all the provincials at New York, under General Clinton, embarked with the remaining 46 battalions and two regiments of cavalry for Philadelphia. They sailed on the 5th of July, but owing to adverse winds did not reach the Capes of the Delaware till the 30th, nor land at the head of the Elk River before August 24. They were then 70 miles from Philadelphia, a hostile country intervening, while the

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distance from Brunswick, which they had quitted in June, was only 60 miles, and the loyalists were very numerous along that line of march.

On the 11th of September Lord Cornwallis was detached with a strong corps to turn the enemy's flank, which he effected with little difficulty. On the afternoon of the 13th he overtook them on the Brandywine, and with quick decision he, though with very inferior numbers, charged with great impetuosity. Driven from their first line, the Americans took up a second position in the woods, from whence they were speedily dislodged, and totally routed.[1] Had Sir W. Howe advanced rapidly with the rest of the army, which was only 18 miles from Philadelphia, Washington's retreat to that city, from which he was 23 miles distant, must have been cut off; but so slow were the operations of the British, that they did not move till the 27th, when Lord Cornwallis was ordered to occupy Philadelphia, which he did the following day without opposition.

But the communication with the sea was not open, and it was therefore necessary to take the forts of Red Bank and Mud Island, by which the navigation of the Delaware was commanded. Before the arrangements for this service were completed, Washington made an unsuccessful attack upon Sir W. Howe at German Town. Towards the end of October Count Donop was detached against Red Bank, but was killed in the assault, his corps driven back with great loss, and two frigates which had run aground were burnt by the enemy. But on Lord Cornwallis preparing to attack it, the garrison abandoned the post on the 17th of November. Mud Island had been taken two days previously.

In the mean time Washington, who had received large reinforcements, took up a strong position at White Marsh, about 14 miles from Philadelphia. An attempt was made to dislodge him, and Lord Cornwallis drove in his left wing on December 7. But Sir W. Howe not succeeding in bringing on a general action, retired next day with the whole army to his former quarters. The season for active operations was now over, and Lord Cornwallis therefore requested leave to return to England.

SIR WILLIAM HOWE TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

MY LORD, Philadelphia, Dec. 13, 1777.

Last night I had the honour to receive your Lordship's despatches by the 'Lord Sandwich' packet, as per margin, and

[1] The English loss was less than 500, the American upwards of 1400.

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shall defer answering them by this conveyance, as there does not appear an immediate necessity for so doing; and particularly as I am anxious to despatch the 'Brilliant,' that your Lordship may have the earliest communication with Earl Cornwallis, whose knowledge of the war, in which he has had so great a share of service, will, I am confident, enable him to give your Lordship the most ample information.

I have the honour, &c.

W. Howe.

Shortly after Lord Cornwallis's departure Washington withdrew to Valley Forge, 26 miles from Philadelphia, where his troops, hardly exceeding 4000 men, remained in huts or under canvas during the whole winter, unmolested by the English, though the weakness of the position and the wretched state of the army invited an attack, which there is every reason to believe must have been successful. Nor was this the only, or perhaps the most serious, error committed. Philadelphia became the Capua of the British army. Discipline was totally relaxed. Gaming, if not encouraged, was permitted to a most ruinous extent; and the gross misconduct of very many officers disgusted to such a degree the inhabitants of a town in which, perhaps more than in any other, profligacy was offensive, that feelings very adverse to British authority were engendered or increased among a people originally loyal. These bad impressions were never removed or overcome.

Sir Henry Clinton, who had been left in command at New York, made one or two incursions into the interior of the country, and inflicted great loss on the Americans by the destruction of ships, stores, and forts; but he was unable to effect a junction with General Burgoyne, or to prevent his surrender at Saratoga, Oct. 26, the first great blow struck at the royal armies.

During the winter of 1778, and in the course of the following spring, Sir W. Howe sent out several small expeditions, which as predatory movements were generally successful. But the army was no longer to remain under his command. As early as October, 1777, he had tendered his resignation, and in April, 1778, he heard that it was accepted. He sailed for England May 24,[1] and the command then devolved upon Sir Henry Clinton.

Lord Cornwallis reached England Jan. 18, 1778. The Government of course received from him every information he was able

[1] Before his departure the officers of his army got up a fête in his honour, which they called a Mischianza. It was a sort of tournament, in which seven Knights of the Blended Rose contended with as many of the Burning Mountain, in honour of fourteen ladies dressed as Turkish damsels. The whole exhibition excited great animadversion and much ridicule.

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to afford; but probably all communications were verbal, as no trace of them exists. He does not appear to have been a frequent attendant in the House of Lords, though he was present on most of the important debates of the Session. Lists of divisions not being published in those days, it cannot now be positively ascertained how he voted, but there can be no doubt that he generally supported Government. Among other occasions Lord Cornwallis attended Feb. 2, when the Duke of Richmond's[1] resolutions against sending more troops to America were negatived by 94 to 31; March 17, when the address to the King respecting the treaty between France and America was carried by 68 to 25; March 23, when the Duke of Richmond moved to withdraw the army from America, negatived by 56 to 28; and again March 31, when Lord Effingham's[2] motion on the state of the navy was lost by a majority of 50 to 20. He was absent during all the debates on Lord North's Bill for conciliation with America. The last night on which he was present was April 7, when Lord Chatham was seized with that illness which in a few days terminated fatally. On the 21st of April Lord Cornwallis sailed for America.

Towards the close of the year 1777 secret negotiations had been carried on between France and America; but even previously the latter country had, through the agency of Beaumarchais,[3] received considerable aid from the former. Beaumarchais' anxiety to recover the advances he had personally made rendered him so urgent an advocate of the advantages to be derived from war with England that he at length prevailed upon a weak Government to take that fatal step—one of the proximate causes of the French Revolution. To the Americans it was an all-important point, for besides a considerable body of troops and supplies of arms and money, it gave them, what they did not previously possess, a fleet. The subsequent calamities of the British are mainly attributable to their having thus lost the command at sea.

[1] Charles, 3rd Duke of Richmond, K.G., Field-Marshal and Colonel of the Blues; b. Feb. 27, 1734, d. Dec. 29, 1806; m. April 1, 1757, Mary, dau. and coheir of Charles, 3rd and last Earl of Ailesbury of that creation. Secretary of State from May 23 to Aug. 18, 1766; Master-General of the Ordnance from Jan. 1, 1782, to April 1, 1783; and again from Jan. 1, 1784, to Feb. 13, 1795, when he was replaced by Lord Cornwallis. He served in Germany in the Seven Years' War, and was present at Minden.

[2] Thomas, 3rd Earl of Effingham, b. Jan. 13, 1747, d. Nov. 15, 1791; m. Oct. 14, 1765, Catherine, dau. of Metcalf Procter, Esq., of Thorpe. He was a Lieut.-General in the army, and Colonel of the 34th Regiment, but resigned his commission April 12, 1775, as he would not serve against the Americans; Treasurer of the Household from April, 1782, to April, 1783; Master of the Mint from Jan. 1784 to Feb. 1789; in 1790 appointed Governor of Jamaica, where he died.

[3] Pierre Auguste Caron de Beaumarchais, the well-known author, b. Jan. 24, 1732, d. May 17, 1799; m. 1st, Nov. 22, 1756, Marie Madelaine Auberton, widow of M. Franquet; 2nd, April, 1768, Geneviève Madelaine Waterbleu, widow of M. L'Evêque; 3rd, a Swiss lady, Marie Thérèse Emilie Willermalez.

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LORD GEORGE GERMAIN TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, Whitehall, April 12, 1778.

It having been thought fit, to guard against inconveniences that would arise if any unforeseen accident should happen to Sir Henry Clinton, that you should have a dormant commission giving you the rank of General in America only, I have the honour to transmit to you, by his Majesty's command, the inclosed commission, which, as it is not to take place but in case of a contingency, in order to secure you in such case the chief command over the foreign Generals, is not to be made public if the contingency does not happen.

I am, &c.,

GEO. GERMAIN.

With this commission Lord Cornwallis sailed for America, and on arriving at Philadelphia found Sir Henry Clinton preparing to abandon it in consequence of orders from home. The two Generals had never been on very cordial terms, and it is probable that discussions took place between them of so unpleasant a nature, as to induce Lord Cornwallis (whose maxim through life was that he was bound to execute whatever military duty was imposed upon him) to write the following letter. The answer, though of course of a much later date, is subjoined.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

MY LORD, Philadelphia, June 17, 1778.

As there is great reason to apprehend, from the large detachments which Sir Henry Clinton is going to make, that no offensive measures can be undertaken against the enemy in this part of the world, I must beg that your lordship will be so kind as to lay my most humble request before his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to permit me to return to England.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, Pall Mall, Aug. 6, 1778.

I had this morning the honour of your lordship's letter of 17th June, in which you desire his Majesty's leave to return to England, as there is no appearance of offensive measures being

undertaken against the enemy in that part of the world. I immediately laid your lordship's request before his Majesty, who ordered me to acquaint you that at present he cannot dispense with your service in North America, especially as your lordship has a dormant commission to command all the forces there in case of the death of Sir Henry Clinton.

I am, &c.,

GEO. GERMAIN.

The evacuation of Philadelphia by the English, on June 18, was attended with some loss of stores, but greater loss of honour and reputation. They were severely blamed for abandoning many of the inhabitants—warm loyalists—to the mercy of the Americans, who treated them with great cruelty. Several, including two Quakers of high character and position, were inhumanly put to death. The retreat of the British army towards New York was very deliberately conducted. The enemy's pursuit was feeble, but Lord Cornwallis, who commanded the rear division, had one opportunity of distinguishing himself. Being rather closely pressed near Freehold Court House, he considered it more advisable to take the initiative than to await an attack. Accordingly (June 28), the baggage and stores having moved forward with the rest of the army, he charged the Americans, who were closing upon him, and drove them with great loss from the positions which they successively occupied. This defeat would have been more signal, but for the arrival of the remainder of the army under Washington, and the intense heat of the weather, which rendered pursuit impracticable: but the Americans offered no further molestation to the English army, which reached New York on the 5th of July.

The repulse of the Americans who landed on Rhode Island in August was followed by an unsuccessful attempt by Lord Howe to bring the French fleet to action. After some days had been spent in endeavouring to gain the weathergage, a violent storm arose, which scattered both fleets, and, though partial engagements took place much to the credit of the British flag, no material advantage was obtained. By land various American posts were destroyed. Lord Cornwallis commanded at the destruction of the vessels in Little Egg Harbour, and at the surprise of Pulaski's corps.[1]

[1] Comte Casimir Pulaski, a Pole, not of high birth, b. March 4, 1748, killed at the siege of Savannah Oct. 9, 1779. He organised the attempt to seize Stanislas Augustus in the streets of Warsaw Sept. 3, 1771, directing him to be put to death, if there was a chance of his escaping. The remorse of Kokinski stopped the perpetration of this crime. Pulaski's father was the author of the Confederation of Bar.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, New Bridge, Sept. 28, 1778.

Having received intelligence that a considerable body of militia and a regiment of light dragoons were assembled in the neighbourhood of Taapan, in order to interrupt our foraging, a plan was formed on the evening of the 27th for surprising them. Three deserters from the right column alarmed the militia who were posted near New Taapan, by which means they made their escape; but the left column, commanded by General Grey,[1] was so fortunate as not to be discovered, and the Major-General conducted his march with so much order and so silently, and made so good a disposition to surround the village of Old Taapan, where the regiment of dragoons lay, that he entirely surprised them, and very few escaped being either killed or taken. He likewise fell in with a small party of militia, a few of whom were killed and some taken prisoners. The whole loss on our side was one man killed of the second battalion of light infantry, which corps had the principal share in this business, and behaved with their usual spirit and alacrity.

The 71st regiment, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Campbell,[2] and the Queen's Rangers, under Lieut.-Colonel Simcoe,[3] who crossed the North River from Lieut.-General Knyphausen's[4] division, and were to have co-operated with the other columns, were prevented, by the desertion of the three men before mentioned, from surprising a body of militia, who by that means took the alarm and made their escape.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

The following letter shows the temper of the American Congress, and how ready they were to avail themselves of the most

[1] Major-General, afterwards General Sir Charles Grey, K.B., Colonel 3rd Dragoon Guards, and Governor of Guernsey; created Lord Grey June 23, 1801, and made Earl Grey April 11, 1806; b. Oct. 23, 1729, d. Nov. 14, 1807; m. June 8, 1762, Elizabeth, dau. of George Grey, Esq., of Southwick. He was aide-de-camp to Prince Ferdinand at Minden.

[2] Lieut.-Colonel, afterwards Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, K.B., of Invernell, Colonel 74th Regiment, d. March, 1791. Governor of Madras from March 9, 1785, to Feb. 7, 1789. He had been captured in 1776, the vessel aboard which he was embarked having run into Boston, not being aware that the English troops had evacuated the place. He was most unjustifiably treated by the Americans, and his exchange with Ethan Allen was not effected without much difficulty. M.P. for the Stirling boroughs from Nov. 1774 to July, 1780, and from July, 1789, till his death.

[3] Lieut.-Colonel, afterwards Lieut.-General John Graves Simcoe, Colonel 22nd Regiment, b. 1750, d. Oct. 1806. M.P. for St. Mawes from Nov. 1790 to Feb. 1792, when he was made Governor of Upper Canada. In 1806 it was intended to appoint him Commander-in-Chief in India, but the idea was given up.

[4] Lieut.-General Knyphausen commanded all the German troops, b. 1730; d. at Berlin, June 2, 1789.

frivolous pretexts to avoid the execution of positive engagements. By the Convention of Saratoga it was stipulated that the British troops should be marched to certain ports where transports were to meet them for their conveyance to England, on condition that until duly exchanged they should not serve against the Americans. By a gross violation of the terms (which Washington, when appealed to, could not deny), the men were removed into the interior of the country and not allowed to embark for Europe. To put an end to all doubt, the British Government proposed to exchange them for an equal number of American prisoners. In transmitting this proposition to Congress, Sir Henry, in firm but temperate language, remarked that the terms of the convention had not been observed, and that the claim for an exchange was therefore strengthened. Not only was the subjoined reply given, but the whole of the British prisoners were detained in captivity more or less close, till the termination of the war, the Americans preferring in this, as in several other similar cases, rather to violate their pledges than to allow the English the advantage of a reinforcement of trained troops.

THE SECRETARY OF CONGRESS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Philadelphia, Sept. 28, 1778.

Your letter of the 19th was laid before Congress, and I am directed to inform you that the Congress of the United States of America make no answer to insolent letters.

I am, with due respect, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

CHAS. THOMPSON,[1] Sec.

SIR HENRY CLINTON TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

MY LORD, New York, Oct. 8, 1778.

On the return of the troops from the expedition to Bedford, &c., I proposed taking a forward position with the army, as well to procure a supply of forage (which we were much in want of), as to observe the motions of the rebel army, and to favour an expedition to Egg Harbour, at which place the enemy had a number of privateers and prizes, and considerable salt-works.

Accordingly, on the 22nd of last month, I requested Lord Cornwallis to take a position between Newbridge on the Hackinsack River in Jersey and Hudson's River; and Lieut.-General

[1] Charles Thompson, b. in Ireland 1729, d. 1824.

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Knyphausen one between Wepperham, on the last of those rivers, and the Brunx.

In this situation, with the assistance of the flat boats, we could assemble the army on either side of the North River in twenty-four hours, and by our having the command of that river as far as the highlands, Mr. Washington could not assemble that of the rebels in ten days: to have done it in Jersey he must have quitted his mountains and risked a general action in a country little favourable to him.

As by the move before mentioned the provinces of Jersey and New York were opened, we received a considerable supply of provisions, and a number of families came in.

General Washington did not seem to show the least disposition to assemble his army, and the militia kept at a distance; however, by a well-projected plan of Lord Cornwallis, almost an entire regiment of the enemy's light dragoons were surprised and carried off.

For the particulars of this I beg leave to refer your lordship to Lord Cornwallis's report, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose.

H. CLINTON.

Later in the year Admiral Byron[1] arrived with a fresh squadron, but the weather was so stormy that he was unable to blockade Boston, and D'Estaing[2] escaped to the West Indies. Lord Cornwallis, in the mean time, having received intelligence of the dangerous illness of Lady Cornwallis, resigned his command, and sailed for Europe, which he reached December 13th, 1778.

SIR HENRY CLINTON TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

MY LORD, New York, Nov. 24, 1778.

The army being now in winter quarters, and the defences of the different posts assigned, I have consented that Lieut.-General Earl Cornwallis should return to England, where his knowledge of this country and of our circumstances may during this season be

[1] Rear-Admiral, afterwards Admiral the Hon. John Byron, 2nd son of William, 4th Lord Byron, b. Nov. 8, 1723, d. April 10, 1786; m. Sept. 8, 1748, Sophia, dau. of John Trevanion, Esq., of Carhays. He was proverbial for always encountering bad weather, and was called by the sailors "Foul-weather Jack." The description of the sufferings of the boat's crew in the 2nd canto of Don Juan is mainly derived by Lord Byron from the adventures of his grandfather, when wrecked in the 'Wager.'

[2] Charles Hector, Comte d'Estaing, b. Nov. 24, 1729, guillotined April 28, 1794; m. Feb. 13, 1746, Marie Sophie, dau. of Emanuel Comte de Chateau Regnard. He had the rank of Amiral, equivalent to that of Field-Marshal. He commanded the National Guard of Versailles on Oct. 5 and 6, 1789, but would not interfere to protect the royal family. In early life he had been taken by the English in India, but broke the parole to which he had been admitted.

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as serviceable as I have found his experience and activity during the campaign.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

H. CLINTON.

The British force in America, exclusive of Canada, &c., consisted, in the early part of 1779, of the following corps, as appears from an Army-list published in that year "by authority" at New York:—

BRITISH.

1 General	Sir Henry Clinton.
1 Lieut.-General	Earl Cornwallis.
15 Major-Generals.	
Cavalry	17th Regiment.
Guards	2 Battalions.
Line	29 Battalions.

GERMANS.

1 Lieut.-General	Knyphausen.
6 Major-Generals.	
Line	22 Battalions.

Exclusive of artillery and engineers, 25 corps of Provincials, infantry, and 4 of cavalry. There were besides many irregular corps of loyalists, and several regiments of militia.

The illness of Lady Cornwallis terminated fatally Feb. 16, and during the remainder of the winter Lord Cornwallis took little or no part in public affairs. He had resigned his command in America with the intention of remaining at home, but the loss he had sustained altered his views, and he determined again to offer his services.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Whitehall, April 11, 1779.

After I had closed my despatches, Lord Cornwallis went to Court, and made an offer of his services to the King, which you will not doubt his Majesty was graciously pleased to accept; and I have received his Majesty's commands, in consequence thereof, to recal and cancel the dormant commission of General which I told you, in my letter No. 28, was signed by the King for Major-General Vaughan, and Lord Cornwallis is to return to his former situation of second in command to you.

As you are well acquainted with his Lordship's military merit and services, his return to America cannot but be highly pleasing to you, and your having so able an officer to second you in your operations, and share with you the cares and fatigues of so extensive

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a command, will, I hope, be an additional motive for your remaining in it, if any motive could be wanting to induce you to continue with satisfaction in a command, your exercise of which has already redounded so much to your own honour, has been so beneficial to the public service, and repeatedly approved by the King.

I have, &c.,

GEO. GERMAIN.

The affairs of America occupied much of the attention of Parliament in the course of the spring. The only important debate in the House of Lords (at which Lord Cornwallis appears to have been present) was on a motion by Lord Bristol[1] to remove Lord Sandwich[2] from office, negatived by 78 to 39, of whom 25 signed a protest. In the House of Commons, Lord Howe and Sir William Howe, who thought that their characters had been unfairly impugned by Ministers, obtained a Committee of the whole House to investigate the conduct of the war in America. They considered Lord Cornwallis a material witness on their behalf, but a motion for his attendance, April 29, was opposed by Lord North, and negatived by 180 to 158. On May 5 it was renewed and carried almost without opposition, and he was examined the following day. After all, his evidence was of little importance. He professed himself ready to reply to questions on facts, but declined giving any answers on matters of opinion. He therefore refused to say whether he thought the movements of the troops under Sir William Howe judicious or not, and would only state generally that he had a high respect for Sir William's military talents. The disaster at Trenton he attributed to the negligence and misconduct of the commanding officer. The Government summoned but few witnesses, and they spoke principally as to the force of the respective armies. From the official returns, it appeared that on Aug. 1, 1777, there were, including sick, 37,512 rank and file at New York, and 3362 in other posts. The American army was never estimated by the witnesses at more than 16,000. After much time had been consumed, it was evident that the proceedings would answer the purpose of neither

[1] Augustus John, 3rd Earl of Bristol, Vice-Admiral of the Blue, b. May 19, 1724, d. Dec. 22, 1799; m. Aug. 5, 1744, Elizabeth, dau. of Colonel Thomas Chudleigh, afterwards well known as Duchess of Kingston. M.P. for Bury St. Edmunds and Saltash from May, 1757, till he succeeded to the peerage March 18, 1775; Groom of the Bedchamber Nov. 1763, and a Lord of the Admiralty Jan. 1771. He resigned both offices April, 1775.

[2] John, 4th Earl of Sandwich, b. Nov. 4, 1718, d. April 30, 1792; m. March 7, 1741, Judith, dau. of Charles, 1st Viscount Fane. A Lord of the Admiralty from Dec. 1744, to Feb. 1748, during which time he was employed as Minister at the Hague and at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle; three times First Lord of the Admiralty—in 1748, 1763, and 1771; twice Secretary of State—in 1763 and 1770.

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party; for while Sir William Howe failed to show that he had not been duly supported by Ministers, they could substantiate no serious charge against him. On the 29th of June the Committee, without opposition, was adjourned *sine die*, and never met again. Of course, no report was made. Lord Cornwallis soon after sailed from England, and arrived at New York early in August.

SIR HENRY CLINTON TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

MY LORD, New York, Aug. 20, 1779.

I must beg leave to express how happy I am made by the return of Lord Cornwallis to this country. His Lordship's indefatigable zeal, his knowledge of the country, his professional ability, and the high estimation in which he is held by this army, must naturally give me the warmest confidence of efficacious support from him in every undertaking which opportunity may prompt and our circumstances allow.

But his presence, my Lord, affords to me another source of satisfaction. When there is upon the spot an officer every way so well qualified to have the interests of his country entrusted to him, I should hope I might without difficulty be relieved from a station which nobody acquainted with its conditions will suppose to have sat light upon me.

To say truth, my Lord, my spirits are worn out by struggling against the consequences of many adverse incidents, which, without appearing publicly to account for my situation, have effectually oppressed me; to enumerate them would be a painful and unnecessary, perhaps an improper task. At the same time let me add, my Lord, that my zeal is unimpaired; and were I conscious that my particular efforts were necessary for his Majesty's service, no circumstance of private feeling would raise within me a single wish of retiring from the command. That, however, is not the case; for I do seriously give it as my opinion that, if the endeavours of any man are likely, under our present prospects, to be attended with success, Lord Cornwallis, for many reasons, stands among the first. I have only to lament that I came to the head of this army at a period of difficulty, when the urgency of affairs in different quarters, and motives of more immediate concern necessarily withdrew from this command the extensive support which its nature required, and which I am convinced it would not otherwise have wanted. I acquiesce in the importance of those objects, which have either actually diminished or have prevented the augmentation of my force. Yet I must say, that had even the feeble reinforce-

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ments which I am still expecting arrived as early as I thought myself secure would have been the case, I should have found myself enabled to attempt measures perhaps of serious consequence. Under my present circumstances, if I shall not have fulfilled the expectation which may have been indulged from this army, I trust I shall always find the failure attributed to its just cause, the inadequacy of my strength to its object.

Thus circumstanced, and convinced that the force under my command at present, or that will be during this campaign, is not equal to the services expected from it, I must earnestly request your Lordship to lay before his Majesty my humble supplications, that he will permit me to resign the command of this army to Lord Cornwallis. His Majesty's assent to this petition will crown the many favours of which my heart will ever retain the most grateful remembrance.

I have the honour, &c.,

H. CLINTON.

The attempts at reconciliation made during the year 1778 had so totally failed that they were not again renewed. The only hope now evidently rested on success in the field, yet even this conviction does not appear to have infused much energy into the military operations. During the absence of Lord Cornwallis little was done in the North by either side beyond the capture and re-capture of various insignificant posts. Nor was much more effected after his return, nor were his services required for any important operation. In the South considerable advantages were gained. Georgia had been overrun, Augusta and Savannah were taken, and in October General Lincoln[1] and the Comte D'Estaing, who endeavoured to recover the latter town, met with a most ignominious repulse. The declaration of war by Spain was followed by the invasion of British Florida, but the partial successes of the Spaniards in some parts did not compensate for the losses they sustained elsewhere.

Considerable reinforcements were sent to Canada; but the alarm expressed by Governor Dalling[2] for the safety of Jamaica induced Sir Henry Clinton to order to the West Indies the remainder of the force destined for the North. Lord Cornwallis offered to take the command of this expedition, and actually sailed, Sept. 24, with general instructions to provide for the safety of

[1] Major-General Benjamin Lincoln, b. Jan. 23, 1733, d. May 9, 1810; m. 1755. Secretary at War from Oct. 1781 to Oct. 1783.

[2] Colonel, afterwards General Sir John Dalling, Bart., so created March 11, 1783, Colonel 37th Regiment; d. Jan. 1798; m. 1st, Elizabeth, dau. of Philip Pinnoth, Esq.; 2nd, Louisa, dau. of Excelles Lawford, Esq. Governor of Jamaica from Sept. 1777 to 1782, and Commander-in-Chief at Madras from Dec. 1784 to April, 1786, and on his resignation obtained a pension of 1000*l*.

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Jamaica, then, if possible, to take New Orleans, and finally to join Sir Henry Clinton at Savannah. Why this arrangement was altered does not appear, but Lord Cornwallis returned in a few days to New York, leaving General Grant in command. Thus closed the year 1779, considerably to the advantage of the English, though no decisive blow had been struck. Sir H. Clinton, like Sir W. Howe, was not satisfied with his position nor with the support he received from Government. The letter tendering his resignation has already been given; the answer is now subjoined.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Whitehall, Nov. 4, 1779.

I did not omit the earliest opportunity of laying before his Majesty your letter of 20th August, in which you express your desire of being permitted to return to England and resign the command of the troops to Lord Cornwallis. Though the King has great confidence in his Lordship's abilities, yet his Majesty is too well satisfied with your conduct to wish to see the command of his forces in any other hands.

You have had too recent proofs of his Majesty's favour to doubt of his royal approbation. The reinforcements sent to you have been as ample as could be afforded in the present situation of this country, when so many different services must be attended to, and when the powerful enemies we are engaged with require the utmost exertions for the protection of this kingdom, and for the defence of its extensive dominions.

If, however, you shall still, under the present circumstances, wish to retire, upon receiving your final resolution upon that subject, I shall lay it immediately before the King, and I should hope that his Majesty, though reluctantly, would comply with your request.

I am, &c.,

GEO. GERMAIN.

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CHAPTER III.

Siege of Charlestown — The British advance into the interior of the country — Abuse of "protections" — Command devolves on Lord Cornwallis — His arrangements for government of the province — Advance of General Gates — His total defeat by Lord Cornwallis — General Sumpter surprised by Tarleton — Punishment of deserters — Defeat of Major Ferguson by the Rebel militia — Winter-quarters at Wynnesborough — Colonel Tarleton attacks Sumpter and is repulsed — Correspondence with General Greene — Employment of Indians — Effects of the campaign of 1780.

THE departure of the French from the coast, after their repulse at Savannah, left Sir Henry Clinton at liberty to attempt the long-projected reduction of the Southern provinces. This step was the more important, as the financial resources of the Americans greatly depended on the sale of the Virginian tobacco, which was mostly exported from the Chesapeake. The expedition sailed from New York December 26, 1779; but, mainly owing to bad weather, did not reach the rendezvous at Tybee till the end of January; and the army did not break ground before Charlestown till April 1. Sir Henry Clinton himself commanded the besieging army, and detached Lord Cornwallis, with about 1900 men, across Cooper River, to intercept all communication between the garrison and the country, a service which he very effectively performed. Though removed from the scene of more active operations, he was anxious to share the perils of the expected assault.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Camp at Manigolls, May 7, 1780, 9 P.M.

. . . I am glad to hear that everything looks so well on your side. If you find that the enemy are obstinately bent on trying the fate of a storm, I shall take it as a favour if you will let me be of the party. I can be with you in eight hours from your sending to me. I should be happy to attend my old friends, the grenadiers and light infantry; and perhaps you may think that on an occasion of that sort you cannot have too many officers. I can only say that, unless you see any inconvenience to the service, it is my hearty wish to attend you on that occasion. As it may not be

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proper to commit to writing, if you should approve of it, your saying your Lordship will *take a ride* at such an hour, will be sufficient.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

The assault, however, never took place, as, on May 12th, General Lincoln surrendered with about 6000 men, 400 pieces of artillery, and large magazines. Ten vessels, mounting from 16 to 60 guns, were also taken. The loss of the British from the commencement of the siege amounted to little more than 250 killed and wounded.

Three separate corps were immediately sent into the interior of the country: one to take possession of Ninety-Six; another to move upon Augusta; while the third, under Lord Cornwallis, was to attack the only body of rebels remaining in arms in South Carolina. These three objects were all successfully accomplished.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Camden, June 2, 1780.

In my letter of the 30th of last month, I enclosed a note from Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton,[1] wrote in great haste from the field of action; and I explained my reasons for sending the detachment under his command in pursuit of the enemy.

I have now the honour of transmitting to you his account of the march and engagement, with the loss on both sides.

I can only add the highest encomiums on the conduct of Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton. It will give me the most sensible satisfaction to hear that your Excellency has been able to obtain for him some distinguished mark of his Majesty's favour.

I have the honour, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Colonel, afterwards General Sir Banastre Tarleton, Bart., G.C.B., Colonel 21st Dragoons, b. Aug. 21, 1754, d. Jan. 23, 1833; m. Dec. 17, 1798, Susan Priscilla, a natural dau. of Robert, 4th Duke of Ancaster. Colonel Tarleton lived for some years with Perdita (Mrs. Robinson), after her connexion with the Prince of Wales was broken off, and is said to have received considerable sums of money from her. M.P. for Liverpool from 1790 to 1806, and again from 1807 to 1812. In the House of Commons he was notorious for his criticisms upon military matters, the value of which may be estimated from the fact that he almost uniformly condemned the conduct of the Duke of Wellington.

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LIEUT.-COLONEL TARLETON TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, Waxhaws, May 30, 1780.

I have the honour to inform you that, yesterday at three o'clock, P.M., after a march of 105 miles in 54 hours, with the corps of cavalry, the infantry of the legion mounted on horses, and a three-pounder, at Waxhaws, near the line which divides North from South Carolina, the rebel force, commanded by Colonel Burford, consisting of the 11th Virginia and detachments of other regiments from the same province, with artillery and some cavalry, were brought to action.

After the summons, in which terms similar to those accepted by Charlestown were offered, and positively rejected, the action commenced in a wood: the attacks were pointed at both flanks, the front and reserve by 270 cavalry and infantry blended, and at the same instant all were equally victorious, few of the enemy escaping, except the commanding officer, by a precipitate flight on horseback.

It is above my ability to say anything in commendation of the bravery and execution of officers and men. I leave their merit to your Lordship's consideration.

I have the honour, &c.,

BAN. TARLETON, Lieut.-Col.,
Commanding British Legion.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Camden, June 2, 1780.

. . . I have sent emissaries to our friends in North Carolina, to state my situation to them, and to submit to them whether it would not be prudent for them to remain quiet, until I can give them effectual support, which could only be done by a force remaining in the country. At the same time I assured them that, if they thought themselves a match for their enemies without any regular force, and were determined to rise at all events, I would give them every assistance in my power, by incursions of light troops, furnishing ammunition, &c.

Although in this sanguine moment, I may appear slow and cautious to some who overflow with zeal, I must trust you will find my conduct in this business both active and vigorous.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL PATTISON,[1] COMMANDANT AT CHARLESTOWN.

DEAR SIR, Camden, June 10, 1780.

It is with great concern that I find the Commander-in-Chief adopted the idea of granting indiscriminate protections, by which means some of the most violent rebels and persecutors of the whole province are declared faithful subjects, and are promised to be protected in their persons and properties. You will see by the inclosed regulations, that all persons in whom we can place any confidence will be militia-men; the remainder therefore must be considered as disaffected. All persons who have got these protections, and who cannot be safely received into the militia, must be obliged to give up their protections, and their paroles must be taken as prisoners of war. I should wish it to be publicly known, that no more protections will be granted, and that those already given will be recalled, unless the conduct and characters of the possessors entitle them to be trusted to bear arms in the militia or provincial corps.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

I should wish you to disarm the districts near you, as we cannot show too soon that we are in earnest.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL BALFOUR.[2]

DEAR BALFOUR, Camden, June 11, 1780.

. . . I yesterday met, by accident, with a Proclamation issued June 1st, by Sir H. Clinton and the other Commissioners. I was at first startled at it, and at the effect it had on the people of the country. However, on considering it attentively, it appears vague and nugatory, and does not materially affect any part of my plan. I likewise find that the Aides-de-camp at head-quarters have been distributing protections, declaring some of the most violent and persecuting rebels good and loyal subjects. I must, however, notwithstanding these little obstacles, persevere steadily in my plan. All those possessing these protections who come under the description of being sent to the Islands,[3] must have their

[1] Brigadier, afterwards General, James Pattison, Col.-Commandant R.A.; d. Feb. 1805.

[2] Colonel Nesbit Balfour, afterwards a General, and Colonel 39th Regiment, b. 1743, d. Oct. 10, 1823; unmarried. M.P. for the Wigton Boroughs from 1790 to 1796, and for Arundel from July, 1797, to 1802.

[3] The prisoners of war and those persons in whom no confidence could be placed, were removed to some of the numerous islands on the coast of South Carolina.

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protections taken away, and proper paroles substituted. All others who are not sufficiently loyal to be admitted into the militia, must have their protections exchanged for common paroles. . . .

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL INNES.[1]

DEAR SIR, Camden, June 16, 1780.

Mills[2] has been premature in his rising; but as he lives in a remote corner of the country, quite out of our way, and insists upon defending the settlements of himself and his followers, we must let him act. I have used every expedient in my power to induce our friends in North Carolina to remain at home and get in their harvest, and by no means to think of rising till I send to them; and I have reason to think now that they have all acquiesced, though very unwillingly. I must beg you will let Mills have a little ammunition, and you must absolutely send some tolerably intelligent officer with him, to insist positively on his acting only on the defensive, and to put him in the way of doing so. Should he act offensively, he might endanger the bringing on a premature rising in the province, and ruin all our plans for the reduction of North Carolina.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Lord Cornwallis had strongly deprecated any premature rising in North Carolina, which might expose the loyalists to be cut off in detail, as he purposed to march in the beginning of September into the back parts of that province, which he entertained sanguine hopes of reducing. In a letter to Sir H. Clinton, June 30, announcing this intention, Lord Cornwallis expresses his opinion, that if his efforts should prove successful, North Carolina would effectually cover Georgia and South Carolina, and that the whole might be retained with a force no larger than was required for the latter province alone.

[1] Alexander Innes, Colonel of the South Carolina Regiment of Loyalists, and Inspector-General of the Provincial Corps.

[2] Colonel Mills commanded a regiment of militia. He was hanged in cold blood by the Americans after the defeat of Major Ferguson.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO VICE-ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT.[1]

DEAR SIR, Charlestown, June 29, 1780.

I hope you will not be offended when I assure you that the Proclamation of the Commissioners, of the 1st, and that of the General, of the 3rd, did not at all contribute to the success of my operations. Nothing can in my opinion be so prejudicial to the affairs of Great Britain as a want of discrimination. You will certainly lose your friends by it, and as certainly not gain over your enemies. There is but one way of inducing the violent rebels to become our friends, and that is by convincing them it is their interest to be so.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Almost immediately after the fall of Charlestown proclamations had been issued by Sir Henry Clinton, calling upon all well-disposed persons to enrol themselves in the militia for a limited term of service, and denouncing severe punishment against those who should take up arms on the other side. Paroles were required from such as could not be trusted, but various privileges and immunities were to be granted to the well-affected. The good effects of these proclamations were totally undone by those of a later date, of which Lord Cornwallis so strongly complained, since they converted into active spies numbers who, if not friendly, were inclined to be tranquil, and threw the whole province into a dangerous ferment.

On the departure, June 5, of Sir Henry Clinton to the northward, the command, civil as well as military, devolved on Lord Cornwallis, who with only 4000 regular troops and a few provincials had not only to occupy several important posts[2] widely distant from each other, but also to maintain in the field an efficient force to repel any attempt made by the American Generals to invade South Carolina. To keep down the rising spirit of disaffection was another part of his arduous task. Before commencing operations it was also incumbent upon him to establish a regular system of civil government for the province, and to organise an

[1] Admiral Marriott Arbuthnot, b. 1711, d. Jan. 31, 1794; he is said by Charnock to have been nephew of Dr. Arbuthnot, the friend of Pope.

[2] The principal of these posts were Charlestown, Camden, Augusta, and Savannah; besides Cheraw Hill, George Town, Rocky Mount, Ninety-Six, and Beaufort, and other smaller places.

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efficient police. For this purpose Lord Cornwallis returned to Charlestown, where he was for a considerable time occupied with these difficult but necessary arrangements. They were completed in a manner which reflected the highest credit on his administrative talents, but it would be tedious to enter upon the details.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD RAWDON.[1]

MY DEAR LORD, Charlestown, June 29, 1780.

The affair of Tryon County[2] has given me great concern. Although I had my apprehensions that the flame would break out somewhere, the folly and imprudence of our friends are unpardonable. I desire you will inform Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton[3] that I wish him to come to town immediately, and would have him acquaint his officers before he leaves the regiment, that if I hear of any more instances of irregularity about recruiting, or disobedience of orders, I will put the regiment into garrison on Sullivan's Island.

You will please to order Major Doyle[4] to examine all recruits that are brought to any of the provincial corps, and if it appears that any of them are rebel prisoners, they must be sent to town escorted by an officer and party of the corps which has enlisted them, and you will report to me the name of the officer by whom they were enlisted.

I think I mentioned to you that it will be proper to give higher rank to the majors of militia, as soon as proper persons can be found to succeed them as majors. Perhaps you need not wait even for that, as the being called Colonel will help to give them authority. You will please to give orders to send on parole to the Islands all who come under the description of my order.

[1] Francis Lord Rawdon, afterwards Earl of Moira, K.G. and G.C.B., made Marquis of Hastings, Dec. 7, 1816, a General and Colonel 27th Regiment; b. Dec. 9, 1754, d. Nov. 28, 1836; m. July 12, 1804, Flora, Countess of Loudon in her own right. He saw much service, and distinguished himself highly; Governor-General of India from Oct. 1813 to Jan. 1823; Governor of Malta from May, 1824, to Dec. 1826; succeeded Lord Cornwallis in 1806 as Constable of the Tower, and held that office till his death. M.P. for Randalstown from 1780 to 1783.

[2] The Loyalists had risen in the end of June under Colonel More, but were defeated by Colonel Rutherford.

[3] Lieut.-Colonel John Hamilton, North Carolina Volunteers, one of the best of the Loyalist officers; his whole property was confiscated, but as he was in business his case did not come under the rules laid down for compensation; in 1794, however, he received a considerable sum.

[4] Major, afterwards General Sir John, Doyle, Bart., so created Oct. 19, 1805, G.C.B., Colonel 87th Regiment; b. 1750, d. Aug. 8, 1834, unmarried. M.P. for Mullingar 1784 to 1798, and for Newport, Isle of Wight, from Dec. 1806 to April, 1807.

I have received from my brother[1] a very satisfactory account of his engagement with La Motte Picquet.[2]

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

Charlestown, June 30, 1780.—*See* Appendix, No. 1.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Charlestown, July 14, 1780.

About the time that the 'Beaumont' sailed with my last letters, I received despatches from Pensacola, which I transmit to your Excellency. I was extremely sorry to learn that the state of the place, and that of their enemies in the neighbourhood of it, was very different from what I had heard a few days before through the channel of a private letter from St. Augustine; and I am the more concerned, as the relative situation of this place, the state of the naval affairs here, and the present condition of the province, render it utterly impossible for me to give assistance; for to attempt it with any degree of prudence, and to do it effectually, a convoy would be wanted of more considerable force than could be given from hence, and a greater detachment of troops than could be spared consistent with the security of this important province.

In case of a misfortune at Pensacola, St. Augustine becomes a frontier in this quarter, and I think I shall direct Lieut.-Colonel Clarke[3] to take the command there with the regiment of Weissenbach and some provincials, and remove the detachments of the 60th (upon which from their composition there can be no great

[1] Hon. William Cornwallis, Captain R.N., afterwards Admiral of the Red, G.C.B.; b. Feb. 20, 1744, d. July 5, 1819, unmarried. M.P. for Eye from May, 1768, to Jan. 1774, from March, 1782, to March, 1784; then for Portsmouth to June, 1790, and again for Eye to Jan. 1807. He was a very distinguished officer, and known in the Navy as Billy Blue; he had many peculiarities; among others, he would never allow himself to be called Sir William, after he had received the Bath. The action alluded to in the text was fought off St. Lucie, March 25; the English squadron consisted of the 'Lion,' 64, and two other small sail-of-the-line. The French of 4 seventy-fours and 3 frigates. They separated after fighting for 24 hours; and when next day Captain Cornwallis had been reinforced by 1 sixty-four and 2 frigates, the French declined to renew the engagement. His celebrated retreat with 5 sail-of-the-line and 1 frigate before 13 sail-of-the-line, 14 frigates, and 3 other small ships, took place June 17, 1795.

[2] Comte Guillaume Picquet de la Motte, usually known as La Motte Picquet, b. 1720, d. July 10, 1791.

[3] Lieut.-Colonel, afterwards Field-Marshal, Sir Alured Clarke, K.B., and Colonel of the 7th Regiment, b. about 1740, d. Sept. 16, 1832; married Catherine, dau. of Orby Hunter, Esq. She had previously run away with Lord Pembroke. (*See* Horace Walpole's Letters.) Commander-in-Chief at Madras and Bengal from Jan. 1796 to July, 1801; for a few months in 1798 he was Acting Governor-General. He commanded at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, Sept. 1795.

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dependence[1]) to Savannah, to assist in the interior business of the province. For with East Florida in our possession on one side and South Carolina on the other, it is not probable that Georgia can be an object to any foreign enemy.

Since my arrival at this place I have been employed in the internal regulations of the province, and settling the militia of the lower districts, both of which are in forwardness; and I have kept up a constant correspondence with the frontiers and the interior parts of North Carolina, where the aspect of affairs is not so peaceable as when I wrote last. Sumpter,[2] with about 1500 militia, is advanced as far as the Catawba settlement. Lord Rawdon reports to me that many of the disaffected South Carolinians from the Waxhaw and other settlements on the frontier, whom he had put on parole, have availed themselves of the general release of the 20th of June, and have joined General Sumpter.

Accounts from Virginia through different channels say that 2500 of their militia had followed De Kalbe,[3] that the Assembly had voted 5000 men, to be immediately drafted to serve as a corps of observation, and had vested their Governor with absolute power during their recess. The Government of North Carolina is likewise making great exertions to raise troops, and persecuting our friends in the most cruel manner, in consequence of which Colonel Bryan,[4] although he had promised to wait for my orders, lost all patience and rose with about 800 men on the Yadkin, and by a difficult and dangerous march joined Major M'Arthur[5] on the borders of Anson county; about two-thirds only of his people were armed, and those I believe but indifferently.

The effects of the exertions which the enemy are making in those two provinces, will, I make no doubt, be exaggerated to us. But upon the whole there is every reason to believe that their plan is not only to defend North Carolina, but to commence offensive operations immediately; which reduces me to the necessity, if I wanted the inclination, of following the plan which I had the honour of transmitting to your Excellency in my letter of the 30th of June,[6] as the most effectual means of keeping up the spirits of our friends and securing this province. To enable me to begin first, I am using every possible despatch in transporting to Camden rum, salt, regi-

[1] The 60th was then mainly composed of foreigners—deserters—and men sentenced to unlimited service by courts-martial.

[2] Major-General Thos. Sumpter, b. 1734, d. June 1, 1832.

[3] Major-General the Baron de Kalbe, b. 1752, killed Aug. 19, 1780; m. 1767, Mademoiselle Anne Emilie Van Robais; he was a native of Anspach, and had commanded a German regiment in the French service, with the rank of brigadier.

[4] Colonel Samuel Bryan, a loyalist; his whole property was confiscated.

[5] Major Archibald M'Arthur, 71st Regiment, afterwards Lieut.-Colonel 60th Regiment. Left the service Nov. 18, 1790.

[6] *See* Appendix.

mental stores, arms, and ammunition, which, on account of the distance and excessive heat of the season, is a work of infinite labour, and requires a considerable time. The want of subordination and confidence of our militia in themselves, will make a considerable regular force always necessary for the defence of the province, until North Carolina is perfectly reduced. It will be needless to attempt to take any considerable number of the South Carolina militia with us when we advance; they can only be looked upon as light troops, and we shall find friends enough in the next province of the same quality, and we must not undertake to supply too many useless mouths.

When the troops march into North Carolina it will be absolutely necessary to get supplies up some of the principal rivers of that province; I therefore thought it proper to apply to Captain Henry to detain the 'Sandwich,' which will be more useful to us than any frigate in the service, and could not in my opinion be much wanted at New York, where the Admiral[1] will have it in his power to fit up so many vessels of the same kind. Captain Henry has consented, and I hope to procure, with her assistance and the galleys, a tolerable water-communication pretty high up the country. The bringing the troops down towards the coast before the month of November would be leading them to certain destruction.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

SIR HENRY CLINTON TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, Head Quarters, Phillipsburgh, July 14, 1780.

. . . Agreeable to the intimation I had the honour of giving June 1, I request you will send me as soon as possible what troops you can spare. I think you may give 2500 men; so I have not sent the baggage on. The enemy intend to attack Canada; but Washington has not been able to recruit his army. . . .

I have, &c.,

H. CLINTON.

In another despatch, dated the following day, Sir Henry Clinton announces, that instead of attempting a diversion on the scale originally proposed, he should only send 1000 men to Elizabeth River.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Charlestown, Aug. 6, 1780.

I have received your letters of the 14th and 15th of July, and am very glad to find by the latter, that you do not place much

[1] Admiral Arbuthnot.

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dependence on receiving troops from hence. My letter of the 14th by the 'Halifax,' will have convinced you of the impossibility of weakening the force in this province, and everything which has happened since that time tends more strongly to confirm it. The general state of things in the two provinces of North and South Carolina, is not very materially altered since my letters of the 14th and 15th of last month were written. Frequent skirmishes with various success have happened in the country between the Catawba River and Broad River. The militia of the district about Tiger and Ennorce rivers was formed by us under a Colonel Floyd:[1] Colonel Neal, the Rebel colonel, had fled; but Lieut.-Colonel Lisle, who had been paroled to the Islands, exchanged, on his arrival in Charlestown, his parole for a certificate of his being a good subject, returned to the country, and carried off the whole battalion to join General Sumpter at Catawba. We have not, however, on the whole lost ground in that part of the country. On the eastern part of the province we have been more unfortunate. Major M'Arthur seeing the great importance of the post at Cheraw Hill, and finding himself perfectly secure from any attack of the enemy, desired to continue there longer than it was intended he should when I had the honour of writing to you on the 15th. At last, however, the 71st regiment grew so exceedingly sickly, that he found it absolutely necessary to move, and marched on the 24th to the east branch of Linches Creek. Gates,[2] who has taken the command of De Kalbe's corps, was still on Deep River; and Rutherford no further advanced than Rocky River. Knowing of no enemy within many miles, he ventured to send about one hundred sick in boats down the Pedee to George Town. By this time, the reports industriously propagated in this province of a large army coming from the northward had very much intimidated our friends, encouraged our enemies, and determined the wavering against us—to which our not advancing and acting offensively likewise contributed. Colonel Mills, who commanded the militia of the Cheraw district, though a very good man, had not complied with my instructions in forming his corps; but he placed more faith in oaths and professions, and attended less to the former conduct of those he admitted. The instant this militia found that M'Arthur had left his post, and were assured that Gates would come there the next day, they seized their own officers and the hundred sick, and carried them all

[1] Colonel Floyd, a loyalist, d. 1826; m. Arabella, dau. of David Jones, Esq., a Judge in New York.

[2] Major-General Horatio Gates, son of a clergyman at Maldon in Essex, and godson of Horace Walpole; b. 1728, d. April 10, 1806. He was originally in the English army, and brought home the despatches of the capture of Martinique; served under Prince Ferdinand and General Braddock; he was a Virginian, but before his death he liberated all his slaves.

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prisoners into North Carolina. Colonel Mills with difficulty made his escape to George Town, where I was much alarmed for Wemyss,[1] whose party was much weakened by sickness. The whole country between Pedee and Santee has ever since been in an absolute state of rebellion, every friend of Government has been carried off, and his plantation destroyed. This unfortunate business, if it should have no worse consequences, will shake the confidence of our friends in this province, and make our situation very uneasy until we can advance. The wheat-harvest in North Carolina is now over; but the weather is still excessively hot, and notwithstanding our utmost exertions, a great part of the rum, salt, clothing and necessaries for the soldiers, and the arms for the provincials and ammunition for the troops, are not very far advanced on their way to Camden. However, if no material interruption happens, this business will be nearly accomplished in a fortnight or three weeks. It may be doubted by some whether the invasion of North Carolina may be a prudent measure; but I am convinced it is a necessary one, and that if we do not attack that province, we must give up both South Carolina and Georgia, and retire within the walls of Charlestown. Our assurances of attachment from our poor distressed friends in North Carolina are as strong as ever; and the patience and fortitude with which those unhappy people bear the most oppressive and cruel tyranny that ever was exercised over any country, deserve our greatest admiration. The Highlanders have offered to form a regiment as soon as we enter the country, and have desired that Governor Martin[2] may be their chief; I have consented, with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel Commandant. The men they assure us are already engaged. An early diversion in my favour in Chesapeak Bay will be of the greatest and most important advantage to my operations. I most earnestly hope that the Admiral will be able to spare a convoy for that purpose.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Charlestown, Aug. 10, 1780.

I yesterday received an express from Camden, informing me that Gates, with Caswall[3] and Rutherford, was advancing and

[1] Major James Wemyss, afterwards Lieut.-Colonel 63rd Regiment. Out of the service July 31, 1789.

[2] Josiah Martin, Governor of North Carolina in 1770, b. April 23, 1737, d. 1786; m., 1761, Elizabeth, dau. of Josiah Martin, Esq., of Long Island; he was half-brother to Samuel Martin, Secretary of the Treasury, who wounded Wilkes in a duel.

[3] Richard Caswall, afterwards a Major-General, Governor of North Carolina from 1777 to 1780, and from 1785 to 1787, d. Nov. 20, 1789.

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making every appearance of attacking Lord Rawdon; he had assembled on the west branch of Linches Creek at Robertson's, the 23rd, 33rd, 71st, and Volunteers of Ireland. Our troops are in general sickly, the 71st so much so, that the two battalions have not more than 274 men under arms. Sumpter attacked his post at Hanging Rock, where the infantry of the Legion and Governor Browne's[1] corps were posted. He was repulsed, but not without difficulty. Our loss was considerable, five officers killed and four wounded. These accounts, added to the infidelity of our militia, are not pleasing. I am just going to join the army, and hope to get there before anything of consequence happens.

If we succeed at present, and are able to penetrate into North Carolina, without which it is impossible to hold this province, your Excellency will see the absolute necessity of a diversion in the Chesapeak, and that it must be done early.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

The same evening Lord Cornwallis left Charlestown, and arrived at Camden on the 13th. Two alternatives were presented for his choice: either to abandon 800 sick, with all his stores, and retreat to Charlestown, which he could have reached without any material difficulty; or with a very inferior force to fight the Americans, who were about 7000 strong. The first involved the total loss of the whole province; the second, the very serious risk of a defeat, considering the inequality of numbers. Lord Cornwallis, as might have been expected from his character, adopted the bolder line, and in the evening of the 15th moved towards Rugeley Mills. It happened, singularly enough, that General Gates had also determined to engage, and before daybreak the following morning the two armies met, each moving towards the other. After a long and obstinate contest, General Gates was totally defeated.

Two days later, Colonel Tarleton by a rapid march, surprised near Catawba Ford, General Sumpter, who with a corps of about 800 men was escorting 250 prisoners, and a large quantity of stores, artillery, and ammunition. Sumpter himself escaped, though with difficulty, but his whole corps was killed, taken, or dispersed.[2]

[1] Daniel Browne, b. 1756, emigrated in early youth from Scotland, and at the close of the war retired to New Brunswick, where he d. March, 1835.

[2] The total American loss in the two actions exceeded 2800, including 3 generals and 1000 men prisoners. For the details *see* the despatch of Lord Cornwallis, Appendix No. 2.

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MORNING STATE, AUGUST 16.

Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, &c.	289
Rank and File	1944
	2233

CASUALTIES THAT DAY.

	Officers.	Non-Com. Officers, and Rank and File.	Total.
Killed	2	66	68
Wounded	18	227	245
Missing	—	11	11
			324
AT CATAWBA FORD.			
Killed	1	8	9
Wounded	—	6	6
			15

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL CRUGER.[1]

SIR, Camden, Aug. 18, 1780.

I have the pleasure to inform you, that on the morning of the 16th, I attacked and totally defeated General Gates's army; above 1000 were killed and wounded, and about 800 taken prisoners. We are in possession of eight pieces of brass cannon—all they had in the field—all their ammunition waggons, a great number of arms, and 130 baggage-waggons; in short, there never was a more complete victory. I have written to Lieut.-Colonel Turnbull,[2] who is with Major Ferguson[3] on Little River, to push on to Waxhaw after General Sumpter, whose detachment is at present the only collected force of the rebels in all this country. Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton is in pursuit of Sumpter on this side. I have given orders that all the inhabitants of this province, who had *submitted*, and who have taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigour, that they should be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed; I have likewise directed that compensation should be made out of their effects to the persons who have been *plundered* and oppressed by them. I have ordered in the most positive manner, that every militia man who had borne arms with us and

[1] Lieut.-Colonel J. Harris Cruger commanded 1st batt. of General De Lancey's Provincial corps. He married a daughter of General De Lancey, and after the war was obliged to come to England, as his whole property was confiscated.

[2] Lieut.-Colonel George Turnbull commanded the New York Volunteers.

[3] Major Patrick Ferguson of Pitfour, 70th Regiment, b. 1744. Killed Oct. 9, 1780. He had been promoted in England to the rank of Lieut.-Colonel, but the intelligence had not reached America. He invented a breech-loading rifle, for which he took out a patent.

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had afterwards joined the enemy should be immediately hanged. I have now, Sir, only to desire that you will take the most *vigorous* measures to *extinguish the rebellion* in the district in which you command, and that you will obey in the strictest manner the directions I have given in this letter, relative to the treatment of the country. I intend sending a frigate directly to England; any letters which you may send immediately to Charlestown will be in time for it.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Our loss is about 300 killed and wounded, chiefly of the 33rd regiment and Volunteers of Ireland.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

Camden, Aug. 20, 1780.—*See* Appendix, No. 2.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

Camden, Aug. 21, 1780.—*See* Appendix, No. 3.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Camden, Aug. 23, 1780.

. . . I have not yet heard any accounts from North Carolina; but I hope that our friends will immediately take arms, as I have directed them to do. The diversion of the Chesapeak will be of the utmost importance. The troops here have gained reputation, but they have lost numbers, and there can be no doubt that the enemy will use every effort to repel an attack; which if successful, must end in their losing all the Southern colonies.

I have likewise to observe, that if a general exchange should take place, the enemy's prisoners should, in my opinion, be delivered at the same place as ours are sent in. The rebels now confined at Charlestown are almost all continentals and of the old country, and would if released from hence, soon form a corps on the frontiers of Virginia, far superior in number to the troops under my command; and I do not think if the prisoners were all removed, that I could draw any considerable reinforcement from the garrison of Charlestown, considering the great distance we shall be removed from thence.

It is difficult to form a plan of operations, which must depend so much on circumstances; but it at present appears to me, that I should endeavour to get as soon as possible to Hillsborough, and

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there assemble and try to arrange the friends who are inclined to arm in our favour, and endeavour to form a very large magazine for the winter, of flour and meal from the country, and of rum, salt, &c., from Cross Creek, which I understand to be about eighty miles' carriage. But all this will depend on the operations which your Excellency may think proper to pursue in the Chesapeak, which appears to me, next to the security of New York, to be one of the most important objects of the war. I can only repeat what I have often had the honour of saying to you: that wherever you may think my presence can be most conducive to his Majesty's service, thither I am at all times ready and willing to go.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Camden, Aug. 29, 1780.

I send duplicates of my letters of the 23rd, and of those of the 6th and 10th of this month. Nothing very material has occurred since the 23rd. We receive the strongest professions of friendship from North Carolina. Our friends however, do not seem inclined to rise until they see our army in motion. The severity of the Rebel government has so terrified and totally subdued the minds of the people, that it is very difficult to rouse them to any exertions. The taking that violent and cruel incendiary General Rutherford[1] has been a lucky circumstance, but the indefatigable Sumpter is again in the field, and is beating up for recruits with the greatest assiduity.

Major Wemyss is going with a detachment of the 63rd regiment, mounted, some refugees, provincials, and militia, to disarm in the most rigid manner, the country between Santee and Pedee, and to punish severely all those who submitted or pretended to live peaceably under his Majesty's Government since the reduction of Charlestown, and have joined in this second revolt; and I ordered him to hang up all those militia-men who were concerned in seizing their officers and capturing the sick of the 71st regiment. I have myself ordered several militia-men to be executed who had voluntarily enrolled and borne arms with us, and afterwards revolted to the enemy.

I hope to be able to move my first division in eight or nine days into North Carolina by Charlottetown and Salisbury; the second will follow in about ten days after with convalescents and

[1] Taken at the battle of Camden.

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stores. I shall leave the New York Volunteers and Innes' corps to take care of this place until the sick and stores can be removed. Our sickness at present is rather at a stand, the recoveries nearly keeping pace with the falling down. I dread the convalescents not being able to march, but it is very tempting to try it, as a move of forty or fifty miles would put us into a much better climate.

Ferguson is to move into Tryon County with some militia, whom he says he is sure he can depend upon for doing their duty and fighting well; but I am sorry to say that his own experience, as well as that of every other officer, is totally against him.

I am very anxious to hear again from the northward, as our accounts of the French fleet were very imperfect.

I most sincerely hope that nothing can happen to prevent your Excellency's intended diversion in the Chesapeak. If unfortunately any unforeseen cause should make it impossible, I should hope that you will see the absolute necessity of adding some force to the Carolinas.

I have the honour, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Lord Cornwallis resolved to advance into North Carolina as soon as possible after the battle of Camden. But the weakness of his army, and, above all, the want of transport, greatly delayed him. From the latter cause he had previously suffered much, and it arose in a great degree from Sir Henry Clinton having taken with him, when he left Charlestown, most of the waggons and draught-horses, without even informing Lord Cornwallis of what he had done. At length, on Sept. 8, he moved towards Charlottetown, where he arrived about the end of the month, and determined to establish a strong post. Here he received the unwelcome intelligence that on the 9th Oct. a large body of the Rebel militia had surprised Major Ferguson at King's Mountain. The Major himself fell, and nearly his whole corps, amounting to about 1000 men, mostly Loyal militia, were killed or taken. This defeat was not only fatal to the attempt on North Carolina, but it dispirited the Loyalists and proportionally elated the Americans. It was the more vexatious, as Lord Cornwallis had reluctantly given way to the assurance of Major Ferguson that his militia could be trusted, and to the earnest advice of Colonel Tarleton that the expedition should be undertaken. The failure Lord Cornwallis attributed as much to Colonel Tarleton's remissness[1] as to Major Ferguson, who

[1] Colonel Tarleton in his 'Campaigns' lays the blame on Lord Cornwallis, who in a letter to the Bishop of Lichfield, dated Calcutta, Dec. 12, 1787, says with reference to that work, "Tarleton's is a most malicious and false attack; he knew and approved the

was considered a good officer, having neglected to take due precautions to prevent a surprise. The blow was severely felt, and compelled Lord Cornwallis to fall back into South Carolina. This retrograde march was attended with some loss, and his difficulties were increased by the bad state of his health at that time. He reached Wynnesborough on the 29th Oct., and immediately opened a communication with General Leslie, who had been sent to Virginia with a strong reinforcement, as soon as Sir Henry Clinton heard of the battle of Camden. But the instructions given to General Leslie were not communicated to Lord Cornwallis, although he was placed under his command.

SIR HENRY CLINTON TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

SIR, New York, Oct. 23, 1780.

I have received your letter of the 16th instant, inclosing copies of an extract of a letter from the Earl Cornwallis to Lieut.-Colonel Nesbitt Balfour, and of a letter from Lord Rawdon to Major Rugeley.[1]

I must always consider an extract from a letter as a partial, and not always a candid description of a correspondence; but admitting the authenticity of these papers, I am to suppose that Lieut.-General the Earl Cornwallis had determined to punish with a just severity certain persons, who after subscribing to and taking a test-oath of allegiance and service to his Majesty, had committed crimes in violation of such test-oath so taken and subscribed to by them; and it seems to me both natural and proper that loyal subjects, who have been injured and oppressed on account of their zeal for the King's service, should receive compensation in such cases, by a discrimination between them and the avowed enemies to the British Government.

I perceive no reason why a militia-man who has joined the King's army, and is afterwards taken in that of the enemy, should be discriminated from other deserters. I need not point out to you, Sir, the right the laws of arms give over such offenders. And this will serve as the only necessary remark I have occasion to make on what is called a letter from Lord Rawdon, which concerns only deserters.

reasons for several of the measures which he now blames. My not sending relief to Colonel Ferguson, although he was positively ordered to retire, was entirely owing to Tarleton himself: he pleaded weakness from the remains of a fever, and refused to make the attempt, although I used the most earnest entreaties; I mention this as a proof, amongst many others, of his candour."

[1] Major Henry Rugeley, afterwards Lieut.-Colonel commanding a provincial corps.

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For the style or terms in which it may be written, he is in the first instance answerable only to the King's Lieut.-General commanding in the southern district, and finally to me.

It has been my invariable line of conduct always to soften, as far as possible, never to aggravate, the rigours of war; such has been also, the desire of every general officer in his Majesty's service acting in this unhappy war. But proper punishments upon guilty persons may become sometimes necessary. By guilty persons I profess to mean those who shall have been convicted upon the clearest grounds and justest principles of *real*, not *supposed* crimes. A conduct so founded, leaves me in no apprehension of becoming involved in any disagreeable consequences.

I desire to conclude this subject by informing you, Sir, that I esteem myself accountable for my public conduct to his Majesty the King, to my country, and my own conscience: the latter being a principal mover of all my actions will, I flatter myself, approve me to his Majesty and the Government I serve, consequently to the world. The King's general officers serving on expeditions or in different districts under me, act from my orders, and I will observe respecting them generally, as I did in a late letter particularly concerning Lord Cornwallis's conduct, such as his Lordship would assuredly govern himself by towards the conspirators at Charlestown, that I am well acquainted with the humanity of the General and other officers of the King's army, and cannot entertain the least apprehension that they will *stain* the lustre of the King's arms by acts of cruelty; they are incapable of *straining* the laws to take away the lives or liberties of the innocent; if any *forced* construction be put upon the laws, it will be in *favour* of accused persons, and every plea their friends can offer for them will be humanely heard and respected.

I will imagine this letter may be considered as a full answer to the subjects your letter of the 16th treats of, both as it relates to them in the present instance or in any future one.

I am, &c.,

H. CLINTON.

The conduct of the militia and other inhabitants of the country, who after taking the oath of allegiance and enrolling themselves in the British army deserted to the enemy, gave serious annoyance to Lord Cornwallis. On one occasion a whole regiment marched off in a body. A detachment entrusted with the escort of a number of sick, delivered them, with their own officers whom they seized,

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to the Rebels, who in many instances were guilty of the most atrocious cruelties towards the Loyalists. Lord Cornwallis found it necessary to resort to acts of great, but just severity to repress such conduct. This occasioned bitter complaints from General Washington, who never censured the treachery and barbarity of his own friends. Sir Henry Clinton forwarded to Lord Cornwallis and to Lord Rawdon copies of his correspondence with General Washington. It appeared, on comparing the extracts given in General Washington's letter with the original drafts, that they had been discreditably garbled. It is unnecessary to say that both Lord Cornwallis and Lord Rawdon indignantly disclaimed having written a word which could bear General Washington's interpretation, and their exculpation was perfectly satisfactory.[1]

LORD RAWDON TO THE HON. MAJOR-GENERAL LESLIE.

Camp near the Indian Lands west of the Catawba River, South Carolina, Oct. 24, 1780.
See Appendix, No. 4.

LORD RAWDON TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

Camp between Broad River and the Catawba,
South Carolina, Oct. 29, 1780.

SIR,

Lord Cornwallis having been so reduced by a severe fever as to be still unable to write, he has desired that I should have the honour of addressing your Excellency in regard to our present situation.

For some time after the arrival of his Majesty's troops at Camden, repeated messages were sent to head-quarters by the friends of Government in North Carolina, expressing their impatience to rise and join the King's standard. The impossibility of subsisting that additional force at Camden, and the accounts which they themselves gave of the distressing scarcity of provisions in North Carolina, obliged Lord Cornwallis to entreat them to remain quiet till the new crop might enable us to join them. In the mean time General Gates's army advanced. We were greatly surprised, and no less grieved, that no information whatsoever of its movements was conveyed to us by persons so deeply interested in the even tas the North Carolina Loyalists. Upon the 16th of August that army was so entirely dispersed that it was clear no number of them could for a considerable time be collected. Orders were therefore despatched to our friends, stating that the hour they had so long pressed for was arrived, and exhorting them to stand forth imme-

[1] *See* Dec. 4 for Lord Cornwallis's answer, and the Appendix for Lord Rawdon's.

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diately, and prevent the reunion of the scattered enemy. Instant aid was in that case promised to them. In the fullest confidence that this event was to take place, Lord Cornwallis ventured to press your Excellency for co-operation in the Chesapeak, hoping that the assistance of the North Carolinians might eventually furnish a force for yet further efforts. Not a single man, however, attempted to improve the favourable moment, or obeyed that summons for which they had before been so impatient. It was hoped that our approach might get the better of their timidity, yet during a long period, whilst we were waiting at Charlotteburgh for our stores and convalescents, they did not even furnish us with the least information respecting the force collecting against us. In short, Sir, we may have a powerful body of friends in North Carolina, and indeed we have cause to be convinced that many of the inhabitants wish well to his Majesty's arms, but they have not given evidence enough—either of their numbers or of their activity—to justify the stake of this province for the uncertain advantages that might attend immediate junction with them. There is too much reason to conceive that such must have been the risk. Whilst this army lay at Charlotteburgh, Georgetown was taken from our militia by the Rebels, and the whole country to the east of Santee gave such proofs of general defection that even the militia of the High Hills could not be prevailed upon to join a party of troops who were sent to protect our boats upon the river. The defeat of Major Ferguson had so dispirited this part of the country, and indeed the loyal subjects were so wearied by the long continuance of the campaign, that Lieut.-Colonel Cruger (commanding at Ninety-six) sent information to Lord Cornwallis that the whole district had determined to submit as soon as the Rebels should enter it. From these circumstances, from the consideration that delay does not extinguish our hopes in North Carolina, and from the long fatigue of the troops which made it seriously requisite to give some refreshment to the army, Lord Cornwallis has resolved to remain for the present in a position which may secure the frontier without separating his force. In this situation we shall be always ready for movement whensoever opportunity shall recommend it, or circumstances require it. But the first care must be to put Camden and Ninety-six into a better state of defence, and to furnish them with ample stores of salt provisions. Lord Cornwallis foresees all the difficulties of a defensive war, yet his Lordship thinks they cannot be weighed against the dangers which must have attended an obstinate adherence to his former plan. I am instructed by Lord Cornwallis to express in the strongest terms his Lordship's feelings with regard to the very

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effectual measures which your Excellency had taken to forward his operations. His Lordship hopes that his fears of abusing your Excellency's goodness in that particular may not have led him to neglect making use of a force intended by your Excellency to be employed by him; but as his Lordship knew not how far your Excellency might aim at other objects in the Chesapeak (to which point his Lordship's entreaty for co-operation was originally confined), he could not think of assuming the power to order Major-General Leslie to the Cape Fear River, though he pointed out the utility of the measure in case it should be conceived in the extent of your Excellency's purpose.

I have, &c.,

RAWDON.

The post selected was Wynnesborough, which was occupied a day or two after the date of this letter, and there Lord Cornwallis remained during the whole winter. From thence he kept up a constant communication with the various commanding officers of regulars and militia under his command. Some few only of these letters have been selected for publication.

LORD RAWDON TO THE HON. MAJOR-GENERAL LESLIE.

Camp between Broad River and the Catawba,
South Carolina, Oct. 31, 1780.

SIR,

I had the honour to write to you upon the 24th instant, by direction of Lord Cornwallis, transmitting to you his Lordship's sentiments relative to your expedition, as far as it might be designed to affect his operations.

In that letter I stated the events which had frustrated our hopes of penetrating into the heart of North Carolina, and arming the Loyalists in our cause; and I marked the little prospect of our deriving any assistance from or of our rendering you any service, whilst your efforts were exerted in so distant a quarter as the Chesapeak. I added Lord Cornwallis's opinion, that you could in no manner co-operate effectually with this army, unless by landing in the Cape Fear River and penetrating to the Highland settlement near Cross Creek; but I subjoined that his Lordship would not venture to order the descent at Cape Fear, lest he should counteract some purpose to which the Commander-in-chief might have destined the troops under your command.

Upon further consideration, Lord Cornwallis fears that he may not have expressed himself strongly enough with regard to the expediency of the above movement. The difficulty which must

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attend a defensive war on this frontier, and the fear that he may neglect means which the Commander-in-chief perhaps expects him to employ, induce Lord Cornwallis to request that you will undertake the descent and operations recommended upon the Cape Fear River. But the request is made upon this sole and express condition, that you think yourself fully authorised by your knowledge of the Commander-in-chief's intentions to take this step, and that you do not apprehend any view of his Excellency's will be thwarted by this mode of employing your force.

Lord Cornwallis hopes for the most speedy communication of your resolutions on this point. A movement upon our part, without the assurance of your co-operation (which, I am to repeat, can only be effectual in Cape Fear River) promises but little, and hazards much; but this army will be held in constant readiness to act with the utmost vigour in your support.

I have, &c.,

RAWDON.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL TARLETON.

DEAR TARLETON, Wynnesborough, Nov. 8, 1780.

I am not sanguine as to your operations in that country.[1] The enemy is, I believe, in no great force, and Marion[2] is cautious and vigilant. If a blow could be struck at any body of the rebels it might be attended with good consequences; but I do not see any advantage we can derive from a partial destruction of the country. As to your movements, I am not sufficiently acquainted with the country, or the state of provisions or forage, to direct you. If you cannot move up between Lynches Creek and Pedee to make the enemy jealous, you must use your own discretion, keeping within reach of Camden, and within a few days' call of us, in case we should want you, always endeavouring to strike some blow if an opening should offer, and taking up all that have been violent against us, to change for our friends who have been everywhere seized and most cruelly treated.

Lord Rawdon is going to command at Camden, and takes his corps with him.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] In the back settlements.

[2] Francis Marion, b. 1733, d. Feb. 27, 1795; m. 1784, Mary, dau. of —— Videau, Esq., a lady of considerable wealth.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL TARLETON.

DEAR TARLETON, Wynnesborough, Nov. 9, 1780.

Major Wemyss attacked Sumpter at Fish Dam at one o'clock this morning, contrary to his plan, which was to wait till daylight. The consequence is that Wemyss is wounded and left, and about 20 men. Lieut. Hovenden is wounded, but I believe the legion have not lost much. I must beg of you to return immediately, leaving some horses for mounting men at Camden. I am under the utmost anxiety for Ninety-six, and trust you will lose no time in returning to me.

Yours sincerely,

CORNWALLIS.

In a letter dated November 18, Lord Cornwallis says that Major Wemyss forgot that he was an infantry officer, for instead of dismounting his men, who were only infantry mounted, he entered the village on horseback. The enemy were all asleep, and he was in the midst of them before they suspected his approach.

Out of the first five shots fired, two struck and dangerously wounded Major Wemyss, an accident but for which (as Lord Cornwallis informed Colonel Balfour, November 10th) General Sumpter would in all probability have been totally defeated.

SIR HENRY CLINTON TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

MY LORD, New York, Nov. 10, 1780.

By all the letters I have received from Lord Cornwallis, copies of which I have had the honour to transmit to your Lordship, you will observe that he recommends a diversion in the Chesapeak as essential to favour his operations. By my first instructions [1] to Major-General Leslie, your Lordship will perceive that I pointed this out as the principal object of the expedition. Wishing, however, to guard against every possible embarrassment to Earl Cornwallis, I have thought it proper to make an addition to my former instructions for General Leslie's guidance, till such time as Lord Cornwallis should be able to communicate with him; and I have this day forwarded the same by Brigadier-General O'Hara,[2] who is

[1] These instructions were not communicated to Lord Cornwallis.

[2] Brigadier, afterwards General O'Hara, Colonel 74th Regiment, d. Feb. 21, 1802, unmarried. He saw much service, and was wounded and taken prisoner at Toulon Nov. 1795. After having been Governor of several colonies, he was made Lieut.-Governor of Gibraltar, which post he filled from 1787 to 1790, and again from 1792 to 1795, when he was made Governor, which office he held till his death. Horace Walpole, writing to General Conway on the battle of Guilford, says, "Colonel O'Hara has two dangerous wounds, to my great sorrow, and your greater sorrow."

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gone to take the command of the Guards under Major-General Leslie. Until I am certain that Earl Cornwallis sees the propriety of establishing a post on Elizabeth River, which I heartily wish his Lordship may find expedient to do, I do not of course think of adding to the corps already under his orders. However, should that post be occupied, I shall probably send all the troops that can possibly be spared from this army; but while Washington remains in such force, and the French continue at Rhode Island, I do not think it advisable to weaken this post. If, however, he should send any detachments to the southward, I shall most likely do the same.

I have, &c.,

H. CLINTON.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO MAJOR-GENERAL SMALLWOOD.[1]

SIR, Camp, Nov. 10, 1780.

. . . I must now observe that the cruelty exercised on the prisoners taken under Major Ferguson is shocking to humanity; and the hanging poor old Colonel Mills, who was always a fair and open enemy to your cause, was an act of most savage barbarity. It has also been reported to me that Captain Oates of the militia, who was taken near the Pedee, was lately put to death without any crime being laid to his charge. From the character I have heard of you, Sir, I cannot suppose that you can approve of these most cruel murders; but I hope you will see the necessity of interposing your authority to stop this bloody scene, which must oblige me, in justice to the suffering Loyalists, to retaliate on the unfortunate persons now in my power. I am not conscious that any persons have been executed by us, unless for bearing arms after having given a military parole to remain quietly at home, or for enrolling themselves in our militia, receiving arms and ammunition from the King's stores, and taking the first opportunity of joining our enemies. The only persons hanged at Camden, after the actions of the 16th and 18th, except some deserters from our army, were two or three of the latter description, who were picked out from above thirty convicted of the like offence, on account of some particular aggravating circumstances which attended their case.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Major-General William Smallwood, d. Feb., 1792, Governor of Maryland.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL CRUGER.

SIR, Wynnesborough, Nov. 11, 1780.

. . . The serjeant-major of the 63rd, who was left with a flag of truce, is returned, and assures me that when day broke there was not a rebel to be seen, and that it was full two hours before two men came to the house where Major Wemyss was left; so that if our people had stayed till daylight, they would have found themselves in full possession of the enemy's camp, and would have brought off the major and the rest of the wounded, and the victory must have been indisputable, which in this war is of the utmost importance. . . .

The accounts I receive from Colonel Kirkland[1] of the supineness and pusillanimity of our militia, take off all my compassion for their sufferings. If they will allow themselves to be plundered and their families ruined, by a banditti not one-third of their numbers, there is no possibility of our protecting them. I hope and trust, however, that Colonel Kirkland exaggerates their demerits to raise his own merits.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL BALFOUR.

DEAR BALFOUR, Wynnesborough, Nov. 12, 1780.

. . . I inclose you Tarleton's report of his expedition. The state of affairs at Ninety-six absolutely requires immediate offensive measures in that quarter, or everything will be lost and not easily recovered. Our victory the other night was complete, but by Wemyss's unlucky wound, and the youth and inexperience of the casual commander, we have allowed the enemy to call it a triumph.

[Lord Cornwallis here enters into minute details about the troops to be stationed in various posts, and on other points.]

I have given you the general outlines of our plan, which has cost us much pains, and perhaps is not very sufficient. I beg you will make any addition or improvements to it that you may think will make it more efficacious or secure. I will answer for Lord Rawdon as well as myself, that there will be no jealousy, as we all most heartily mean the same thing—the good of our distressed country.

[1] Moses Kirkland; he changed sides and became a Loyalist colonel, when Colonel Cunningham was rescued, July, 1775.

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You have done what few officers in our service are capable of doing—voluntarily taken responsibility upon yourself to serve your country and your friend. Most sincerely yours,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE HON. MAJOR-GENERAL LESLIE.

DEAR SIR, Wynnesborough, Nov. 12, 1780.

. . . Had I attempted to penetrate into the further parts of North Carolina, my small army would have been exposed to the utmost hazard, and it would have been as impossible to have co-operated with you in the Chesapeak, as with Sir Henry Clinton at New York.

If you come to Cape Fear you will easily secure a water-conveyance for your stores up to Cross Creek. I will, on hearing of your arrival in Cape Fear River, instantly march with everything that can be safely spared from this province, which I am sorry to say is most exceedingly disaffected, to join you at Cross Creek. We will then give our friends in North Carolina a fair trial. If they behave like men, it may be of the greatest advantage to the affairs of Britain. If they are as dastardly and pusillanimous as our friends to the southward, we must leave them to their fate and secure what we have got. . . .

When I came to Charlestown after the surrender, Sir Henry mentioned my going with him to the northward. I said that I was ready to serve wherever he thought fit to employ me, and had no objection to remain in South Carolina, if he thought my services could be useful in that province. He said something civil about the climate: on my assuring him that it was no objection, he then wished me to take this command. However painful and distressing my situation has been, and however dark the prospect then was, it cannot be supposed that, as a military man, I should not rather choose to command to the southward than be third at New York. . . .

Most truly and faithfully yours,

CORNWALLIS.

Eventually Lord Cornwallis perceiving the inutility of a corps not exceeding 2000 men, acting independently at such a distance from the main army, directed General Leslie to proceed to Charlestown, where he arrived on the 13th of December.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL KIRKLAND.

SIR, Wynnesborough, Nov. 13, 1780.

I have taken every possible measure for the security of Ninety-six; and if our friends will have confidence in me, I have no doubt but they will soon see their enemies driven with loss and disgrace out of their province; but if those who say they are our friends will not stir, I cannot defend every man's house from being plundered; and I must say that when I see a whole settlement running away from twenty or thirty robbers, I think they deserve to be robbed.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Colonel Tarleton had successfully repressed the incursions of Colonel Marion, a most active partisan, in the vicinity of the Black River; but his next enterprise was not so fortunate. On his return from the Black River he went in pursuit of Sumpter, whom he overtook, November 20, at Blackstock's Hill, in a strong position. Instead of waiting for his infantry, which would have joined him in a few hours, Colonel Tarleton with his cavalry alone, rashly attacked the enemy, nearly double his numbers. He was repulsed with considerable loss, and the Americans claimed another victory —dearly purchased however, for Sumpter received a dangerous wound which disabled him for a long time, and his remaining followers disbanded themselves. Various other encounters, with doubtful success on either side, took place between British and American detachments before the two armies went into winter-quarters. None of these engagements were of importance, or had much influence over the subsequent operations, beyond increasing the terror of the Loyalists, who were persecuted by the Rebels in the most cruel manner, and not unfrequently murdered, under circumstances of savage barbarity.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL BALFOUR.

DEAR BALFOUR, Wynnesborough, Nov. 25, 1780.

The last night's gales kept me awake. I thought of our friends. Gates is certainly come up towards Charlottetown with all the Continentals he could muster—they say from 700 to 1000 infantry: in these are included Burford's eighteen-months men, and, as they report, 300 cavalry. I cannot, however, conceive that there are above half that number. I saw two North Carolina men

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who met some of Sumpter's fugitives, and who learned from them that he was speechless, and certainly past all hopes.

We have lost two great plagues in Sumpter and Clarke.[1] I wish your friend Marion was as quiet. Yours ever,

CORNWALLIS.

Lord Cornwallis had the greatest confidence in Colonel Balfour, to whom the task of forwarding stores and provisions to the army was principally intrusted. The numerous rivers which intersect both North and South Carolina, made water-carriage the easiest mode of conveyance; but those streams generally flow between steep banks, which, when they were occupied by an enemy, rendered the protection of a convoy very difficult. The want of draught-cattle compelled Lord Cornwallis to be satisfied with a train of artillery, scanty in number and small in calibre. Several of his guns were only one-pounders, and very few more than three-pounders. Money was urgently wanted, and but sparingly supplied.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

SIR, Head Quarters, Dec. 1, 1780.

I think it proper to represent to you that the officers and men taken at King's Mountain were treated with an inhumanity scarcely credible. I feel myself under the disagreeable necessity of making severe retaliation for those unhappy men who were so cruelly and unjustly put to death at Gilbertstown.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

Camp at Wynnesborough, Dec. 3, 1780.—*See* Appendix, No. 5.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Camp at Wynnesborough, Dec. 3, 1780.

. . . The militia of Ninety-six, on which alone we could place the smallest dependence, are so totally disheartened by the defeat of Ferguson that of the whole district we could with difficulty assemble 100, and even those, I am convinced,

[1] George Rogers Clarke, a Rebel colonel, b. 1742, d. Feb. 13, 1808. He was supposed to have been mortally wounded in an action with General Cunningham, but the report was unfounded.

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would not have made the smallest resistance if we had been attacked. . . .

Colonel Marion had so wrought on the minds of the people, partly by the terror of his threats and cruelty of his punishments, and partly by the promise of plunder, that there was scarcely an inhabitant between the Santee and Pedee that was not in arms against us. I therefore sent Tarleton, who pursued Marion for several days, and by convincing the inhabitants that there was a power superior to Marion, who could likewise reward and punish, so far checked the insurrection, that the greatest part of them have not dared openly to appear in arms against us since his expedition. . . .

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD RAWDON.

MY DEAR LORD, Wynnesborough, Dec. 3, 1780.

Your account of Rugeley[1] vexed me, although it did not surprise me. I think he must be a traitor, or he would have come away when you desired him. I will have an inquiry made into his conduct, and would have his negroes secured, as that will be the only forfeiture we shall probably get from him. . . .

Yours most sincerely,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, South Carolina, Dec. 4, 1780.

I received from your Excellency the copies of two letters which were sent to you from General Washington, of the 6th and 16th October, complaining of the cruelty and injustice of the measures pursued by the officers serving under your command in the Southern colonies. In regard to the complaint contained in the letter of the 6th, of the removal of some of the citizens from Charlestown to St. Augustine, I have only to say that the insolence of their behaviour, the threats with which they in the most daring manner endeavoured to intimidate our friends, the infamous falsehoods which they propagated through the town and country, and the correspondence which they constantly kept up with the enemy, rendered it indispensably necessary that they should either

[1] His subsequent conduct proved that Lord Cornwallis's anticipations were correct. Very soon after, he surrendered a fortified post, which he occupied with 112 men, to a detachment of cavalry who had no artillery with them.

be closely confined or be sent out of the province. The milder measure was adopted, and they were sent, with every convenience which their situation would admit of, to a better climate than South Carolina. In answer to that of the 16th, I have the honour to enclose to your Excellency my genuine letter to Lieut.-Colonel Cruger[1] at Ninety-six (for it was to him, and not to Lieut.-Colonel Balfour that it was addressed), dated on the 18th of August.

Your Excellency will see that either General Washington, or his correspondent in the Southern District, has been pleased to make several very material alterations in my letter, which, in its original state, only directed the commanding officer to punish in the most rigorous manner, and to take or destroy the property of those, who, having submitted to the British Government and taken the oaths and protection in the months of June and July, went into rebellion in the month of August; to hang those who had voluntarily enrolled themselves in the royal militia and received arms and ammunition from the King's stores, and had taken the first opportunity of deserting with them to the enemy; and lastly, to use the most vigorous measures to extinguish the rebellion in his district. In what manner this letter professes a flagrant breach of the capitulation of Charlestown and a violation of the laws of nations, I am at a loss to find out.

However provoked by the horrid outrages and cruelties of the enemy in this district, I have always endeavoured to soften the horrors of war, and received the acknowledgment of General Gates and the principal officers of the enemy's army, for the tenderness and attention shown to their wounded and prisoners taken on the 16th and 18th of August. Far different was the treatment of the unhappy men who were taken with Major Ferguson.

I will not hurt your Excellency's feelings by attempting to describe the shocking tortures and inhuman murders which are every day committed by the enemy, not only on those who have taken part with us, but on many who refuse to join them. I cannot flatter myself that your representations will have any effect, but I am very sure that unless some steps are taken to check it, the war in this quarter will become truly savage.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] *See* the letter to Colonel Cruger, Aug. 18, 1780; and also a letter from Lord Rawdon to Lord Cornwallis, in the Appendix.

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LORD RAWDON TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

Camden, Dec. 5, 1780.—*See* Appendix, No. 6.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO H. S. H. THE DUKE FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK.

Au Camp sur les frontières du S. Carolina,
le 6me de Décembre, 1780.

MONSEIGNEUR,

La lettre dont votre Altesse m'a honoré du 4me du mois de Mai m'est parvenu hier, et je suis très flatté de trouver que je tiens encore une place dans votre souvenir. Je me sentirai trop heureux d'avoir occasion de prouver à votre Altesse mon empressement d'obéir ses ordres, n'oubliant jamais que c'étoient ses ordres qui nous ont si souvent conduits, moi et mes compatriotes, à la gloire et à la victoire.

Je ne tarderai pas de communiquer au Chevalier Clinton, qui commande en chef l'armée du Roi en Amérique, le désir de votre Altesse au sujet du Sieur Schuler, et je suis bien assuré qu'il le fera échanger sur l'instant. Je supplie votre Altesse d'accepter mes très humbles remerciments pour toutes les bontés dont vous m'avez comblé pendant la guerre en Allemagne, et de croire que je retiendrai toujours les plus sensibles reconnaissances.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monseigneur, de votre Altesse, le très humble, très obéissant, et très obligé serviteur,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL TARLETON.

DEAR TARLETON, Wynnesborough, Dec. 18, 1780.

Our friends hereabouts are so timid and so stupid that I can get no intelligence. I have heard nothing from Ninety-six, but a man who came here from near Broad River says that General Cunningham[1] has beat Clarke, and wounded him mortally. I shall be glad to hear a confirmation of this. I hear a good account of our recruits in general, and hope to march from hence 3500 fighting men, leaving those I mentioned to you on the frontiers.

I trust you have made every possible shift rather than go much farther back, as I should in that case be uneasy about M'Arthur.

Very sincerely yours,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Robert Cunningham of South Carolina, a Loyalist, b. 1737, d. 1813; he was taken by the rebels in 1775, but was rescued by his brothers.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Wynnesborough, Dec. 22, 1780.

I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency that Major-General Leslie arrived at Charlestown on the 14th. The species of troops which compose the reinforcement are, exclusive of the Guards and the regiment of Bose, exceedingly bad. I do not mean, by representing this to your Excellency, to insinuate that you have not sent every assistance to me, which you could with prudence and safety spare from New York; but I think it is but justice to the troops serving in this district to state the fact, lest the services performed by the southern army should appear inadequate to what might be expected from the numbers of which it may appear to consist.

The want of specie in this province puts us under the greatest difficulties. Every method has been pursued to keep the money in the hands of the contractors for Government, and to prevent the imposition of the merchants; but the sum actually in the province is so inadequate for the necessary demands, that we have scarcely been able to pay the subsistence of the troops.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.[1]

SIR, Wynnesborough, Dec. 27, 1780.

. . . I can with truth assure you, Sir, that no man abhors acts of cruelty more than myself, or would more reluctantly adopt measures of severity. The proving to the suffering Loyalists that I am in earnest to protect them, and to retaliate on their inhuman oppressors, is a duty which I owe to my country.

You have been greatly misinformed if you have ever been told that any inhabitant of this country has been punished by us for observing a neutrality; but you will find instances enough of the most inhuman persecution, and even tortures, inflicted on those who refuse to take arms on your side.

I have only to add that I shall observe the same rule of conduct which you do, in the treatment of the officers and soldiers of the army, the militia, and the inhabitants of the country.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Major-General Nathaniel Greene, b. (of Quaker parents) May 27, 1742, d. June 19, 1786; m. July 20, 1774, Miss Littlefield. He was brought up as a blacksmith, and was coarse in his manners and harsh in his conduct; he was President of the Court Martial which sentenced André.

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Several communications passed between Lord Cornwallis and General Greene—the latter scarcely blaming the cruel conduct of his troops. On December 17, he writes, "If any cruelties have been committed (by my troops), not justified by your previous proceedings, I shall testify my disapprobation."

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL BALFOUR.

DEAR BALFOUR, Wynnesborough, Dec. 29, 1780.

The slow progress of Leslie is vexatious, but it cannot be helped. Greene marched on the 20th from Charlottetown to Haly's Ferry on the Pedee. This movement, added to the account sent by Admiral Arbuthnot of five sail, supposed to be one frigate, the rest transports, getting out of Rhode Island, about the 9th or 10th of November, makes me apprehend that there may be some truth in the account of the thousand French at Cape Fear. If that should be the case, it will be difficult to say what we must do, as the communication by Cape Fear, and consequently all certainty of supply, will be at an end. . . .

I think it right to inform Sir Henry of my having employed the Indians, as there will be a considerable expense attending it. You will therefore send by the first opportunity the enclosed to him. This easterly wind makes me very sanguine in my hopes of seeing Ross[1] before I part with the communication. I think I shall also hear from New York, if it is true that an embarkation is going on under Phillips[2] for the Chesapeak.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Wynnesborough, Dec. 29, 1780.

When the numerous and formidable body of the Back-Mountain men came down to attack Major Ferguson, and showed themselves to be our most inveterate enemies, I directed Lieut.-Colonel Brown to encourage the Indians to attack the settlements of Watoga, Holstein, Caentuck, and Notachuckie, all which are new encroachments on the Indian territories. The good effects of this measure

[1] Captain, afterwards General Alexander, Ross, Colonel 59th Regiment, and Governor of Fort George, b. 1742, d. Nov. 29, 1827; m. Oct. 15, 1795, Isabella Barbara Eveleyn, dau. of Sir Robert Gunning, Bart., K.B. He was A.D.C. to Lord Cornwallis, and had been sent to England with the account of the battle of Camden. His name will frequently appear in this correspondence, as he was Lord Cornwallis's most intimate friend.

[2] Major-General Phillips, d. May 13, 1781. He had been captured with General Burgoyne at Saratoga, but was subsequently exchanged for General Lincoln.

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have already appeared. A large body of the mountaineers marched lately to join the Rebels near King's Mountain, but were soon obliged to return to oppose the incursions of the Indians.

If the account given of the behaviour of the Indians by Lieut.-Colonel Brown is true, their humanity is a striking contrast to the shocking barbarities committed by the mountaineers.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD RAWDON.

MY DEAR LORD, Wynnesborough, Dec. 30, 1780.

I cannot express my feelings on the generosity and friendship of your letter. If it had been possible to have raised my esteem for you, it would have done it.

From everything I hear of Greene's force, I do not think it possible for him to strike any blow that would materially affect my movements; and by advancing on the west of Catawba, I should, I think, oblige Morgan[1] and Washington[2] absolutely to quit the country before me. I am frightened at the report of the French at Cape Fear. That would greatly embarrass our operations, and engage us in a naval expedition, which I fear we are but ill prepared for.

I enclose a paragraph of a letter which I received from the Admiral by the 'Camilla.' That, added to Greene's movements, makes me suspect it to be too true.[3]

A few days must ascertain this fact. I likewise think I must hear from New York relative to the embarkation said to be taking place there. From a private letter I received from Phillips, I think it is highly probable that he is going to the Chesapeak. If there are no French landing, and Phillips is in the Chesapeak, we may make a great change in the Southern colonies in these next four months.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

The campaign of 1780 may on the whole be considered as having been favourable to the royal forces. In the Northern provinces indeed, no important results had been obtained. An attempt to raise again the royal standard in New Jersey proved abortive; and though Sir Henry Clinton, soon after his return from Charlestown,

[1] Major-General Daniel Morgan, originally a day-labourer, b. 1736, d. July 6, 1802.

[2] Colonel William Washington, b. 1757, d. March 6, 1810; m., 1783, a lady of S. Carolina. He was a cousin of General Washington.

[3] It was rumoured that a French army was to land in the south and join Washington's troops.

undertook a successful expedition against Springfield, his other movements were weak and inefficient. An intended invasion of Rhode Island failed, partly from the want of cordial support from the naval commander. Sir Henry thought he had so much reason to complain of the latter, that he sent one of his staff to England to tender his own resignation, unless another admiral were sent out; and he availed himself of this opportunity to remonstrate strongly on the inefficiency of the land troops. Lord George Germain informed Sir Henry on the 13th of October, that his requests would be partially complied with by the appointment of Admiral Graves[1] to replace Admiral Arbuthnot, to whom the Jamaica command should be given; but as to the rest, the Government could only undertake to send him such additional regiments as might be consistent with their other plans, and that the delay in sending these reinforcements arose from Sir Henry's detaining so large a number of transports in America. Lord George added, that if Sir Henry were still desirous of returning home, he might resign the command to Lord Cornwallis. While nothing had been lost in the North, considerable progress had been made in the South. Charlestown had been taken, the whole of South Carolina was occupied by the King's troops, and the province of Georgia was in a state of tranquillity. The frontier, however, towards the territories possessed by the Americans was very long, and required a considerable force to cover it. Had the line been advanced so as to include Virginia and North Carolina, or even the latter only, the same strength would equally have sufficed for its protection. To move northward was therefore the constant aim of Lord Cornwallis. How his purpose was frustrated in 1780 has already been shown; but when the junction of Major-General Leslie's corps gave him troops enough to form a small army for active service, leaving behind a detachment sufficient, with the help of the militia, to protect the loyal inhabitants and secure the tranquillity of the country, Lord Cornwallis recurred, as will hereafter be seen, to his original plan.

The sad episode of Major André[2] took place in this year. The details need not be given; but it may be observed that, among the members of the court by which he was tried, were two foreigners, ignorant of the English language, and several of the coarsest and most illiterate of the American generals. Doubts have been enter-

[1] Rear-Admiral Thomas Graves, afterwards Admiral of the White, created, July 4, 1794, for his services on the 1st of June, Lord Graves in Ireland; b. 1725, d. Feb. 9, 1802; m., 1771, Elizabeth, dau. and coheir of William Peere Williams, Esq., of Cadhay. M.P. for East Looe from Dec. 1774 to May, 1775.

[2] Major John André, D.A.G. to Sir Henry Clinton, b. 1750, executed by order of Washington, Oct. 2, 1780.

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tained whether Washington had timely information of the requests and remonstrances made by Sir Henry Clinton, who, had he been disposed to retaliate, could easily have selected amongst his prisoners Americans deserving the name of spy much more justly than Major André. In any case the execution of that officer leaves an indelible blot on the character of Washington.

When the intelligence of André's death reached England, a considerable pension was settled on his mother. As a proof that the King considered his character to be untarnished, the honour of knighthood was offered to his brother, William Lewis, who was afterwards created a baronet March 4, 1781.

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CHAPTER IV.

Difficulties in moving the army — Defeat at Cowpens — Battle of Guilford — Lord Cornwallis's position and prospects — March into Virginia — Lord Rawdon defeats General Greene — Differences of opinion between Lord Cornwallis and Sir H. Clinton — Takes possession of Yorktown and Gloucester — Arrival of French troops and of General Washington — Critical situation of the British — Promises of relief from Sir H. Clinton — Failure of attempt to cross to Gloucester — Capitulation — Controversy between Sir H. Clinton and Lord Cornwallis — Arrival of the latter in England.

LORD CORNWALLIS, before commencing another campaign, had the satisfaction of receiving the following unqualified approbation of his conduct of the previous year.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received early in January, 1781.]

MY LORD, Whitehall, Nov. 9, 1780.

I had the very great pleasure to receive from Captain Ross, who arrived in London the 9th of last month, your Lordship's despatches, which I immediately laid before the King, who read with the highest satisfaction the account of the very glorious and complete victory obtained by your Lordship over the Rebels near Camden, on the 16th August. . . .

It is particularly pleasing to me to obey his Majesty's commands, by signifying to your Lordship his royal pleasure that you do acquaint the officers and soldiers of the brave army under your command, that their behaviour upon that glorious day is highly approved by their Sovereign. . . .

The steps your Lordship immediately took for improving your victory were highly judicious, and must be attended with the most important consequences, nor was your determination to inflict exemplary punishment on those traitors who had repeated the violation of their oaths of allegiance, or broken their parole, and taken arms against the King, less wise or promotive of the great object of the war—the restoration of the constitution: for the most disaffected will now be convinced that we are not afraid to punish,

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and will no longer venture to repeat their crimes in the hope of impunity should they be detected; and those who are more moderate will be led to withdraw from a cause which is evidently declining, before it becomes desperate and they expose themselves to the consequences they may reasonably apprehend will fall upon such as persist in rebellion to the last. . . .

I understand the Congress evade an exchange of the Convention troops with the garrison of Charlestown, under the pretence that the time of service of the greatest part of it will expire in a little time, and the men will then be no longer soldiers, and not entitled to be considered as prisoners of war; and as the expense of maintaining these people is enormous, some means must be found of relieving the public from it, and counteracting the chicane of that faithless body. What appear to me the most practicable measures for these purposes, are the inducing the prisoners to enter on board the ships of war or privateers, or to go as recruits to the regiments in the West Indies, or as volunteers to serve upon the expedition against the Spanish settlements from Jamaica. . . .

I am, &c.,

GEO. GERMAIN.

Though Major-General Leslie's corps was now under the command of Lord Cornwallis, and his force in the field was larger than any one of the American armies, his difficulties in moving were very great. In winter the rivers and creeks were so filled by the rains as to render most of the fords impassable, and there were no bridges. Nor were his means of transport sufficient to enable him to carry boats—for no pontoons then existed—from one place to another. In summer there was another and more insurmountable obstacle to rapid movements—the extreme heat of the weather, which even the natives of the country could hardly encounter with impunity.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Wynnesborough, Jan. 6, 1781.

The difficulties I have had to struggle with have not been occasioned by the opposite army: they always keep at a considerable distance, and retire on our approach. But the constant incursions of refugees, North Carolinians, Back Mountain men, and the perpetual risings in different parts of this province, the invariable successes of all those parties against our militia, keep the whole country in continual alarm, and render the assistance of

regular troops everywhere necessary. Your Excellency will judge of this by the disposition of the troops which I have the honour to enclose[1] to you.

I shall begin my march to-morrow, having been delayed a few days by a diversion made by the enemy towards Ninety-six, and propose keeping on the west of Catawba for a considerable distance. I shall then proceed to pass that river and the Yadkin. Events alone can decide the future steps. I shall take every opportunity of communicating with Brigadier-General Arnold.

I have the pleasure to assure your Excellency that the army here is perfectly healthy and in good order.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Camp on Turkey Creek, Broad River, Jan. 18, 1781.

In my letter of the 6th of this month I had the honour to inform your Excellency that I was ready to begin my march for North Carolina, having been delayed some days by a diversion made by the enemy towards Ninety-six. General Morgan still remained on the Pacolet; his corps, by the best accounts I could get, consisted of about 500 men, Continental and Virginia State troops, and 100 cavalry under Colonel Washington, and 600 or 700 militia; but that body is so fluctuating that it is impossible to ascertain its number, within some hundreds, for three days following. Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton, with the Legion and corps annexed to it, consisting of about 300 cavalry and as many infantry, and the first battalion of the 71st regiment and one three-pounder, had already passed the Broad River for the relief of Ninety-six. I therefore directed Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton to march on the west of Broad River, to endeavour to strike a blow at General Morgan, and at all events, to oblige him to repass the Broad River. I likewise ordered that he should take with him the 7th regiment and one three-pounder—which was marching to reinforce the garrison of Ninety-six—as long as he should think their services

[1] Lord Rawdon was to command on the frontiers of South Carolina, having six stations under him, occupied by 2 regiments of the line and 7 of provincials. He had besides at Camden 3 of the line and 3 of provincials. At Charlestown 2 English and 3 German regiments. Lord Cornwallis could only muster for his own corps 2 battalions of Guards, the 23rd, 33rd, 71st, 2 German regiments, Tarleton's Legion, and 1 provincial corps (Colonel Hamilton's).

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could be useful to him. The remainder of the army marched between the Broad River and Catawba.

As General Greene had quitted Mecklenburgh County and crossed the Pedee, I made not the least doubt that General Morgan would retire on our advancing. The progress of the army was greatly impeded by heavy rains, which swelled the rivers and creeks; yet Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton conducted his march so well, and got so near to General Morgan, who was retreating before him, as to make it dangerous for him to pass Broad River, and came up with him at eight o'clock of the morning of the 17th instant. Everything now bore the most promising aspect: the enemy were drawn up in an open wood, and, having been lately joined by some militia, were more numerous. But the different quality of the corps under Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton's command, and his great superiority in cavalry, left him no room to doubt of the most brilliant success. The attack was begun by the first line of infantry, consisting of the 7th regiment, the infantry of the Legion and corps of light infantry annexed to it; a troop of cavalry was placed on each flank; the first battalion of the 71st and the remainder of the cavalry formed the reserve. The enemy's line soon gave way, and their militia quitted the field. But our troops having been thrown into some disorder by the pursuit, General Morgan's corps faced about and gave them a heavy fire. This unexpected event occasioned the utmost confusion in the first line. The first battalion of the 71st and the cavalry were successively ordered up; but neither the exertions, entreaties, or example of Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton could prevent the panic from becoming general. The two three-pounders were taken, and I fear the colours of the 7th regiment shared the same fate. In justice to the detachment of the royal artillery, I must here observe that no terror could induce them to abandon their guns, and they were all either killed or wounded in the defence of them. Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton with difficulty assembled fifty of his cavalry, who, having had time to recollect themselves, and being animated by the bravery of the officer who had so often led them to victory, charged and repulsed Colonel Washington's horse, retook the baggage of the corps, and cut to pieces the detachment of the enemy who had taken possession of it; and, after destroying what they could not conveniently bring off, retired with the remainder unmolested to Hamilton's ford, near the mouth of Bullock's Creek. The loss of our cavalry is inconsiderable, but I fear about 400 of the infantry are either killed, wounded, or taken. I will transmit the particular account of the loss as soon as it can be ascertained.

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I shall direct Lieut.-Colonel Balfour to transmit a copy of this letter by the first opportunity to the Secretary of State.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

The defeat at Cowpens was the most serious calamity which had occurred since Saratoga, and crippled Lord Cornwallis's movements during the remainder of the war. No blame could attach to him, as he had furnished Tarleton with 700 infantry and 350 cavalry—the best troops of the army. Morgan had hardly an equal force, of which only 540 were Continentals. The loss of the English was about 600—that of the Americans, according to their own account, less than 100.

Notwithstanding this misfortune, Lord Cornwallis determined to persevere in his plan, and, having accomplished a junction with General Leslie on the 18th of January, he commenced his march on the 19th, previously destroying all the baggage which could possibly be spared, and even many of the waggons which conveyed provisions for the army.

So active was the pursuit that the British reached the Catawba January 29, only two hours after the Americans under Morgan, who had had several days' start, had crossed it; and they then owed their safety to the heavy rains, which rendered the river impassable until February 1, when Lord Cornwallis forded it under a severe fire, by which his horse was killed under him. This unfortunate delay interfered greatly with his plan of preventing the junction of the Virginian army with General Greene, but the rapidity of the march compelled the latter to evacuate almost the whole of North Carolina.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD RAWDON.

MY DEAR LORD, Salisbury, Feb. 4, 1781.

We passed the Catawba on the 1st at a private ford, about four miles below Beatty's. The Guards behaved gallantly, and, although they were fired upon during the whole time of their passing by some militia under General Davidson,[1] never returned a shot until they got out of the river and formed. On the same day Tarleton attacked a considerable body of militia, killed several, took some prisoners, and dispersed the rest.

I am much distressed by the rivers and creeks being swelled, but shall try to pass the Yadkin at the shallow ford as soon as possible.

[1] General Davidson was killed in this action.

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I have the utmost confidence in your abilities and discretion. Our friends must be so disheartened by the misfortune of the 17th, that you will get but little good from them. You know the importance of Ninety-six: let that place be your constant care. I long to hear from you. Yours most sincerely,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD RAWDON.

MY DEAR LORD, Hillsborough, Feb. 21, 1781.

I tried by a most rapid march to strike a blow either at Greene or Morgan before they got over the Dan, but could not effect it. The enemy, however, was too much hurried to be able to raise any militia in this province. The fatigue of our troops and the hardships which they suffered were excessive. I receive strong assurances from our friends. To-morrow the King's standard will be erected, and I shall try every means to embody them, and to avail myself of their services. I cannot be sure when I shall be able to open the communication with Cross Creek; it must be done soon, as the troops are in the greatest want of shoes and other necessaries.

As I am informed that Greene expects reinforcements from Pennsylvania, and that Virginia militia are turning out with great alacrity and in great numbers, I should wish the three regiments expected from Ireland to be sent to me as soon as possible by way of Cape Fear, with orders to proceed without loss of time to Cross Creek.

I have written to Greene threatening to send the prisoners of war to the West Indies in case he does not consent to an exchange. I would have you therefore make public demonstration of doing it, and inform the principal officers that you cannot answer delaying it longer than the first week in April. A convoy should be required without letting the officer of the navy doubt my being in earnest.

Yours most affectionately,

CORNWALLIS.

A considerable number of Loyalists prepared to obey Lord Cornwallis's summons, but General Greene suddenly re-entered North Carolina, and on Feb. 25 completely dispersed a large body of them on the banks of the Haw. Nearly 300 were killed, most of them after they had surrendered. Why Colonel Tarleton, who had been sent to cover their advance, and was within a mile of them

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when this occurred, did not move to their support, has never been clearly explained. This misfortune, added to the failure of provisions near Hillsborough, compelled Lord Cornwallis to fall back and take up a new position near the forks of Deep River, from whence, on the 15th of March, he advanced towards Guilford to meet General Greene, who was approaching that town with about 7000 men.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

Guilford, March 17, 1781.—*See* Appendix, No. 7.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

Guilford, March 17, 1781.—*See* Appendix, No. 8.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD RAWDON.

MY DEAR LORD, Camp at Guilford, March 17, 1781.

General Greene having been very considerably reinforced from Virginia by eighteen-months' men and militia, and having collected all the militia of this province, advanced with an army of about 5000 or 6000 men and four 6-pounders to this place. I attacked him on the 15th, and after a very sharp action routed his army and took his cannon. The great fatigue of the troops, the number of wounded, and the want of provisions, prevented our pursuing the enemy beyond the Reedy Fork. I shall send my aide-de-camp, Captain Brodrick,[1] as soon as possible to England with the particulars; in the mean time I beg you will transmit the contents of this note thither and to the Commander-in-Chief.

If the reinforcement from Europe is arrived, send the whole or greatest part to Wilmington, with orders to proceed without loss of time to Cross Creek.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

MORNING STATE, MARCH 15.

Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, &c.	286
Rank and File	1638
	1924

[1] Captain the Hon. Henry Brodrick, afterwards Captain and Lieutenant-Colonel Coldstream Guards, younger son of George 3rd Viscount Midleton; b. Dec. 12, 1758, d. June 16, 1785, unmarried, on board Admiral Colpoys' ship, on his passage home from Lisbon. M.P. for Midleton (for which he was elected, although not of age) from 1776 to 1783.

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CASUALTIES AT CATAWBA FORD AND OTHER ACTIONS PREVIOUS TO MARCH 15.

	Officers.	R. and F., &c.	Total.
Killed	1	11	12
Wounded	2	86	88
Missing	–	–	–
	3	97	100

CASUALTIES AT THE BATTLE OF GUILFORD.

	Officers.	R. and F., &c.	Total.
Killed	5	88	93
Wounded	24	389	413
Missing	–	26	26
	29	503	532

Several of the wounded officers died afterwards. Lord Cornwallis was himself slightly wounded, but would not allow his name to be included in the list of casualties. The American loss was very severe, but was never ascertained with accuracy; their own statements, on the very face of them, were evidently false. The victory would have been much more decisive had the men lost at Cowpens, or even on the Haw, been present. Lord Cornwallis's own despatch is given in the Appendix.

This battle, however glorious to the British arms, was productive of little real advantage, as Lord Cornwallis anticipated when he sent Captain Brodrick home with despatches. The severe loss he had sustained, and the want of provisions, arising partly from the disaffection of the country, rendered it impossible for Lord Cornwallis to follow up the blow by pursuing General Greene, who had fled to a position about twenty miles from Guilford, and therefore four days after the battle he fell back to Cross Creek. Nor did his difficulties end here, for he was followed by General Greene, whose forces effectually prevented supplies being drawn from the open country, and, by keeping possession of the steep banks on each side of Cape Fear River, rendered it impossible to navigate boats from Wilmington. No alternative remained but to move to Wilmington, which by order of Lord Cornwallis had lately been garrisoned by a detachment from Charlestown. He reached that place on the 7th of April.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Camp near Wilmington, April 10, 1781.

. . . I am very anxious to receive your Excellency's commands, being as yet totally in the dark as to the intended

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operations of the summer. I cannot help expressing my wishes that the Chesapeak may become the seat of war, even (if necessary) at the expense of abandoning New York. Until Virginia is in a manner subdued, our hold of the Carolinas must be difficult, if not precarious. The rivers in Virginia are advantageous to an invading army; but North Carolina is of all the provinces in America the most difficult to attack (unless material assistance could be got from the inhabitants, the contrary of which I have sufficiently experienced), on account of its great extent, of the numberless rivers and creeks, and the total want of interior navigation.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO MAJOR-GENERAL PHILLIPS.

DEAR PHILLIPS, Camp near Wilmington, April 10, 1781.

I have had a most difficult and dangerous campaign, and was obliged to fight a battle 200 miles from any communication, against an enemy seven times my number. The fate of it was long doubtful. We had not a regiment or corps that did not at some time give way; it ended however happily, in our completely routing the enemy and taking their cannon. The idea of our friends rising in any number and to any purpose totally failed, as I expected, and here I am, getting rid of my wounded and refitting my troops at Wilmington. I last night heard of the naval action,[1] and your arrival in the Chesapeak. Now, my dear friend, what is our plan? Without one we cannot succeed, and I assure you that I am quite tired of marching about the country in quest of adventures. If we mean an offensive war in America, we must abandon New York, and bring our whole force into Virginia; we then have a stake to fight for, and a successful battle may give us America. If our plan is defensive, mixed with desultory expeditions, let us quit the Carolinas (which cannot be held defensively while Virginia can be so easily armed against us) and stick to our salt pork at New York, sending now and then a detachment to steal tobacco, &c.

I daily expect three regiments from Ireland: leaving one of them at Charlestown, with the addition of the other two and the flank companies I can come by land to you; but whether after we

[1] A large corps had been detached with the intention of attacking Arnold, who, Washington ordered, should, if taken, not be admitted to terms. They were embarked on board a squadron commanded by the Chevalier Destouches, which was met, March 16, by Admiral Arbuthnot. No ship was taken in the action, but the French were compelled to return to port, and the object of the expedition was frustrated.

have joined we shall have a sufficient force for a war of conquest, I should think very doubtful. By a war of conquest, I mean, to possess the country sufficiently to overturn the Rebel government, and to establish a militia and some kind of mixed authority of our own. If no reinforcement comes, and that I am obliged to march with my present force to the upper frontiers of South Carolina, my situation will be truly distressing. If I was to embark from hence, the loss of the upper posts in South Carolina would be inevitable. I have as yet received no orders. If the reinforcements arrive, I must move from hence, where the men will be sickly and the horses starved. If I am sure that you are to remain in the Chesapeak, perhaps I may come directly to you.

It is very difficult to get any letters conveyed by land on account of the vigilance and severity of the Rebel government. I believe all mine to General Arnold miscarried, and I did not receive one from him.

Most sincerely yours,

CORNWALLIS.

MORNING STATE, APRIL 15. WILMINGTON.

Officers, including Chaplains and Surgeons	127
Sergeants, Drummers, and Privates	2059
	2186

Of these, Rank and File, 1829.

On command, in and out of the district	544
Prisoners of war	694
Sick	436
Wounded	397
Detached	214
Including Officers	2273

RIGHT HON. C. W. CORNWALL,[1] SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, TO LIEUT.-GENERAL EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, Privy Gardens, Nov. y^e^ 30th, 1780.

In obedience to the commands of the House of Commons, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship the enclosed Resolutions.

I have the highest satisfaction in this opportunity of expressing

[1] Right Hon. Charles Wolfran Cornwall, b. about 1732, d. Jan. 2, 1789; m. Aug. 1764, Elizabeth, dau. of Colonel Jenkinson, and sister of Charles, 1st Earl of Liverpool. Lord of the Treasury March, 1774, to Sept. 1780, when he was made Chief Justice in Eyre, which he held from Sept. 1780 till his death. Elected Speaker Oct. 31, 1780, by a majority of 203 to 134 against Sir Fletcher Norton. M.P. for Grampound from 1768 to 1774, for Winchelsea to 1780, and for Rye till his death. He had a pension of 1500*l.* for having liquidated certain German claims.

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that I have the strongest sense of the merit and importance of the services which your Lordship has rendered to your country, and of assuring you that I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

C. W. CORNWALL.

This vote of thanks was moved by the Opposition, and not by Ministers, by whom it was coldly received; it was carried without a division.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. C. W. CORNWALL, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SIR, Wilmington, April 18, 1781.

I have received with the greatest satisfaction the favour of your letter of November 30, 1780, inclosing the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 27th of that month, so very favourable and flattering to me.

I must desire, Sir, that you will be pleased to inform the House that I am truly sensible of the high honour conferred upon me, and that it shall be my constant study, by the most earnest attention to the duties of my profession, to merit a continuance of their approbation.

I beg you will accept my acknowledgments for the obliging manner in which you communicated to me the thanks of the House, and

I have the honour, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

MY LORD, Wilmington, April 18, 1781.

I think it incumbent on me to be explicit to your Lordship, as his Majesty's minister, on one or two capital points. The principal reasons for undertaking a winter's campaign were—the difficulty of a defensive war in South Carolina, and the hopes that our friends in North Carolina, who were said to be very numerous, would make good their promises of assembling and taking an active part with us in endeavouring to re-establish his Majesty's government. Our experience has shown that their numbers are not so great as had been represented, and that their friendship was only passive. For we have received little assistance from them since our arrival in the province; and although I gave the strongest and most public assurances, that after refitting and depositing our

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sick and wounded, I should return to the Upper Country, not above two hundred have been prevailed upon to follow us, either as provincials or militia. This being the case, the immense extent of this country, cut with numberless rivers and creeks, and the total want of internal navigation, which renders it impossible for our army to remain long in the heart of the country, will make it very difficult to reduce this province to obedience by a direct attack upon it. If therefore it should appear to be the interest of Great Britain to maintain what she already possesses, and to push the war in the Southern provinces, I take the liberty of giving it as my opinion, that a serious attempt upon Virginia would be the most solid plan, because successful operations might not only be attended with important consequences there, but would tend to the security of South Carolina, and ultimately to the submission of North Carolina. The great reinforcements sent by Virginia to General Greene, whilst General Arnold was in the Chesapeak, are convincing proofs that small expeditions do not frighten that powerful province.

I have the honour, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

MY LORD, Wilmington, April 18, 1781.

I feel myself much indebted to your Lordship for your kind assistance in procuring the rank of major for my aide-de-camp, Major Ross. . . . I was much disappointed to find that his Majesty did not think Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton's services deserved to be rewarded with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel in the army, and it would give me most sensible mortification if it should be now withheld from him. He was once, it is true, unfortunate; but the affair of the 17th of January must be classed among the extraordinary events of war, as his disposition and conduct of the action were as unexceptionable as his previous manœuvres were able to force General Morgan to fight. . . . Your Lordship must know so well how agreeable any favour conferred upon my near relation and aide-de-camp, Captain Brodrick, must be to me, that I think it unnecessary to trouble you on that subject.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

In this same letter Lord Cornwallis also applied for brevet rank for Lieutenant Macleod,[1] who commanded his artillery, and

[1] Lieutenant, afterwards General Sir John Macleod, G.C.H., b. Jan. 29, 1752, d. Jan. 1833; m. Jan. 2, 1783, Emily, dau. of William Henry, 4th Marquis of Lothian, Colonel-Commandant and Director-General of Artillery.

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for permission for Lieutenant Haldane,[1] an officer of engineers and his aide-de-camp, to exchange into the Guards, in which corps there were many vacancies, or to be made a captain. These requests were all refused.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

MY LORD, Wilmington, April 18, 1781.

I marched from Guilford in the morning of the 18th of March, and next day arrived at Bell's Mill, where I gave the troops two days' rest, and procured a small supply of provisions. From thence I proceeded slowly towards Cross Creek, attending to the convenience of subsistence, and the movement of our wounded. On my way I issued the enclosed Proclamation, and took every means in my power to reconcile enemies, and to encourage our friends to join us.

From all my information, I intended to have halted at Cross Creek as a proper place to refresh and refit the troops, and I was much disappointed on my arrival there to find it totally impossible. Provisions were scarce—not four days' forage within twenty miles—and to us the navigation of the Cape Fear River to Wilmington impracticable, for the distance by water is upwards of an hundred miles, the breadth seldom above one hundred yards, the banks high, and the inhabitants on each side generally hostile.

Under these circumstances I was obliged to continue my march to this place, in the neighbourhood of which I arrived on the 7th instant. I have been busy since my arrival in disposing of our sick and wounded, and in procuring the necessary supplies to put the troops in a proper state to take the field. I am in daily expectation of seeing the reinforcements from Europe, and of receiving the Commander-in-Chief's directions for the further operations of the campaign.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

PROCLAMATION BY EARL CORNWALLIS.

Hillsborough, Feb. 20, 1781.

WHEREAS it has pleased the Divine Providence to prosper the operations of His Majesty's arms in driving the Rebel army out of this province, and whereas it is His Majesty's most gracious wish to rescue his faithful and loyal subjects from the cruel tyranny under which they have groaned for several years; I have thought proper to issue this Proclamation to invite all such faithful and loyal subjects to repair without loss of time, with their arms and ten days' provisions, to the Royal

[1] Lieutenant, afterwards Lieut.-Colonel Henry Haldane, b. 1750, d. Feb. 1825. He was many years on Lord Cornwallis' staff in America and in India.

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Standard now erected at Hillsborough, where they will meet with the most friendly reception; and I do hereby assure them that I am ready to concur with them in effectual measures for suppressing the remains of rebellion in this province, and for the re-establishment of good order and constitutional government.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS TOWNSHEND.

DEAR THOMAS, Wilmington, April 21, 1781.

I have received your very kind letter, and am sensible of the obliging part you took in the debate[1] in which I was concerned.

I send you H. Brodrick with another victory. Whether it may be of advantage to the public or not, I trust it will prove useful to him.

Yours ever, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO DR. WEBSTER.[2]

DEAR SIR, Wilmington, April 23, 1781.

It gives me great concern to undertake a task which is not only a bitter renewal of my own grief, but must be a violent shock to an affectionate parent.

You have for your support the assistance of religion, good sense, and an experience of the uncertainty of all human enjoyment. You have for your satisfaction, that your son fell nobly in the cause of his country, honoured and lamented by his fellow-soldiers; that he led a life of honour and virtue, which must secure to him everlasting happiness. When the keen sensibility of the passions begins a little to subside, these considerations will afford you real comfort.

That the Almighty may give you fortitude to bear this severest of trials, is the earnest wish of your companion in affliction, and most faithful servant,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Wilmington, April 23, 1781.

I have the honour to enclose to you a duplicate of my letter of the 10th, sent by the 'Amphitrite,' and copies of all my letters to the Secretary of State. As they contain the most exact account

[1] Nov. 27, 1780, when Mr. Coke moved the vote of thanks, which was supported by Mr. Townshend.

[2] Alexander Webster, D.D., an eminent divine in Edinburgh, b. 1703, d. Jan. 25, 1784; m. 1737, Mary, dau. of —— Erskine, Esq., of Valleyfield. His son, b. about 1743, Lieut.-Colonel of the 33rd — Lord Cornwallis's own regiment—was wounded at the battle of Guilford, and died a few days after.

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of every transaction of the campaign, of the present state of things in the district, of my great apprehensions from the movement of General Greene towards Camden, and my resolutions in consequence of it, I have nothing to add to them for your Excellency's satisfaction. Neither my cavalry nor infantry are in readiness to move. The former are in want of everything; the latter of every necessary but shoes, of which we have received an ample supply. I must however begin my march to-morrow. It is very disagreeable to me to decide upon measures so very important, and of such consequence to the general conduct of the war, without an opportunity of procuring your Excellency's direction or approbation. But the delay and difficulty of conveying letters, and the impossibility of waiting for answers, render it indispensably necessary. My present undertaking sits heavy on my mind. I have experienced the dangers and distresses of marching some hundreds of miles in a country chiefly hostile, without one active or useful friend, without intelligence, and without communication with any part of the country. The situation in which I leave South Carolina adds much to my anxiety, yet I am under the necessity of adopting this hazardous enterprise hastily, and with the appearance of precipitation, as I find there is no prospect of speedy reinforcements from Europe, and that the return of General Greene to North Carolina, either with or without success, would put a junction with General Phillips out of my power.

I have the honour, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

MY LORD, Wilmington, April 23, 1781.

I yesterday received an express by a small vessel from Charlestown, informing me that a frigate was there, but not then able to get over the bar, with despatches from Sir Henry Clinton, notifying to me that Major-General Phillips had been detached into the Chesapeak with a considerable force, with instructions to co-operate with this army, and to put himself under my orders. This express likewise brought me the disagreeable accounts that the upper posts of South Carolina were in the most imminent danger from an alarming spirit of revolt among many of the people, and by a movement of General Greene's army.

Although the expresses that I sent from Cross Creek to inform Lord Rawdon of the necessity I was under of coming to this place, and to warn him of the possibility of such an attempt of the

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enemy, had all miscarried, yet his Lordship was lucky enough to be apprised of General Greene's approach at least six days before he possibly could reach Camden, and I am therefore still induced to hope, from my opinion of his Lordship's abilities, and the precautions taken by him and Lieut.-Colonel Balfour, that we shall not be so unfortunate as to lose any considerable corps.

The distance from hence to Camden, the want of forage and subsistence on the greatest part of the road, and the difficulty of passing the Pedee when opposed by an enemy, render it utterly impossible for me to give immediate assistance, and I apprehend a possibility of the utmost hazard to this little corps, without the chance of a benefit, in the attempt. For if we are so unlucky as to suffer a severe blow in South Carolina, the spirit of revolt in that province would become very general, and the numerous rebels in this province be encouraged to be more than ever active and violent. This might enable General Greene to hem me in amongst the great rivers, and by cutting off our subsistence render our arms useless. And to remain here for transports to carry us off would be a work of time, would lose our cavalry, and be otherwise as ruinous and disgraceful to Britain as most events could be. I have therefore, under so many embarrassing circumstances (but looking upon Charlestown as safe from any immediate attack from the Rebels), resolved to take advantage of General Greene's having left the back of Virginia open, and march immediately into that province to attempt a junction with General Phillips.

I have more readily decided upon this measure, because if General Greene fails in the object of his march his retreat will relieve South Carolina; and my force, being very insufficient for offensive operations in this province, may be employed usefully in Virginia in conjunction with the corps under the command of General Phillips.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Wilmington, April 24, 1781.

. . . I have reflected very seriously on the subject of my attempt to march into Virginia, and have in consequence written a letter to Major-General Phillips, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy to your Excellency. I have likewise directed Lieut.-Colonel Balfour to send transports and provisions to this port, in case I should find the junction with Major-General Phillips inexpedient or impracticable, and that I should have the mortification

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of seeing that there is no other method of conveying his Majesty's troops to South Carolina without exposing them to the most evident danger of being lost.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL TARLETON.

DEAR TARLETON, Nehunty Creek, May 5, 1781.

You must be sensible that in the present instance I put the greatest confidence in you. I trust to your discretion my honour and future happiness. I am convinced you will be upon your guard against the sanguine opinions of friends and your own prejudices. Above all things attend to dates, and distinguish between *is* and *has been*. You will read my letter. Send as many messages or notes as you can, but all conveyed in the same cautious language. I confide in the correctness of your report as to the practicability of passing, and the certainty of speedy communication with Phillips. If it will not do, take care not to stay too long.

Yours very sincerely,

CORNWALLIS.

Colonel Tarleton and Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton of the North Carolina regiment had pushed forward with a small body of cavalry and a few infantry to feel the way towards Petersburgh. The vigilance of the Americans had intercepted almost all communication between Lord Cornwallis and General Phillips, and the former was aware that if he failed to effect the junction, total ruin probably awaited his own army.

SIR HENRY CLINTON TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, New York, April 30, 1781.

. . . I make no doubt that you will think it right to communicate to Major-General Phillips without delay the plan of your future operations in that quarter, together with your opinion how the Chesapeak army can best exert theirs to assist them. That General Officer has already under his orders 3500 men, and I shall send him 1700 more, which are now embarked, and will sail whenever the Admiral is ready. With these, my Lord, which are rank and file fit for duty, and great part of them taken from the *élite* of my army, General Phillips is directed by his instructions to act in favour of your Lordship to the best of his judgment, until he

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receives your orders, and afterwards in such manner as you may please to command him, &c. But I should be sorry to find your Lordship continue in the opinion, that our hold of the Carolinas must be difficult, if not precarious, until Virginia is in a manner subdued, as that is an event which I fear would require a considerable space of time to accomplish; and as far as I can judge, it might be not quite so expedient at this advanced season of the year to enter into a long operation in that climate. This, however, will greatly depend upon circumstances, of which your Lordship and General Phillips may probably be better judges hereafter.

With regard to the operations of the summer, which your Lordship is anxious to receive my directions about, you cannot but be sensible that they must in great measure depend on your Lordship's successes in Carolina, the certainty and numbers of the expected reinforcement from Europe, and likewise on your Lordship sending back to me the corps I had spared to you under Major-General Leslie (which Lord Rawdon in his letter of the 31st October told me you could return in the spring); for until I am informed of the particulars of your Lordship's march through North Carolina, the effective strength of your moving army, your plan of operations for carrying those objects you had or may have in view into execution, as well by the corps acting under your own immediate orders, as those acting in co-operation under Major-General Phillips, it must be obviously impossible for me to determine finally upon a plan of operations for the campaign. . . .

I have, &c.,

H. CLINTON.

The corps under Major-General Phillips, the effective strength of which Sir Henry Clinton very much overrated, had been directed to penetrate into Virginia, as far as they could be supported by the fleet. These orders were executed with great success, and stores, provisions, and property of large value were destroyed. In the mean time Lord Cornwallis had quitted Wilmington, April 25, to effect a junction with General Phillips, who marched to Petersburgh, the proposed rendezvous, where he died about a week before the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, to the great sorrow of the latter. In a subsequent despatch, May 29, Sir Henry Clinton strongly objects to this junction, shadowing out some intention of a combined naval and military operation in the Chesapeak.

LORD RAWDON TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY DEAR LORD, Camden, April 25, 1781.

General Greene arrived before us on the 19th. As Watson[1] had not joined me, I remained on the defensive; but hearing that Lee, Sumpter, and Marion were coming to Greene, and the South Carolina regiment having got safe to me from Ninety-six, I thought it best to risk an action. We therefore attacked Greene at 10 o'clock this morning. He was strongly posted on Hobkirk's Hill, just beyond Logtown. After a severe action we routed him totally; his cannon escaped by going off very early, and the enemy's superiority in cavalry prevented our making many prisoners. I cannot yet tell the loss on either part; but I think the enemy's treble ours. Excuse this scrawl, my dear Lord, for I am overcome with fatigue. I will send your Lordship a more particular account as soon as possible.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

RAWDON.

[In Cipher.]

May 2.

Greene is still at Rugeley's—I suppose waiting for succour. Lee and Marion, I believe, have joined him. Sumpter is collecting provisions for him in the Fork. M'Arthur, I find, is not to cross Santee; but I have now some hope of Watson. Be assured every exertion shall be made, but nothing done rashly. I have provisions for a fortnight, and horses plenty. Our action cost us 220 men. Greene lost at the very least 500. Continentals come in fast.

Lord Rawdon obtained no beneficial result from this victory; for, although joined a few days later by a considerable reinforcement, he found himself too weak to take active measures against Greene, and considered it advisable to retire to the vicinity of Charlestown. This move, and the retreat of Lord Cornwallis to Wilmington, enabled the Rebels to capture several forts which had kept the north and north-east parts of South Carolina in subjection, and also to enter Georgia, from which they had long been excluded. They took Augusta after a very gallant resistance.

[1] Lieut.-Colonel J. W. Tadwell Watson, Captain and Lieut.-Colonel 3rd Guards, afterwards a General, and Colonel 8th Royal Veteran Battalion, d. 1826; m. a dau. of (Hinchcliffe) Bishop of Peterborough.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD RAWDON.

MY DEAREST LORD, Petersburgh, May 20, 1781.

I cannot describe my feelings on your most glorious victory, by far the most splendid of this war. My terrors for you had almost distracted me, but served afterwards to heighten, if possible, my heartfelt satisfaction. I inclose an extract of my letter to the Commander-in-Chief, to prevent too sanguine expectations, which dearly-bought experience has shown me are not to be raised in consequence of victories in this country.

As to the extensive frontier which we have hitherto endeavoured to occupy, I am not certain whether we had not better relinquish it, even if Greene should move this way. But this I leave to your discretion, or eventually to that of Balfour, promising my most hearty support against any criticism or interested representation. The perpetual instances of the weakness and treachery of our friends in South Carolina, and the impossibility of getting any military assistance from them, make the possession of any part of the country of very little use, except in supplying provisions for Charlestown. The situation of the province renders it impossible for us to avail ourselves of its rich produce, and a strong garrison in Charlestown, with a small corps in the country, will prevent the enemy from reaping any advantage from it, unless they keep a considerable body of Continentals in the country for that purpose.

I this day formed a junction with the corps under Arnold at this place. You will conceive my distress at the loss of my poor friend Phillips. I cannot immediately say what measures I shall pursue. I am superior to La Fayette,[1] even after Wayne[2] joins him; but the Commander-in-Chief has notified the sailing of the French fleet and 2500 troops from Rhode Island. I understand that our post at Portsmouth is a bad one, and must consequently take care of my communication with it, until I hear something of the fleets. Balfour sends me the most horrid accounts of the cruelty of the enemy, and the numberless murders committed by them. If it should be in your power, I should hope you would endeavour to put a stop to them, by retaliation, or such means as may appear most efficacious.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Gilbert Mottier, Marquis de la Fayette, b. Sept. 1, 1757, d. May 20, 1834; m. April 11, 1774, Madlle de Noailles, dau. of Louis Paul Duc d'Ayen, afterwards Duc de Noailles. He was almost the first foreigner who joined the Americans, by whom he was made a Major-General before he was 21.

[2] Major-General Antony Wayne, b. Jan. 1, 1745, d. Dec. 15, 1796; m. 1767 a dau. of Benjamin Penrose, Esq., an eminent merchant in Philadelphia.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Petersburgh, May 20, 1781.

You will easily conceive how sensible an affliction it was to me on entering this province, to receive an account of the death of my friend General Phillips, whose loss I cannot sufficiently lament from personal or public considerations.

The corps which I brought from North Carolina arrived here this morning. The information conveyed by your Excellency to General Arnold, relative to the probable movements of the French armament, restrains me at present from any material offensive operations; but as soon as I can hear any satisfactory accounts of the two fleets, I will endeavour to make the best use in my power of the troops under my command. General Arnold being of opinion that Portsmouth, with its present garrison, is secure against a coup-de-main, I would wish to avoid making a precipitate movement towards that place without absolute necessity, because it would lessen our reputation in this province; but I have sent to assure the commanding officer that I will do everything I can to relieve him, in case the French should attack the post.

La Fayette is at Wiltown, on the other side of James River, not far from Richmond. I have not heard that Wayne has yet joined him.

It is with infinite satisfaction that I inclose to your Excellency, copies of two letters from Lord Rawdon, which have relieved me from the most cruel anxieties. His Lordship's great abilities, courage, and firmness of mind, cannot be sufficiently admired and applauded.

There is now great reason to hope that we shall meet with no serious misfortune in that province. If, however, General Greene should persevere in carrying on offensive operations against it, we must, I think, abandon Camden, and probably Ninety-six, and limit our defence to the Congaree and the Santee. This will only be giving up two bad posts, which it is difficult to supply with provisions, and quitting a part of the country, which for some months past we have not really possessed.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received in May.]

MY LORD, Whitehall, March 7, 1781.

The reasons which you assign for calling General Leslie from Virginia are founded in wisdom, and could not fail being ap-

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proved by the King; and as I have had the pleasure to learn from Colonel Balfour that General Leslie had joined you, and you were in motion on the 11th of January, I make no doubt but your Lordship will by this time have had the honour to recover the province of North Carolina to his Majesty; and I am even sanguine enough to hope from your Lordship's distinguished abilities and zeal for the King's service, that the recovery of a part of Virginia will crown your successes before the season becomes too intemperate for land operations.

I am, &c.,

GEORGE GERMAIN.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Byrd's Plantation, North of James River, May 26, 1781.

. . . The reinforcement is safely arrived in James River, and I opened all your despatches to poor Phillips marked *on his Majesty's Service.*

The arrival of the reinforcement has made me easy about Portsmouth for the present. I have sent General Leslie thither with the 17th regiment and the two battalions of Anspach, keeping the 43rd regiment with the army.

I shall now proceed to dislodge La Fayette from Richmond, and with my light troops to destroy any magazines or stores in the neighbourhood, which may have been collected either for his use, or General Greene's army. From thence I purpose to move to the Neck at Williamsburgh, which is represented as healthy, and where some subsistence may be procured, and keep myself unengaged from operations which might interfere with your plan for the campaign, until I have the satisfaction of hearing from you. I hope I shall then have an opportunity to receive better information than has hitherto been in my power to procure, relative to a proper harbour and place of arms. At present I am inclined to think well of York. The objections to Portsmouth are, that it cannot be made strong without an army to defend it, that it is remarkably unhealthy, and can give no protection to a ship of the line. Wayne has not yet joined La Fayette, nor can I positively learn where he is, or what is his force. Greene's cavalry are said to be coming this way, but I have no certain accounts of it.

From the experience I have had, and the dangers I have undergone, one maxim appears to me to be absolutely necessary for the safe and honourable conduct of this war, which is,—that we should have as few posts as possible, and that wherever the King's troops are, they should be in respectable force. By the vigorous

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exertions of the present governors of America, large bodies of men are soon collected; and I have too often observed that when a storm threatens, our friends disappear. In regard to taking possession of Philadelphia by an incursion (even if practicable) without an intention of keeping or burning it (neither of which appears to be advisable), I should apprehend it would do more harm than good to the cause of Britain.

I shall take the liberty of repeating, that if offensive war is intended, Virginia appears to me the only province in which it can be carried on, and in which there is a stake. But to reduce the province and keep possession of the country, a considerable army would be necessary, for with a small force the business would probably terminate unfavourably, though the beginning might be successful.

By my letter of the 20th, your Excellency will observe that, instead of thinking it possible to do anything in North Carolina, I am of opinion that it is doubtful whether we can keep the posts in the back parts of South Carolina; and I believe I have stated in former letters, the infinite difficulty of protecting a frontier of 300 miles against a persevering enemy, in a country where we have no water communication, and where few of the inhabitants are active or useful friends. . . . I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE HON. MAJOR-GENERAL LESLIE.

DEAR LESLIE, Williamsburgh, June 27, 1781.

. . . My orders from New York make it necessary for me to give up all thought of a post on this side of James River. You will stop all the detachments that I ordered up, except the part of the 80th. . . . I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE HON. MAJOR-GENERAL LESLIE.

DEAR LESLIE, Williamsburgh, June 28, 1781.

I am very unwilling to give up the idea of fixing the place of arms at York, if it is possible to effect it consistent with the arrangement of the force in this country. I shall therefore go to-morrow to York to examine that place before I take my final resolution. As the war in Virginia is to be only defensive, except some desultory expeditions, all idea of diversion in favour of the

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Carolinas must cease, and consequently the war in South Carolina will be kept up by the enemy as long as we attempt to hold any part of the province. In that case I think that either you or I should go thither; perhaps you may go for a time and I may relieve you. If Lord Rawdon goes home, everything must fall into the greatest confusion. Nor can Balfour, however able, do any good without support.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Williamsburgh, June 30, 1781.

. . . The morning after my arrival here I was honoured with your Excellency's despatches of the 11th and 15th instant. By them I find that you think if an offensive army could be spared, it would not be advisable to employ it in this province. It is natural for every officer to turn his thoughts particularly to the part of the war in which he has been most employed; and as the security at least of South Carolina, if not the reduction of North Carolina, seemed to be generally expected from me, both in this country and in England, I thought myself called upon, after the experiment I had made had failed, to point out the only mode in my opinion of effecting it, and to declare that until Virginia was to a degree subjected we could not reduce North Carolina, or have any certain hold of the back country of South Carolina, the want of navigation rendering it impossible to maintain a sufficient army in either of these provinces at a considerable distance from the coast, and the men and riches of Virginia furnishing ample supplies to the rebel southern army.

I will not say much in praise of the militia of the Southern colonies, but the list of British officers and soldiers killed and wounded by them since last June, proves but too fatally that they are not wholly contemptible.

Your Excellency being charged with the weight of the whole American war, your opinions of course are less partial, and are directed to all its parts; to those opinions it is my duty implicitly to submit.

Being in the place of General Phillips, I thought myself called upon by you to give my opinion with all deference on the attempt upon Philadelphia. Having experienced much disappointment on that head, I own I would cautiously engage in measures depending materially for their success upon active assistance from the country;

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and I thought the attempt upon Philadelphia would do more harm than good to the cause of Britain, because, supposing it practicable to get possession of the town (which, besides other obstacles, if the redoubts are kept up, would not be easy), we could not hope to arrive, without their having had sufficient warning of our approach to enable them to secure the specie and the greatest part of their valuable public stores by means of their boats and shipping, which give them certain possession of the river from Mud Island upwards. The discriminating of the owners, and destroying any considerable quantity of West India goods and other merchandize dispersed through a great town, without burning the whole together, would be a work of much time and labour. Our appearance there, without an intention to stay, might give false hopes to many friends, and occasion their ruin; and any unlucky accident on our retreat might furnish matter for great triumph to our enemies. However, my opinion on that subject is at present of no great importance, as it appears from your Excellency's despatches that, in the execution of those ideas, a co-operation was intended from your side, which now could not be depended upon, from the uncertainty of the permanency of our naval superiority, and your apprehensions of an intended serious attempt upon New York: I have therefore lost no time in taking measures for complying with the requisition contained in your despatch of the 15th instant.

Upon viewing York, I was clearly of opinion that it far exceeds our power, consistent with your plans, to make safe defensive posts there and at Gloucester, both of which would be necessary for the protection of shipping. The state of the transports has not yet been reported to me, but I have ordered the few that are at Portsmouth to be got ready, and as soon as I pass James River (for which purpose the boats are collecting), and can get a convoy, they shall be despatched with as many troops as they will contain, and shall be followed by others as fast as you send transports to receive them. When I see Portsmouth, I shall give my opinion of the number of men necessary for its defence, or of any other post that may be thought more proper. But as magazines, &c., may be destroyed by occasional expeditions from New York, and there is little chance of being able to establish a post capable of giving effectual protection to ships of war, I submit it to your Excellency's consideration, whether it is worth while to hold a sickly defensive post in this bay which will always be exposed to a sudden French attack, and which experience has shown makes no diversion in favour of the southern army.

Tarleton was lucky enough to intercept an express with letters

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from Greene to La Fayette, of which the inclosed are copies. By them you will see General Greene's intention of coming to the northward, and that part of the reinforcements destined for his army, was stopped in consequence of my arrival here. There can be little doubt of his returning to the southward, and of the reinforcements proceeding to join his army.

I still continue in the most painful anxiety for the situation of South Carolina. Your Excellency will have received accounts of Lord Rawdon's proceedings previous to his arrival at Monk's Corner, and of his intended operations. My last account from him is in a note to Lieut.-Colonel Balfour, dated the 9th instant at Fourhole Bridge, and he was then in great hopes of being in time to save Cruger. I have ordered Colonel Gould[1] to proceed, as soon as convoy could be procured, with the 19th and 30th regiments to New York, leaving the 3rd regiment and flank companies in South Carolina till your pleasure be known. I named the flank companies, because they might be distant at the time of the arrival of the order, and as a corps capable of exertion is much wanted on that service.

Your Excellency well knows my opinion of a defensive war on the frontiers of South Carolina. From the state of Lord Rawdon's health it is impossible that he can remain, for which reason, although the command in that quarter can only be attended with mortification and disappointment, yet as I came to America with no other view than to endeavour to be useful to my country, and as I do not think it possible to render any service in a defensive situation here, I am willing to repair to Charlestown, if you approve of it; and in the mean time I shall do everything in my power to arrange matters here till I have your answer.

La Fayette's Continentals, I believe, consist of about 1700 or 1800 men, exclusive of some twelvemonths' men, collected by Steuben.[2] He has received considerable reinforcements of militia, and about 800 mountain riflemen under Campbell. He keeps with his main body about eighteen or twenty miles from us, his advanced corps about ten or twelve, probably with an intention of insulting our rear-guard when we pass James River; I hope, however, to put that out of his power by crossing at James City

[1] Colonel Paston Gould, brother of Sir Charles Gould, afterwards Morgan, 1st Bart., Lieut.-Colonel 30th Regiment, b. Jan. 18, 1731, d. 1782, m. Anne, dau. of Benjamin Hallowell, Esq., of Boston, in America, and sister of the late Admiral Sir Benjamin Hallowell Carew.

[2] Biron Steuben, b. 1730, d. Nov. 28, 1813, unmarried. He had bargained with the Americans that he should receive 10,000*l.* as a compensation for his expenses, and for the military employments he held in Europe. When the war was over they repudiated the arrangement, and offered him 7000 dollars. Ultimately he accepted a pension of 2500 dollars.

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Island, and if I can get a favourable opportunity of striking a blow at him without loss of time, I will certainly try it. I will likewise attempt water-expeditions, if proper objects present themselves after my arrival at Portsmouth.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Cobham, July 8, 1781.

I was this morning honoured with your despatch of the 28th ult. The troops are perfectly ready, and will proceed to Portsmouth to wait the arrival of the transports. I will give immediate orders about the artillery, stores, &c.

I must again take the liberty of calling your Excellency's serious attention to the question of the utility of a defensive post in this country, which cannot have the smallest influence on the war in Carolina, and which only gives us some acres of an unhealthy swamp, and is for ever liable to become a prey to a foreign enemy with a temporary superiority at sea. . . .

I have the honour, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE HON. MAJOR-GENERAL LESLIE.

DEAR LESLIE, Cobham, July 8, 1781.

I enclose a copy of the General's despatch, which was written in cipher. You will please to make the necessary arrangements for the embarkation of the stores and artillery, &c., and prepare as many horse-vessels as possible, observing the strictest secrecy as to the object of the expedition. I shall march to-morrow for Suffolk, where I shall arrive in four or five days, and from thence send the troops destined for embarkation to Portsmouth.

The Marquis[1] intended to attack our rear-guard, and luckily stumbled on our army. It was near dark, but the 76th and 80th gave the Pennsylvania Line a trimming, and took two 6-pounders—all they had with them: one is marked "*Taken at Bennington.*"[2] A little more daylight would have given us the whole corps.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] La Fayette.

[2] A considerable detachment of General Burgoyne's army, consisting of 1100 Germans, was totally defeated at Bennington in June, 1777. They lost 600 killed and wounded, besides prisoners.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE HON. MAJOR-GENERAL LESLIE.

DEAR LESLIE, Suffolk, July 20, 1781.

By a letter I have received this instant from the Commander-in-Chief, it is necessary to stop the sailing of the expedition, which you will be pleased to do, and remain with the transports in Hampton Road until you hear further from me. You will be pleased to communicate this to the Commodore, and make an apology to him for my not writing.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD RAWDON.

MY DEAR LORD, Portsmouth, Virginia, July 23, 1781.

I dare not be so sanguine as to hope that you can or ought to stay in Carolina. I have not time to explain to you my situation. Suffice it to say that the C.[1] is determined to throw all blame on me, and to disapprove of all I have done, and that nothing but the consciousness that my going home in apparent disgust, would essentially hurt our affairs in this country could possibly induce me to remain. I offered to return to Carolina, but it was not approved of, and it became absolutely necessary to send Leslie, lest the command should have devolved on ———.

Your most faithful and affectionate friend,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Portsmouth, July 24, 1781.

I find by your Excellency's letter of the 29th May, that neither my march from Cross Creek to Wilmington, or from thence to Petersburgh, meets with your approbation. The move from Cross Creek to Wilmington was absolutely necessary: such was the situation and distress of the troops, and so great were the sufferings of the sick and wounded, that I had no option left. I tried many means of informing Lord Rawdon of it; they all failed. I had left such a force in South Carolina, that if Lord Rawdon could have had timely notice of the probability of General Greene's moving towards that province, and could have called in Lieut.-Colonel Watson, General Greene would not have ventured to place himself before Camden.

[1] Sir Henry Clinton.

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The fate of the garrison at Camden must have been decided before I could have reached the Pedee or Wagganaw. Had a misfortune happened to Lord Rawdon's corps, I knew that the whole country east of Santee and Pedee would be in arms against us. I therefore did not think that I could, with 1300 infantry and 200 cavalry, undertake such a march and the passage of two such rivers, without exposing the corps under my command to the utmost hazard of disgrace and ruin.

In the measures which I pursued I neither risked my own corps or Major-General Phillips's, being determined to return to Wilmington from Halifax, unless I heard from that officer that I could join him in safety.

With the warmest zeal for the service of my King and country, I am conscious that my judgment is liable to error. Perhaps in the difficult situation I was in at Wilmington the measure which I adopted was not the best; but I have at least the satisfaction to find, by the intercepted letters of May 14, from General Greene to Baron Steuben, that it was not agreeable to his wishes that I came into Virginia.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Portsmouth, Virginia, July 27, 1781.

I received your ciphered letter of the 11th instant on the 20th, in consequence of which the expedition was detained, and on the 21st I was honoured with your despatches of the 8th and 11th instant, the contents of which I will confess, were to me as unexpected as, I trust, they are undeserved.

As a subordinate officer I think it my duty to obey positive orders, or in exercising discretionary powers to act as much as possible conformable to the apparent wishes of my superior officer, combined with the evident good of the service; and in my late conduct I hope I have not deviated from those principles: for permit me to remark that I cannot discover in the instructions to General Phillips, and the substance of private conversations with him (extracts of which I take the liberty to enclose) to which I am referred, nor in our former correspondence, any trace of the extreme earnestness that now appears to secure a harbour for ships of the line; and your assent to my engaging in operations in the Upper Chesapeak, if I could have brought myself to think them expedient, would, if I had doubted before, have convinced me that

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securing a harbour for line-of-battle ships was not with you a primary and immediate object In my letter of the 26th of May I informed your Excellency that, after destroying the stores at Richmond and the adjoining country, I should move back to Williamsburgh, keeping the army in readiness to comply with your further instructions. I arrived at that place on the 25th, and on the 26th of June I received your despatches of the 11th and 15th of the same month, being the first letters that I received from you since my arrival in Virginia. In the first you tell me New York is threatened to be attacked by a very numerous enemy, and, therefore, wishing to concentrate your force, you recommend to me to send a body of troops to you, as I can spare them, in the order mentioned in a list, unless I have engaged in operations in the Upper Chesapeak; and in the despatch of the 15th, taking for granted that I have not engaged in those operations, you require that the embarkation of those troops may begin with the greatest despatch. After a full compliance with this requisition the force left under my command would have been about 2400 rank and file fit for duty, as will appear by the returns, which in a post adapted to that number I hoped would be sufficient for a defensive, and desultory water expeditions. You mention Williamsburgh and York in your letter of the 11th as defensive stations, but only as being supposed healthy, without deciding on their safety. Williamsburgh having no harbour, and requiring an army to occupy the position, would not have suited us. I saw that it would require a great deal of time and labour to fortify York and Gloucester, both of which are necessary to secure a harbour for vessels of any burden, and to effect it, assistance would have been wanted from some of the troops then under embarkation orders, which, when New York was in danger, I did not think myself at liberty to detain for any other purpose than operations in the Upper Chesapeak; and supposing both places fortified, I thought they would have been dangerous defensive posts, either of them being easily accessible to the whole force of this province, and from their situation they would not have commanded an acre of country. I therefore, under these circumstances, with the most earnest desire to comply with what I thought were your present wishes, and to facilitate your intended future operations in Pennsylvania, did not hesitate in deciding to pass James River and to retire to Portsmouth, that I might be able to send you the troops required; and I was confirmed in the propriety of the measure when, upon passing James River, I received your despatch informing me that for essential reasons you had resolved to make an attempt on

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Philadelphia, and directing me to embark with the greatest expedition the same body of troops, with stores, &c., for that purpose. Having likewise executed this order with the utmost exertion and alacrity, I must acknowledge I was not prepared to receive in the next despatch from your Excellency, a severe censure for my conduct.

Immediately on receipt of your ciphered letter, I gave orders to the engineer to examine and survey Point Comfort and the channels adjoining to it. I have likewise visited it with the captains of the King's ships now lying in Hampton Road. I have the honour to enclose to you copies of the report of the engineer, and of the opinions of the captains of the navy on that subject, with which my own entirely concurs; and I likewise transmit a survey of the peninsula made by the engineers, from all which your Excellency will see that a work on Point Comfort would neither command the entrance, nor secure his Majesty's ships at anchor in Hampton Road. This being the case, I shall, in obedience to the spirit of your Excellency's orders, take measures with as much despatch as possible to seize and fortify York and Gloucester, being the only harbour in which we can hope to be able to give effectual protection to line-of-battle ships. I shall likewise use all the expedition in my power to evacuate Portsmouth and the posts belonging to it, but until that is accomplished it will be impossible for me to spare troops; for York and Gloucester from their situation command no country, and a superiority in the field will not only be necessary to enable us to draw forage and other supplies from the country, but likewise to carry on our works without interruption.

Your Excellency having been pleased to disapprove of my going to South Carolina, I have sent General Leslie, who sailed on the 25th instant in the 'Carysfort,' to take the command there.

I have the honour, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, Whitehall, June 4, 1781.

His Majesty's ship 'Galatea,' which arrived on the 19th of last month, brought me a letter from Lord Rawdon, enclosing a note from your Lordship to him, written on the 17th March at the town of Guilford, which your Lordship made famous by the glorious victory you had gained there over the Rebel forces

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commanded by General Greene. The King has commanded me to signify to your Lordship, his Majesty's royal approbation of your able conduct, unremitted exertions, and ardent zeal for his service, and to convey to you his royal congratulations upon your happy and provident escape from a danger, that twice approached you so nearly as to destroy two horses under you.[1] . . .

I was much alarmed upon reading the copy of Sir Henry Clinton's instructions to General Phillips, to return with the greatest part of his force to New York if he did not receive orders from your Lordship, lest you might not speedily have had an opportunity of communicating with him; but your late victory at Guilford will, I trust, have opened the country more to you and afforded you an occasion of taking him and his whole force under your command and employing it as a co-operating army, until the Southern provinces are reduced or the season becomes too intemperate for active service; for it is the King's firm purpose to recover those provinces in preference to all others, and to push the war from south to north, securing what is conquered as we go on; and not by desultory enterprises, taking possession of places at one time, and abandoning them at another: and I have signified his Majesty's pleasure to Sir Henry Clinton to that effect. . . .

I am, &c.,

GEO. GERMAIN.

The foregoing despatches sufficiently show the difference of opinion, and the want of cordiality which existed between the two Generals. Sir Henry Clinton, anxious to concentrate his force at New York, and merely wishing to maintain the posts then held in the Southern provinces, was always desiring Lord Cornwallis to send large detachments to the North. On the 8th of June he expressed a strong opinion that General Leslie and 2000 men could be spared. On the 11th he asked for seven regiments of infantry, and one and a half of cavalry. Again on the 19th and on July 1st he called for six regiments, which he specified by name, but on the 11th he countermanded the sailing of the troops. Both Generals complained that they were kept in ignorance of each other's intentions—which, inconvenient under any circumstances, was especially so to the junior officer. Not only did Sir H. Clinton lay down no plan of operations for Lord Cornwallis,

[1] One horse was shot under Lord Cornwallis when fording the Catawba, Feb. 1, and another at the battle of Guilford.

but, with the exception of the proposed attack on Philadelphia, he never said what he meant to do himself, professing his inability to make any arrangements till the expected reinforcements had arrived from Europe. Even more—when General Phillips was sent to the Chesapeak, his instructions were not communicated to Lord Cornwallis. Thus left in ignorance of the operations contemplated at Head Quarters, and not knowing what detachments might be required, Lord Cornwallis was often compelled to act on the defensive, when an offensive movement might have been most advantageous. These feelings of jealousy and irritation on the part of Sir Henry may be attributed, partly to the fact that Lord Cornwallis was instructed to correspond directly with the Secretary of State, and partly to his knowledge of the existence of the dormant Commission, which, had Sir Henry gone home, would have placed the command in the hands of Lord Cornwallis. Another source of annoyance was the tone of many of Sir Henry's letters. His despatches are often full of splenetic remarks. In one, dated August 2, he tells Lord Cornwallis that he entirely disapproves of his operations, and conceives that he has a right to express that opinion. But Lord Cornwallis had the satisfaction of knowing that (whatever might be the views of Sir Henry) his conduct in every respect was highly approved of by the Government at home, who appear almost uniformly to have preferred his plans to those of his commanding Officer.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Whitehall, June 6, 1781.

. . . I shall, therefore, only observe in addition to all I have already written upon the subject, that I am well pleased to find Lord Cornwallis's opinion entirely coincides with mine of the great importance of pushing the war on the side of Virginia with all the force that can be spared, until that province is reduced. . . .

I am, &c.,
GEO. GERMAIN.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL O'HARA.

DEAR CHARLES, Yorktown, Aug. 2, 1781.

. . . After a passage of four days we landed here and at Gloucester without opposition. The position is bad, and of course we want more troops, and you know that every senior

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general takes without remorse from a junior, and tells him that he has nothing to fear. . . . Yours most sincerely,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL O'HARA.

DEAR CHARLES, Yorktown, Aug. 4, 1781.

. . . I am not easy about my post at Gloucester, and am in great want of negroes to work, as the heat is too great to admit of the soldiers doing it. . . .

Yours most sincerely,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, York, in Virginia, Aug. 12, 1781.

I embarked the 80th regiment in boats and went myself on board the 'Richmond' very early in the morning of the 29th; but we were so unfortunate in winds as to be four days on our passage. The 80th landed on the night of the 1st at Gloucester, and the troops which were in transports, on the morning of the 2nd, at this place. I have since brought the 71st and the Legion hither, and sent the regiment du Prince Héréditaire to Gloucester. The works on the Gloucester side are in some forwardness, and I hope in a situation to resist a sudden attack. Brigadier-General O'Hara is hastening as much as possible the evacuation of Portsmouth. As soon as he arrives here, I will send to New York every man that I can spare consistent with the safety and subsistence of the force in this country.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Yorktown, Aug. 16, 1781.

I did not imagine that my letter of the 16th July would have given your Excellency reason to be so sanguine as to hope, that by this time any detachment could have been made from hence. The evacuation of Portsmouth has employed one engineer and a number of labourers and artificers; and with every exertion by land and water, I do not expect that business to be completed before the 21st or 22nd inst.

After our experience of the labour and difficulty of constructing

works at this season of the year, and the plan for fortifying this side not being entirely settled, I cannot at present say whether I can spare any troops, or, if any, how soon. I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Yorktown, Aug. 20, 1781.

Before I resolved to pass James River, to enable me to comply with your requisition of troops, I had very maturely considered the general tenour of your despatches to General Phillips, as well as those of the 11th and 15th June; and when I decided on that measure, I sufficiently felt how mortifying it was to me personally, and how much the reputation of his Majesty's arms would suffer by it in this province.

But your Excellency was pleased to give me to understand in your despatch of the 11th, that you wished to concentrate your force, being threatened with an attack at New York by General Washington, with 20,000 men at least, besides an expected French reinforcement, and the numerous militia of the five neighbouring provinces; and in your despatch of the 15th, supposing that I had not thought it expedient to engage in operations in the Upper Chesapeak, and that those I had undertaken in this province would be finished, you require that part of the troops mentioned in a list contained in the former despatch, should be embarked and sent to New York with all possible despatch, notifying to me at the same time that you would in proper time, solicit the admiral to send more transports to the Chesapeak, in which you desired that I would send the remaining troops that I judged could be spared, as you did not think it advisable to leave more troops in this unhealthy climate at this season of the year than what were absolutely wanted for a defensive, and desultory water excursions.

My own operations being finished, and being of opinion that it would have been dangerous for the King's service to engage in operations in the Upper Chesapeak, I thought it incumbent upon me to obey so explicit an order without loss of time. As I could not discover in any of your instructions or despatches, any earnestness for immediately securing a harbour for line-of-battle ships, I thought myself under the necessity of being contented with the post at Portsmouth such as it was, for I did not consider myself at liberty to exercise my discretionary power by changing that post for another, which would have required so great a part of the troops

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under my command for the purposes of fortifying it, &c., that any plans of yours which depended upon material reinforcement from hence might thereby have been totally frustrated.

My resolution to pass James River was just executed, when I received your despatch of the 28th June, ordering the expedition for the attempt on Philadelphia. That order being likewise positive, unless I was engaged in any important move of my own, or in operations in the Upper Chesapeak, I felt a particular satisfaction that my decision on your first order had enabled me to act so expeditiously with this; and I own that instead of blame, I hoped to have merited approbation.

I was clearly convinced when I received those orders, and I cannot yet see any cause to alter my opinion, that, having a sufficient force remaining for a defensive in the post that I had resolved to occupy, if I had detained the troops required and specified in your list for any other reason than that of being engaged in an important move of my own, or in operations in the Upper Chesapeak, and if in the mean time a misfortune had happened at New York, or you had been disappointed of any material object at Philadelphia, my conduct would have been highly and deservedly censured; but I acknowledge I never apprehended, even though it might afterwards appear that the danger at New York was not imminent, nor the attempt on Philadelphia expedient, that I should be subject to blame for passing James River, a step rendered indispensably necessary by an obedience of your orders, and for the safety of the troops remaining under my command.

Your Excellency, after mentioning your intention of recommencing operations in the Chesapeak about the beginning of October, is pleased to say that you will then determine whether you will act in Virginia according to my plan, or in the Upper Chesapeak according to your own.

It is true that it is my opinion, that while we keep a naval superiority, Virginia is, by its navigable rivers, extremely accessible, and that if we have force to accomplish it, the reduction of the province would be of great advantage to England, on account of the value of its trade—the blow it would be to the Rebels—and as it would contribute to the reduction and quiet of the Carolinas; but in my subordinate situation, being unacquainted with the instructions of Administration, ignorant of the force at your command from other services, and without the power of making the necessary arrangements for execution, I can only offer my opinions for consideration, certainly not as plans; but whatever plan you may think proper to adopt for operations in the Chesapeak, I shall be most

sincerely concerned if your Excellency should be so circumstanced as not to be able to undertake the execution of it in person. If your Excellency should find it necessary to direct me to undertake the execution of any plan that may be fixed upon by you, I shall make the best use in my power of the force put under my command; but as my acting differently from your ideas or wishes might in many instances be attended with great detriment to the King's service, I shall, if employed, hope to be honoured with explicit instructions from your Excellency on all points that will admit of them.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

The affairs of the Rebel Government were at this time in a very precarious state. Of the thirteen provinces, Georgia and New York were almost entirely, and the two Carolinas partially, in the power of the British; and Vermont, as early as the month of May in this year, had shown a strong desire to unite with Canada. In every other province a body of Loyalists, more or less numerous, existed, though kept down by the oppressive conduct of the ruling authorities. It was ascertained from intercepted letters, that the feeding of the American army had become a matter of extreme difficulty. Their navy had ceased to exist, while, even as eighteen-months' men, recruits could hardly be obtained at all for the army, and no reliance could be placed on the militia. The almost unlimited issue of paper-money had so depreciated its value, that the public departments could scarcely effect purchases upon any terms.

Though General Greene had met with some success in the south, Washington felt that under these circumstances the cause must be lost unless some important blow were struck, and this could not be done without assistance from France. Such aid, often promised during the three preceding years, had never been effectually furnished; but at last, on a positive assurance that M. de Grasse[1] was actually on his passage, a plan was arranged for an attack upon New York. This was afterwards abandoned, as M. de Grasse determined to enter the Chesapeak River, which he did on the 30th of August, announcing that he could not remain long on the American coast. Six days later an indecisive action between him and Admiral Graves took place; and at the close of it the British fleet, considerably crippled, sailed for New York.

[1] François Joseph Paul, Comte de Grasse, b. 1723; d. Jan. 11, 1788, unm.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Yorktown, Virginia, Aug. 22, 1781.

Portsmouth having been completely evacuated without any interruption from the enemy, General O'Hara arrived here this day with the stores and troops; and a great number of refugees have accompanied him from the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Princess Anne.

The engineer has finished his survey and examination of this place, and has proposed his plan for fortifying it, which appearing judicious, I have approved of, and directed to be executed.

The works at Gloucester are now in such forwardness, that a smaller detachment than the present garrison would be in safety against a sudden attack; but I make no alteration there, as I cannot hope that the labour of the whole will complete that post in less than five or six weeks.

My experience there of the fatigue and difficulty of constructing works in this warm season, convinces me that all the labour that the troops here will be capable of without ruining their health, will be required at least for six weeks to put the intended works at this place in a tolerable state of defence; and as your Excellency has been pleased to communicate to me your intentions of recommencing operations in the Chesapeak about the beginning of October, I will not venture to take any step that might retard the establishing of this post, but I request that your Excellency will be pleased to decide whether it is more important for your plans that a detachment of 1000 or 1200 men, which I think I can spare from every other purpose but that of labour, should be sent to you from hence, or that the whole of the troops here should be employed in expediting the works.

There being only four 18's and one 24-pounder here, more heavy guns will be wanted for the sea-batteries at this place; and we are likewise in want of many other artillery and engineers' stores, the returns of which I take the liberty to enclose.

It is proper to mention to your Excellency, that you may make your arrangements accordingly, that there are only about 600 stand of spare arms in the Chesapeak; and that our consumption of provisions is considerably increased by a number of refugees lately come to us, and by negroes that are employed in different branches of the public service.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE HON. MAJOR-GENERAL LESLIE.

DEAR LESLIE, York in Virginia, Aug. 27, 1781.

. . . Sir Henry has written to me lately to say that if any part of the troops lately arrived from Europe could be spared from South Carolina, he wished you to send them to New York. I informed him that I should submit it to your opinion, and at the same time said, that as my intercourse with South Carolina was very precarious, and as there could be no co-operation between the troops employed there and at this post, I wished him to transmit any commands he might have for Carolina directly to you. . . .

We are busily employed in fortifying this post, which will be a work of great time and labour, and after all, I fear, not be very strong. Our troops are remarkably healthy for this season.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COMTE DE GRASSE.

MONSIEUR, Yorktown, Sept. 5, 1781.

Ayant appris que mon ami, My Lord Rawdon,[1] est prisonnier sur la flotte commandée par votre Excellence, et étant extrêmement intéressé de recevoir des nouvelles certaines de l'état de sa santé, j'ai pris la liberté de m'adresser à votre Excellence, pour la permission d'avoir une réponse à ma lettre.

Un enseigne de vaisseau, un volontaire, et un caporal de vos troupes ayant tombés entre les mains de nos patrouilles, je les ai renvoyés, vous priant d'avoir la bonté de me rendre trois prisonniers Anglais de rangs égaux. J'ai l'honneur, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Yorktown, Sept. 8, 1781.

I have made several attempts to inform your Excellency that the French West India Fleet, under M. de Grasse, entered the Capes the 29th ult. I could not exactly learn their number—they report twenty-five or twenty-six sail of the line. One of 74, two of 64, and one frigate lie at the mouth of this river.

The French troops landed at James Town are said to be 3800

[1] Lord Rawdon had taken his passage to England on board a packet, which was captured by a French cruiser.

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men. Washington is said to be shortly expected, and his troops are intended to be brought by water from the Head of Elk, under protection of the French ships. The Marquis de la Fayette is at or near Williamsburg. The French troops are expected there, but were not arrived last night. As my works were not in a state of defence, I have taken a strong position out of the town. I am now working hard at the redoubts of the place. Provisions for six weeks. I will be very careful of it. I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

LE COMTE DE GRASSE TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MONSIEUR, A bord du Vaisseau la Ville de Paris, le 15 Sept. 1781.

J'ai reçu la lettre que votre Excellence a eu la bonté de m'écrire, où étoit jointe celle du Lord Rawdon: je la lui ferai remettre au moment qu'il sera en mon pouvoir, et j'enverrai tout de suite tranquilliser votre Excellence sur la santé de cet ami. Le bâtiment sur lequel est le Lord n'est pas actuellement sous mon pavillon, mais sous peu de jours il sera rejoint. Si votre Excellence veut ajouter quelque foy à ce que j'ai l'honneur de lui mander, je l'assurerai que le Lord est en bonne santé, ainsi que tout ce qui l'accompagne, et qu'il ne se trouve pas mal d'être avec nous, malgré le désir qu'il a de retourner dans sa patrie, pour rétablir sa santé, qu'il dit avoir besoin de repos, quoique sa physionomie trompeuse le dément. J'ai l'honneur, &c.,

LE COMTE DE GRASSE.[1]

SIR HENRY CLINTON TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, New York, Sept. 6, 1781.

As I find by your letters that De Grasse has got into the Chesapeak, and I can have no doubt that Washington is moving with at least 6000 French and Rebel troops against you, I think the best way to relieve you is to join you as soon as possible, with all the force that can be spared from hence, which is about 4000 men. They are already embarked, and will proceed the instant I receive information from the Admiral that we may venture, and that from other intelligence the Commodore and I shall judge sufficient to move upon.

[1] The Comte de Grasse and this very ship, the 'Ville de Paris,' were taken in Lord Rodney's action of the 12th April. Though he would not strike till fired upon by Sir Samuel Hood in the 'Barfleur,' his ship was disabled and practically captured by the 'Canada,' Captain Cornwallis.

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I beg your Lordship will let me know as soon as possible your ideas how the troops embarked for the Chesapeak may be best employed for your relief, according to the state of circumstances when you receive this letter. I shall not however wait to receive your answer, should I hear, in the mean time, that the passage is open.

I have, &c.,

H. CLINTON.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Yorktown, Virginia, Sept. 16, 1781.

I have received your letters of the 2nd and 6th. The enemy's fleet has returned. Two line-of-battle ships and one frigate lie at the mouth of this river, and three or four line-of-battle ships, several frigates and transports, went up the Bay on the 12th and 14th. I hear Washington arrived at Williamsburg on the 14th. Some of his troops embarked at Head of Elk, and the others arrived at Baltimore on the 12th.

If I had no hopes of relief I would rather risk an action than defend my half-finished works. But as you say Admiral Digby[1] is hourly expected, and promise every exertion to assist me, I do not think myself justifiable in putting the fate of the war on so desperate an attempt.

By examining the transports and turning out useless mouths, my provisions will last at least six weeks from this day, if we can preserve them from accidents. The cavalry must, I fear, be all lost. I am of opinion that you can do me no effectual service but by coming directly to this place.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

17th September.

I am just informed that since the Rhode Island squadron has joined, they have thirty-six sail of the line. This place is in no state of defence. If you cannot relieve me very soon, you must be prepared to hear the worst.

[1] Rear-Admiral Robert Digby, afterwards Admiral of the Red, grandson of William, 5th Lord Digby, and brother of Edward, 6th Lord, and of Henry, 7th Lord and 1st Earl Digby; b. Dec. 20, 1732, d. Feb. 25, 1815; m. Aug. 19, 1784, Eleanor, dau. of Andrew Elliot, Esq., Lieut.-Governor of New York, and widow of —— Jauncy, Esq. Groom of the Bedchamber from 1784 to 1806. M.P. for Wells from Dec. 1757 to March, 1761.

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SIR HENRY CLINTON TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, New York, Sept. 24, 1781.

At a meeting of the General and Flag Officers, held this day, it is determined that about 5000 men, rank and file, shall be embarked aboard the King's ships, and the joint exertions of the navy and army made in a few days to relieve you and afterwards co-operate with you.

The fleet consists of twenty-three sail of the line, three of which are 3-deckers. There is every reason to hope we start from hence the 5th October.

I have, &c.,

H. CLINTON.

P.S.—Admiral Digby is this moment arrived at the Hook with three sail of the line.

The council of war was attended by five General and four Flag Officers. Sir Henry Clinton said that it was the unanimous opinion of the General Officers, that Lord Cornwallis's situation required the most speedy assistance, and that the only probable means to relieve him appeared to be a direct movement of the fleet and army to the Chesapeak; and if a junction with him could be effected, that the fleet should remain in that river. That as the loss of Lord Cornwallis's corps would be attended with the most fatal consequences, no time should be lost in attempting to relieve him, even at some risk.

It was proposed, and the question put and agreed to—That the troops, &c., designed and held in readiness for this service should (when the fleet was refitted) be put on board the King's ships, and the whole afterwards proceed to the Chesapeak, and endeavour by every means in their power to form a junction with Lord Cornwallis's army.

The omission of the word "unanimous" in the decision of the council of war, leads to the inference that there was not the same unanimity of opinion, as is stated to have existed in the previous meeting of General Officers.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Yorktown, Sept. 29, 1781.

I have ventured these two last days to look General Washington's whole force in the face, in the position on the outside of my works; and I have the pleasure to assure your Excellency that

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there was but one wish throughout the whole army, which was that the enemy would advance.

I have this evening received your letter of the 24th, which has given me the greatest satisfaction. I shall retire this night within the works, and have no doubt, if relief arrives in any reasonable time, York and Gloucester will be both in possession of his Majesty's troops.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

HON. H. BRODRICK TO THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS TOWNSHEND.

MY DEAR SIR, New York, Sept. 30, 1781.

We arrived at this place a few days ago, after a very long passage, but with remarkably fine weather the whole time, and found things here in a most critical situation. You will have heard of Graves's action with the French fleet, since which the French have been joined by their Rhode Island squadron, consisting of eight ships of the line, and our intelligence was such that at the time of the action it was not known whether those ships composed part of the fleet or not. They now amount to thirty-six sail of the line, including two 50's in the Chesapeak, where they remain to prevent any communication or supplies going to Lord Cornwallis. Our fleet consists of twenty-three sail of the line and two 50's; one more 50-gun ship is expected here from Halifax, and two sail of the line from the West Indies; but the arrival of the latter must be very precarious, as their rendezvous is in Lynhaven Bay in the Chesapeak, and unless they fell in with some of our cruisers, they will probably be taken by the French, being very heavy sailers; so that the utmost we can depend upon is twenty-six sail of the line, including three 50's, and some of these so damaged in the last action, that they will not be ready for sea for some time, and even then in very bad condition. Such is the state of things at sea, and I do not think the appearance of affairs on shore much better. Indeed they are so much connected with one another, that it is not easy to separate them. Lord Cornwallis is at Yorktown, upon York River in Virginia, and is in possession of Gloucester, on the opposite side of the river. I understand they are both very strong posts. He has with him about 5000 as fine troops as any in the world, with the seamen and guns of the 'Charon' of 44, and 'Guadaloupe' of 28 guns, and the crews of some transports, in all about 1200 seamen. Washington is at Williamsburg, twelve miles from York, with about 20,000 men: 8000 French troops, 6000 Continentals, and the rest Virginia militia. We receive letters every

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now and then from Lord Cornwallis by small vessels, which pass the French fleet in the night. By the last he says he can hold out to the middle of November; he is not afraid of their attacking him, but unless he is relieved by that time, he will be reduced to lay down his arms for want of provisions, so that it is reduced to this alternative—either to risk an action at sea against a force infinitely superior, or to suffer a very fine army to lay down their arms without firing a shot.

There have been frequent councils of war held here lately, and it was at one time determined to put a number of troops on board the men of war, and try to open the communication, which must, of course, bring on an action between the two fleets. Sir S. Hood[1] and General Robertson,[2] I hear, are the only officers who press that strongly; the others are very cool about it, particularly Graves. If this takes place, Sir Henry Clinton means to go with the troops.

Why Washington was suffered to carry to the southward any part of the force he had in this country, is, I own, beyond my comprehension. Before he crossed the North River, he came with about 8000 or 9000 men, French and Americans, and took post within ten miles of our lines at Kingsbridge; he was suffered to stay there above three weeks, and even sent an advanced guard of 2000 men within sight of our works, where they stayed two days, and no kind of attempt was made to attack them, though we could at any time have spared 10,000 men from this place; but Sir Henry Clinton was so afraid of being attacked here, that he sent repeated letters to Lord Cornwallis to send him troops from Virginia. After all, if Lord Cornwallis should fail, it will be owing entirely to his having trusted too much to promises of timely support from hence, since, if he had been left at liberty, he could have retired into North Carolina, and probably given La Fayette a blow in his way. In short, everybody here is very desponding and very much out of humour. The only subject of conversation is the unpleasant situation of our friends to the southward, having nothing to trust to but the spirited exertions of Lord Cornwallis, who is fortunate in having some of the best officers in the army to assist him. Poor Captain Cornwallis, as you may easily suppose, is very

[1] Sir Samuel Hood, afterwards Admiral of the Red, K.B.; created Lord Hood in Ireland Sept. 12, 1782, and Viscount Hood in England June 1, 1796; b. Dec. 12, 1724, d. Jan. 27, 1816; m. Aug. 25, 1749, Susanna, dau. of Edward Lindzee, Esq., of Portsmouth. A Lord of the Admiralty from July, 1788, to March, 1795. M.P. for Westminster, May, 1784, to July, 1788; then for Reigate till the dissolution; and then for Westminster again to 1796. His first election was the celebrated contest of Hood, Fox, and Wray.

[2] Major-General, afterwards Lieut.-General James Robertson, Colonel 16th Regiment; d. March, 1788.

anxious, and abuses the navy very much for their unnecessary delays. I am afraid you must be tired with this long, desponding, unconnected scrawl, and shall therefore conclude, hoping to send you better news by the next letter. Pray give my best love to Mrs. Townshend[1] and all your family, and believe me,

Ever yours most affectionately,

H. BRODRICK.

SIR HENRY CLINTON TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Oct. 2.]

MY LORD, New York, Sept. 25, 1781.

It is supposed the necessary repairs of the fleet will detain us here to the 5th Oct., and your Lordship must be sensible that unforeseen accidents may lengthen it out a day or two longer. I therefore entreat you to lose no time in letting me know by the bearer your real situation, and your opinion how upon our arrival we can best act to form a junction with you.

I have, &c.,

H. CLINTON.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Yorktown, Oct. 3, 1781.

I received your letter of the 25th of Sept. last night. The enemy are encamped about two miles from us. On the night of the 30th September they broke ground, and made two redoubts about 1100 yards from our works, which, with some works that had been constructed to secure our exterior position, occupy a gorge between two creeks, which nearly embrace this post. They have finished these redoubts, and I expect they will go on with their works this night. From the time the enemy have given us, and the uncommon exertions of the troops, our works are in a better state of defence than we had reason to hope.

I can see no means of forming a junction with me but by York River, and I do not think that any diversion would be of use to us. Our accounts of the French fleet have in general been that they were thirty-five or thirty-six sail of the line.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Elizabeth, dau. and coheir of Richard Powys, Esq., of Hintlesham, wife of the Right Hon. Thomas Townshend, afterwards 1st Viscount Sydney. She was b. 1736, d. May 1, 1826.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Yorktown, Oct. 11, 1781.

Cochrane[1] arrived yesterday. I have only to repeat what I said in my letter of the 3rd, that nothing but a direct move to York River, which includes a successful naval action, can save me. On the evening of the 9th the enemy opened their batteries, and have since continued firing without intermission with about forty pieces of cannon, mostly heavy, and sixteen mortars from eight to sixteen inches. We have lost about seventy men, and many of our works are seriously damaged. With such works, on disadvantageous ground, against so powerful an attack, we cannot hope to make a very long resistance.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

P.S. Since my letter was written we have lost ninety men.

Oct. 12, 7 P.M.—Last night the enemy made their second parallel within 300 yards. We continue to lose men very fast.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Yorktown, Oct. 15, 1781.

Last evening the enemy carried my two advanced redoubts on the left by storm, and during the night have included them in the second parallel, which they are at present busy in perfecting. My situation here becomes very critical; we dare not show a gun to their old batteries, and I expect their new ones will open to-morrow morning. Experience has shown that our fresh earthen works do not resist their powerful artillery, so that we shall soon be exposed to an assault in ruined works, in a bad position, and with weakened numbers. The safety of the place is therefore so precarious, that I cannot recommend that the fleet and army should run great risk in endeavouring to save us.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

On the 17th Lord Cornwallis, having failed in his attempt to escape by crossing to Gloucester, was compelled to propose a

[1] Major the Hon. Charles Cochrane, son of Thomas, 8th Earl of Dundonald, b. Jan. 23, 1749, killed by a cannon ball Oct. 17, 1781, two days before the surrender of Yorktown, while standing next to Lord Cornwallis; m. Catherine, dau. of Major Pitcairn of the Marines. He brought a letter from Sir H. Clinton, dated Sept. 30, saying he could not sail before Oct. 12; that he would persist in his attempt to relieve him till the middle of November, and that if he could not do it by a direct move, he would make an attempt on Philadelphia.

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surrender. The sick and wounded were very numerous, as appears by

THE MORNING STATE, OCT. 18, 1781, OF THE TROOPS AT YORK AND GLOUCESTER.

Officers:—Fit for duty and sick	363
Non-commissioned Officers and Rank and File:—Fit for duty	4541
Sick and wounded	2089

The ammunition for the artillery was exhausted, and the works were crumbling to pieces. He vainly endeavoured to protect the Loyalists by a special article; but Washington consented to allow the 'Bonetta' sloop of war to pass unexamined to New York, and those who were most obnoxious thus escaped. What would have been their fate may be inferred from the subjoined letter from Governor Nelson.[1] The capitulation was signed on the 19th, and will, together with the despatch covering it, be found in the Appendix.

The conduct of the two victorious armies was very different. By the French the English were received with every mark of civility, and it was observed that salutes were universally exchanged between them, while such marks of courtesy were almost totally omitted by the Americans.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

York, in Virginia, Oct. 17, 1781.—*See* Appendix, No. 9.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

Camp before York, Oct. 17, 1781.—*See* Appendix, No. 10.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

York, in Virginia, Oct. 17, 1781.—*See* Appendix, No. 11.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

Camp before York, Oct. 18, 1781.—*See* Appendix, No. 12.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Oct. 18, 1781.—*See* Appendix, No. 13.

COPY OF ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION.

Oct. 19, 1781.—*See* Appendix, No. 14.

[1] Thomas Nelson, Governor of Virginia, b. Dec. 26, 1738, d. Jan. 4, 1789; m. Aug. 1762, Lucy, dau. of Philip Grymes, Esq. His grandfather founded Yorktown, and left a considerable estate, which Governor Nelson mortgaged to raise money for the service of the Rebels, but he was never repaid.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Yorktown, Virginia, Oct. 20, 1781.

I have the mortification to inform your Excellency that I have been forced to give up the posts of York and Gloucester, and to surrender the troops under my command, by capitulation, on the 19th instant, as prisoners of war to the combined forces of America and France.

I never saw this post in a very favourable light, but when I found I was to be attacked in it in so unprepared a state, by so powerful an army and artillery, nothing but the hopes of relief would have induced me to attempt its defence, for I would either have endeavoured to escape to New York by rapid marches from the Gloucester side, immediately on the arrival of General Washington's troops at Williamsburg, or I would, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, have attacked them in the open field, where it might have been just possible that fortune would have favoured the gallantry of the handful of troops under my command, but being assured by your Excellency's letters that every possible means would be tried by the navy and army to relieve us, I could not think myself at liberty to venture upon either of those desperate attempts; therefore, after remaining for two days in a strong position in front of this place in hopes of being attacked, upon observing that the enemy were taking measures which could not fail of turning my left flank in a short time, and receiving on the second evening your letter of the 24th of September, informing me that the relief would sail about the 5th of October, I withdrew within the works on the night of the 29th of September, hoping by the labour and firmness of the soldiers to protract the defence until you could arrive. Everything was to be expected from the spirit of the troops, but every disadvantage attended their labour, as the works were to be continued under the enemy's fire, and our stock of intrenching tools, which did not much exceed 400 when we began to work in the latter end of August, was now much diminished.

The enemy broke ground on the night of the 30th, and constructed on that night, and the two following days and nights, two redoubts, which, with some works that had belonged to our outward position, occupied a gorge between two creeks or ravines, which come from the river on each side of the town. On the night of the 6th of October they made their first parallel, extending from its right on the river, to a deep ravine on the left, nearly opposite to the centre of this place, and embracing our whole left at a dis-

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tance of 600 yards. Having perfected this parallel, their batteries opened on the evening of the 9th against our left, and other batteries fired at the same time against a redoubt advanced over the creek upon our right, and defended by about 120 men of the 23rd Regiment and marines, who maintained that post with uncommon gallantry. The fire continued incessant from heavy cannon, and from mortars and howitzers throwing shells from 8 to 16 inches, until all our guns on the left were silenced, our work much damaged, and our loss of men considerable. On the night of the 11th they began their second parallel, about 300 yards nearer to us. The troops being much weakened by sickness, as well as by the fire of the besiegers, and observing that the enemy had not only secured their flanks, but proceeded in every respect with the utmost regularity and caution, I could not venture so large sorties as to hope from them any considerable effect, but otherwise, I did everything in my power to interrupt this work by opening new embrasures for guns and keeping up a constant fire from all the howitzers and small mortars that we could man. On the evening of the 14th they assaulted and carried two redoubts that had been advanced about 300 yards for the purpose of delaying their approaches, and covering our left flank, and during the night included them in their second parallel, on which they continued to work with the utmost exertion. Being perfectly sensible that our works could not stand many hours after the opening of the batteries of that parallel, we not only continued a constant fire with all our mortars and every gun that could be brought to bear upon it, but a little before daybreak on the morning of the 16th, I ordered a sortie of about 350 men, under the direction of Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie, to attack two batteries which appeared to be in the greatest forwardness, and to spike the guns. A detachment of Guards with the 80th company of Grenadiers, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Lake, attacked the one, and one of light infantry, under the command of Major Armstrong, attacked the other, and both succeeded in forcing the redoubts that covered them, spiking 11 guns, and killing or wounding about 100 of the French troops, who had the guard of that part of the trenches, and with little loss on our side. This action, though extremely honourable to the officers and soldiers who executed it, proved of little public advantage, for the cannon having been spiked in a hurry, were soon rendered fit for service again, and before dark the whole parallel and batteries appeared to be nearly complete. At this time we knew that there was no part of the whole front attacked on which we could show a single gun, and our shells were nearly expended.

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I, therefore, had only to choose between preparing to surrender next day, or endeavouring to get off with the greatest part of the troops, and I determined to attempt the latter, reflecting that, though it should prove unsuccessful in its immediate object, it might at least delay the enemy in the prosecution of further enterprises. Sixteen large boats were prepared, and upon other pretexts were ordered to be in readiness to receive troops precisely at 10 o'clock. With these I hoped to pass the infantry during the night, abandoning our baggage, and leaving a detachment to capitulate for the townspeople, and the sick and wounded, on which subject a letter was ready to be delivered to General Washington. After making my arrangements with the utmost secrecy, the light infantry, greatest part of the Guards, and part of the 23rd Regiment, landed at Gloucester; but at this critical moment the weather, from being moderate and calm, changed to a most violent storm of wind and rain, and drove all the boats, some of which had troops on board, down the river. It was soon evident that the intended passage was impracticable, and the absence of the boats rendered it equally impossible to bring back the troops that had passed, which I had ordered about two in the morning. In this situation, with my little force divided, the enemy's batteries opened at daybreak. The passage between this place and Gloucester was much exposed, but the boats having now returned, they were ordered to bring back the troops that had passed during the night, and they joined us in the forenoon without much loss. Our works, in the mean time, were going to ruin, and not having been able to strengthen them by an abattis, nor in any other manner but by a slight fraizing, which the enemy's artillery were demolishing wherever they fired, my opinion entirely coincided with that of the engineer and principal officers of the army, that they were in many places assailable in the forenoon, and that by the continuance of the same fire for a few hours longer, they would be in such a state as to render it desperate, with our numbers, to attempt to maintain them. We at that time could not fire a single gun; only one 8-inch and little more than 100 Cohorn shells remained. A diversion by the French ships of war that lay at the mouth of York River was to be expected. Our numbers had been diminished by the enemy's fire, but particularly by sickness, and the strength and spirits of those in the works were much exhausted, by the fatigue of constant watching and unremitting duty. Under all these circumstances, I thought it would have been wanton and inhuman to the last degree to sacrifice the lives of this small body

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of gallant soldiers, who had ever behaved with so much fidelity and courage, by exposing them to an assault which, from the numbers and precautions of the enemy, could not fail to succeed. I therefore proposed to capitulate; and I have the honour to enclose to your Excellency the copy of the correspondence between General Washington and me on that subject, and the terms of capitulation agreed upon. I sincerely lament that better could not be obtained, but I have neglected nothing in my power to alleviate the misfortune and distress of both officers and soldiers. The men are well clothed and provided with necessaries, and I trust will be regularly supplied by the means of the officers that are permitted to remain with them. The treatment, in general, that we have received from the enemy since our surrender has been perfectly good and proper, but the kindness and attention that has been shown to us by the French officers in particular—their delicate sensibility of our situation—their generous and pressing offer of money, both public and private, to any amount—has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every British officer, whenever the fortune of war should put any of them into our power.

Although the event has been so unfortunate, the patience of the soldiers in bearing the greatest fatigues, and their firmness and intrepidity under a persevering fire of shot and shells that, I believe, has not often been exceeded, deserved the highest admiration and praise. A successful defence, however, in our situation was, perhaps, impossible, for the place could only be reckoned an intrenched camp, subject in most places to enfilade, and the ground in general so disadvantageous that nothing but the necessity of fortifying it as a post to protect the navy, could have induced any person to erect works upon it. Our force diminished daily by sickness and other losses, and was reduced, when we offered to capitulate, on this side to little more than 3200 rank and file fit for duty, including officers, servants, and artificers; and at Gloucester about 600, including cavalry. The enemy's army consisted of upwards of 8000 French, nearly as many continentals, and 5000 militia. They brought an immense train of heavy artillery, most amply furnished with ammunition, and perfectly well manned.

The constant and universal cheerfulness and spirit of the officers in all hardships and danger deserve my warmest acknowledgments; and I have been particularly indebted to Brigadier-General O'Hara and to Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie, the former commanding on the right and the latter on the left, for their attention and exertion on every occasion. The detachment of the 23rd Regiment and of

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marines in the redoubt on the right, commanded by Captain Apthorpe, and the subsequent detachments, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Johnson, deserve particular commendation. Captain Rochfort, who commanded the artillery, and, indeed, every officer and soldier of that distinguished corps, and Lieutenant Sutherland, the commanding engineer, have merited in every respect my highest approbation; and I cannot sufficiently acknowledge my obligations to Captain Symonds, who commanded His Majesty's ships, and to the other officers and seamen of the navy for their active and zealous co-operation.

I transmit returns of our killed and wounded. The loss of seamen and townspeople was likewise considerable.

I trust that your Excellency will please to hasten the return of the 'Bonetta' after landing her passengers, in compliance with the article of capitulation.

Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie will have the honour to deliver this despatch, and is well qualified to explain to your Excellency every particular relating to our past and present situation.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

GOVERNOR NELSON TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, Oct. 21, 1781.

I have received your verbal message respecting two citizens of this state, the Rev. Mr. William Andrews and the Rev. Mr. Harrison, who joined the British army after its arrival here, and who are now delivered up into the hands of the civil power. The laws of this country have fixed the mode of proceeding against persons guilty of such conduct, and we are ignorant of any power which has a right to supersede their force. By these laws, enacted by their own representatives, they shall be fairly and impartially tried, and they must abide their sentence.

I am informed that Lieut.-Colonel Simcoe has refused to deliver up a certain Christopher Robinson, who now bears a commission in his corps, but who deserted from the actual service of the state. The articles of capitulation cannot justify this detention, and I shall by no means acquiesce in it. It is my wish to treat those men whom the fortune of war has put into our power with that civility which their situation claims, and it would give me pain to be constrained in any instance to act in a different manner. Your Lordship, in the case under consideration, has, I imagine, the power

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of preventing it, and I flatter myself you will at once see the propriety of exercising this power.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

THOS. NELSON, JUNIOR.

THE VICOMTE DE NOAILLES TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

Au Camp à York, le 27 Oct.

Le Vicomte de Noailles[1] a l'honneur d'envoyer à Milord Cornwallis le second volume du dernier ouvrage de M. Guibert.[2] Ce livre traite des grandes parties de la guerre, et Milord a, plus que personne, le droit d'apprécier son auteur. Le Vicomte de Noailles prie My Lord Cornwallis de vouloir bien ne pas le prêter: l'état dans lequel est ce livre lui prouvera qu'il ne devoit jamais être confié à qui que ce soit. Le Vicomte de Noailles espère que My Lord voudra bien recevoir avec bonté l'assurance de son respectueux attachement.

——[3] TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MILORD, A bord de l'Expériment, le 21 Oct. 1781, en rade de York.

Vous désirez une garde au bord de votre parlementaire, pour empêcher les Américains d'aller y troubler vos opérations. Je viens, d'après votre demande, transmise par M. de ——,[3] d'ordonner une garde de 4 hommes et un caporal pour s'y transmettre, et prendre la consigne de l'officier qu'il y trouvera de votre part, et qui fera connaître ceux qui doivent aborder ou non. Veuillez bien leur faire donner un emplacement pour se coucher; j'ay fait pourvoir à leur nourriture.

J'ai l'honneur de vous le répéter, Milord, je seray toujours empressé de saisir les occasions où je pourray vous prouver qu'on ne peut ajouter au respect avec lequel j'ay l'honneur d'être,

Milord,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

——[3]

[1] Louis Marie, Vicomte de Noailles, son of the Maréchal de Mouchy, b. April 17, 1756, d. Jan. 9, 1804, of wounds received a few days before in an action with an English ship; m. Sept. 19, 1773, Anne Louise de Noailles, dau. of Louis Paul, Duc d'Ayen, afterwards Duc de Noailles, and sister of Madame de la Fayette. Though M. de Noailles was an ardent follower of Mirabeau, his wife was guillotined, and he was obliged to emigrate. After his return to France he went, in 1803, to St. Domingo.

[2] Jacques Antoine Hippolite, Comte de Guibert, a Maréchal-de-Camp; b. Nov. 12, 1743, d. May 6, 1790; m. Mad[lle] de Courcelles. Besides his military works, on which his reputation is founded, he was the author of several plays.

[3] The name in each place is illegible.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

SIR, York, Oct. 27, 1781.

Many of our officers having repeated their representations to me that they apprehend that they lose the benefit of the capitulation on that head by signing their paroles in the form proposed by your commissary of prisoners, I am under the necessity of requesting that you will be pleased to reconsider that subject. I think it will appear to your Excellency that if they are to be subject to be recalled without substantial and previously specified reasons, their situation will be no better than that of officers on parole by indulgence from captors to whom they had surrendered without making any terms. I take the liberty of enclosing a form of parole which we intended to offer, and which I thought would have satisfied you as being conformable to the capitulation. But I am by no means tenacious of this form, and shall be contented if you will be pleased to order to be specified in the paroles the reasons consistent with the capitulation that will subject officers to recall, that their situation may be more precisely defined.

I have the honour, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, Camp near York, Oct. 27, 1781.

In answer to your Lordship's letter of this date, I can only express my surprise that any of your officers object to a clause which is essential to every parole, and repeat that, however inclined I am to comply with your Lordship's wishes, I find myself in the impossibility of doing so on the present occasion.

I request therefore that your Lordship will be pleased to communicate my final determination to the gentlemen who have made difficulties on the subject, and exhort them to sign the form of parole which has already been adopted, if they are desirous of going to New York and Europe.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

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LIEUT.-COLONEL LAURENS[1] TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, Camp before York, Nov. 5, 1781.

I accompanied General Washington on his visit of leave, in order to have a more particular conversation on the subject which your Lordship did me the honour to propose by Major Ross. That gentleman will have explained the public reasons that oppose my wishes. I am nevertheless inclined to believe that Congress will consent to the exchange which we have in view. If your Lordship therefore agrees to take measures on your part, I will endeavour to have an official letter sent into New York previous to your departure for Europe.

I entreat your Lordship to accept my best wishes, and the sentiments of respect with which I have the honour to be

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN LAURENS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL LAURENS.

SIR, New York, Nov. 25, 1781.

I am very sorry that I had left York before General Washington and yourself did me the honour to call at my quarters. I this day received by Lieut.-Colonel Dundas[2] your letter. If you will procure an official letter to be sent to me saying that I am at liberty as soon as Mr. Laurens[3] is released in exchange for me, I will, on my arrival in England, take every measure in my power to forward that business.

I beg you will accept my acknowledgments for your civility and attention to me and the other British officers, and believe me to be with great esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Lieut.-Colonel John Laurens, son of Henry Laurens, the President of Congress; b. 1753, killed in action near Combahee River, South Carolina, Aug. 27, 1782; m. in London about 1775.

[2] Lieut.-Colonel, afterwards Major-General Thomas Dundas, of Fingask, b. 1750, d. June 3, 1794; m. Jan. 9, 1784, Eleanor, dau. of Alexander, 9th Earl of Home. M.P. for Orkney from Dec. 1770 to July, 1780, and from May, 1784, to June, 1790.

[3] Henry Laurens, President of Congress, descended from a family of French refugees; b. 1723, d. Feb. 17, 1793: m. a dau. of —— Shippen, Esq., of Philadelphia, a collateral relation of William Shippen, the well-known Jacobite M.P. Mr. Laurens was captured on board the 'Mercury' packet, Sept. 10, 1780, while on his passage to Europe to negotiate a treaty with Holland, and was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason, Oct. 6. It was a singular coincidence that he was technically in the custody of Lord Cornwallis, who was then Constable of the Tower.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.[1]

MONSIEUR, New York, le 25 Nov. 1781.

Après un trajet très désagréable, je suis arrivé ici le 19 de ce mois.

L'Amiral Digby a eu la bonté de promettre de faire partir le 'Bonetta,' sans perte de temps, et d'envoyer à son bord tous les Français qui sont à présent prisonniers ici. Un nombre suffisant de prisonniers Américains seront envoyés pour le naviguer, et seront chargés de vous livrer les autres parlementaires le plutôt qu'il sera possible: et si ce nombre n'égale pas le nombre des nôtres qui arrivent dans ces parlementaires, l'Amiral se tiendra responsable de vous rendre compte du reste, à votre satisfaction. Le parlementaire nommé 'le Cochran' fera voile sous peu de jours; celui nommé 'l'Andrew' n'arriva que hier, mais, ayant fait eau dangereusement dans deux places, ne peut pas sortir avant d'être réparé, et nous n'avons pas encore reçu des nouvelles de celui nommé 'le Lord Mulgrave.'

Le Capitaine Dundas se charge de quelques Fromages et de Porter Anglais, que je vous prie de me faire l'honneur d'agréer.

C'est avec les sentimens de la plus vive reconnaissance, qui ne seront jamais effacés, que je présente à votre Excellence mes très humbles remercimens pour toutes vos bontés et politesses; il me fera le plaisir le plus sensible de saisir toutes les occasions qui pourront se présenter de montrer la considération et l'estime la plus parfaite avec lequel, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

NOTE.—Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, in his 'Memoirs,' gives a very graphic account of his dining with Lord George Germain, on Sunday, November 25, where he says he heard the account of the surrender of Yorktown. He states that despatches from Sir Henry Clinton reached London at noon that day, and were immediately forwarded by Lord George Germain to the King: that during dinner the King's reply arrived, and Lord George then gave the despatch to Wraxall to read out, saying, "The army has surrendered, and you may peruse the particulars of the capitulation in that paper." The despatch (No. 145, dated "London, off Chesapeak, Oct. 29, 1781") did not reach London till midnight (it is so marked on the back of the letter), and is to the following effect:—That he, Sir Henry Clinton, sailed from Sandy Hook Oct. 19, arrived off Cape Clear October 24, where he heard from some persons who had escaped from Yorktown that on the 17th Lord Cornwallis had proposed to capitulate; and that as no firing had been subse-

[1] Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau, Commander-in-Chief of the French army, b. July 1, 1725, d. May 10, 1807; m. 1749, Mad^lle Telles d'Acosta, who survived him, and attained nearly the age of 100. Early in the Revolution he joined the Liberal party, but during the Reign of Terror he was condemned to death, and was only saved by the fall of Robespierre.

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quently heard, he feared the rumour must be true. To this letter Lord George Germain replied as follows:—

SIR, Downing Street, Dec. 3, 1781.

The mortifying intelligence contained in your No. 145 effectually damped every hope I had entertained of Lord Cornwallis's preservation, and of a successful and brilliant conclusion of the campaign. I wait with impatience for your next despatches, as we have at present no particulars of the unfortunate event but those the French have published. As soon as they arrive I shall receive his Majesty's commands upon the future measures to be pursued. I am, &c.,

GEO. GERMAIN.

It is therefore quite clear that Wraxall's statement is incorrect. Probably some conversation took place at dinner with reference to a "Supplement to the French Gazette," published in France and dated Nov. 20. This did reach Lord George in the course of Sunday the 25th, and contained "Substance of a Journal of the operations of the French corps under the command of the Comte de Rochambeau."

Lord Cornwallis arrived at New York November 19, and a controversy immediately arose between him and Sir Henry Clinton. Three questions came under discussion: 1st. The policy of the march into Virginia; 2nd. Whether Sir Henry had not ordered Lord Cornwallis to fortify some post on the Chesapeak, leaving him little or no discretion except as to the selection of the place; 3rd. Whether the promises of relief held out justified Lord Cornwallis in standing a siege. The printed despatches explain Lord Cornwallis's reasons for considering the invasion of Virginia, the only course which could be productive of advantage. He was obliged to act constantly on his own judgment, as communications with the North were extremely precarious; and when he did receive instructions from Sir Henry, they were often not very clear, and sometimes very contradictory.

It is not easy to understand what objections Sir Henry Clinton entertained to the march, except his desire to recall a large portion of the southern army to the North. Yet at the very time he was making requisitions upon Lord Cornwallis for this purpose, and condemning the plans he was pursuing, he detached General Arnold, and afterwards General Phillips, to Virginia, to endeavour to cripple the enemy by rendering their possession of the province useless, and to harass them with "*desultory incursions*,"—always a favourite idea of Sir Henry's.

With reference to the occupation of some post on the Chesapeak, nothing can be more decisive than the despatches of the Commander-in-Chief, who wrote on the 8th of July, and again on the 11th, to order that some position should be selected which would afford protection to ships of the line. In the latter despatch

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Lord Cornwallis is directed "without loss of time to examine Old Point Comfort, and fortify it. But if it should be your Lordship's opinion that Old Point Comfort cannot be held without having possession of York, for in this case Gloucester may perhaps be not so material, and that the whole cannot be done with less than 7000 men, you are at full liberty to detain all the troops in the Chesapeak, which I believe will amount to somewhat more than that number, which very liberal concession will, I am persuaded, convince your Lordship of the high estimation in which I hold a naval station in the Chesapeak. . . . Until the season for recommencing operations in the Chesapeak shall return, your Lordship, or whoever remains in the command there, must, I fear, be content with a strict defensive, and I must desire that you will be pleased to consider this as a positive requisition to you, not to detain a greater proportion of the troops now with you than what may be absolutely necessary for defensive operations, &c., as before mentioned. When, therefore, your Lordship has finally determined upon the force you think sufficient for such works as you shall erect at Old Point Comfort, and the number you judge requisite to cover them at Yorktown, you will be pleased to send me the remainder."

This letter was considered by Lord Cornwallis as rendering the selection of some post on the Chesapeak imperative; and it must be remarked that when he wrote it, Sir Henry knew that the troops destined to take part in the expedition against Philadelphia had actually embarked. He must also have been aware that after the detachments he required had sailed for the North, there would, even on his own calculations (and he always persisted in overrating the strength of the southern army), remain but a small force available for operations in the field, allowing none for garrisons. The number would in fact have fallen short of 4000 men.

Nothing therefore, but some well fortified post, could shelter this weak corps and protect the navy. Lord Cornwallis conceiving that no choice was left to him on this point, took possession of Yorktown and Gloucester, as they were unanimously pronounced by the Engineers and the officers of the Navy who were consulted, to be the least objectionable places that could be selected, though even they were far from being really eligible.

With reference to the relief of Yorktown, there can be no doubt that Sir Henry fully intended to perform what he had promised, and to whom the blame of the delay should be attributed, it is not easy to say. On the 25th of September Lord Cornwallis was assured that the fleet would sail on the 5th of October, or possibly a

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day or two later; and the intelligence he received by Major Cochrane on the 10th of October, gave him every reason to expect relief from day to day; but the fleet did not in fact quit New York till the 19th (the very day of the capitulation), nor arrive off the mouth of the Chesapeak till the 24th.

Sir Henry Clinton, thinking that some passages in the letter giving an account of the capitulation, conveyed the idea that Lord Cornwallis had, contrary to his own opinion, fortified the posts of York and Gloucester, solely in pursuance of orders from New York—and also that he had, before September 24, received promises of relief—wrote on the 30th of November to Lord Cornwallis, requesting "a more formal avowal of his sentiments" upon points reflecting so severely upon Sir Henry's own conduct.[1] In his answer to this letter, Lord Cornwallis repeats, that in taking possession of York and Gloucester, he "thought he acted in strict obedience to orders;" and that although "no particular engagement for the navy had been made before September 24, all Sir Henry's letters held out uniformly such hopes of relief, that he did not think it would have been justifiable in him to abandon these posts with his numerous sick, artillery, stores, and shipping, or to risk an action which in all probability, would, in its consequences, have precipitated the loss of them."

Various communications passed on this subject at New York, followed in England by a war of pamphlets, to which succeeded Parliamentary discussions; but nothing was elicited that could throw any fresh light upon the controversy.

Lord Cornwallis sailed from New York in December, in the 'Robuste;' but after a few days, the vessel proving not seaworthy, was obliged to return to port, and he then embarked on board a merchantman, and reached England early in January, 1782.

The surrender of Lord Cornwallis practically put an end to the American war: for though both parties continued in arms for nearly a year and a half longer, no serious encounter took place between them. Indeed, after the resignation of Lord North, March 20, 1782,[2] the speedy termination of hostilities was considered so

[1] Lord Cornwallis and Sir H. Clinton had not acted cordially together for some time. Walpole in his 'Journals' states that Colonel Conway, Aide-de-camp to Sir H. Clinton, who arrived in England Nov. 3, not only brought a bad account of things in general, but said, that though Sir H. Clinton was going to relieve Lord Cornwallis, they were on such ill terms, that Sir H. Clinton had owned to him that as soon as the campaign was over, he should challenge Lord Cornwallis.

[2] General Conway's motion for the restoration of peace was negatived, Feb. 22, by 194 to 193, but a similar proposition was carried, Feb. 27, by 234 to 215. A vote of censure moved by Lord John Cavendish, March 8, was rejected by 226 to 216, and another, March 15, by Sir John Rous, met the same fate by 236 to 227. But when Lord Surrey renewed it on the 20th, Lord North stopped the debate by announcing his resignation.

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certain, that a kind of tacit armistice took place, rarely interrupted, and then only by unimportant skirmishes. Rodney's[1] victory of the 12th of April only accelerated peace, as by saving the West Indian Islands from capture, it put an end to the hopes the French had fondly entertained, of permanent advantage in that quarter. Congress also became alarmed as to their future prospects, if the war were to continue, now that England had recovered the command at sea. Had the battle occurred earlier, many of the misfortunes which befel the British arms might have been avoided. The capitulation of Yorktown, for instance, would never have taken place, had the English fleet not been so inferior to the French.

Sir Henry Clinton did not continue in command long, after the surrender of Yorktown. On the 8th of May, he was succeeded by Sir G. Carleton, who remained in tranquil possession of New York, Charlestown, and some other posts, till the final evacuation of the country in 1783.

It does not fall within the scope of this work to take any general retrospect of the war, or to discuss the numerous errors committed both in America and at home, especially as Lord Cornwallis held an independent command only during the years 1780 and 1781. Enough has already been stated, to show the want of energy and enterprise of most of the English generals. Many opportunities undoubtedly occurred, particularly in the earlier years of the war, when most effective blows might have been struck; and though the Government at home ought to have sent larger reinforcements, sufficient use was not made of the forces actually in America.

Although the Loyalists formed in many provinces a respectable minority, and in some were actually the majority, they never ren-

[1] Sir George Rodney, Bart., afterwards K.B., Admiral of the White and Vice-Admiral of England, created Lord Rodney June 19, 1782, b. Feb. 13, 1718, d. May 21, 1792, m. 1st, Feb. 2, 1753, Jane, dau. of Charles Compton, Esq., and sister of Charles 7th, and Spencer 8th, Earls of Northampton; 2nd, 1764, Henrietta, dau. of John Clies, Esq. of Lisbon. M.P. for Saltash, May, 1751, to Nov. 1754; between Nov. 1759 and June, 1782, for Okehampton, Penryn, Northampton, and Westminster. The contest for Northampton, 1768, deserves notice. Lord Northampton and Lord Halifax coalesced to bring in Sir George Rodney and Sir George Osborn, while Lord Spencer supported Mr. Howe. The canvass continued more than three years, and the election cost the three parties considerably more than 320,000*l.*! Lord Northampton's share exceeding 140,000*l.*! and Mr. Howe was seated on petition.

Few actions have ever given rise to more controversy than Rodney's. The victory was won by his breaking the line, but to whom the idea of that manœuvre is due has been much disputed. In the 'Quarterly Review,' vol. 42, this question is discussed at length. Lord Rodney's conduct after the battle has also been severely blamed. Admiral Cornwallis, who there commanded the 'Canada' with great distinction, always said that Lord Rodney, instead of being rewarded, ought to have been tried by a court-martial, for if Sir Samuel Hood had been allowed to pursue with his squadron, which had been but little engaged, he, Admiral Cornwallis, was convinced that the greater part of the French fleet would have been captured.

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dered such services to the Crown as, from their numbers, might reasonably have been expected. They were in fact cowed by the violence and cruelty of the opposite party, and, as it was impossible from want of troops to send detachments of sufficient strength to protect each body which chose to rise in arms, it repeatedly occurred, either that they allowed themselves to be plundered and maltreated without a struggle, or that, if they did attempt to resist, they were defeated and often murdered in cold blood. Such were among the many disadvantages which attended the progress of the Royal arms. The war lasted, reckoning from the first skirmish at Concord, nearly nine years. That there were occasions when it might have been brought to a successful termination, may be considered more than probable; but it is equally probable that in such a case the struggle would before long have been renewed: for no one can imagine that the mighty nation which now possesses so large a portion of North America, would have permanently submitted to be subject to Great Britain.

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CHAPTER V.

Refusal of the Americans to exchange Lord Cornwallis — His offer to resign the Constableship of the Tower — Case of Captain Asgill — Pamphlet controversy with Sir H. Clinton — Modification of Lord Cornwallis's political views — His opinions on the India question — Prospects of an Indian appointment — Defeat of the Whig ministry — Lord Cornwallis resigns the Tower.

THE question of his exchange occupied the attention of Lord Cornwallis during the whole of the year 1782. The communications already mentioned as having passed between him and Colonel Laurens, led him to anticipate an early release from his parole. But for some unassigned reason, the American Commissioners refused to allow any exchange for Lord Cornwallis; and Sir H. Clinton, February 11, informed General Washington that he had in consequence given orders "to reserve his lordship's value from the highest in rank of the American officers unexchanged, and that thereupon the American Commissioners had refused to proceed further in the exchange." Washington replied that his Commissioners would attend on the 15th of March at Elizabethtown, "fully authorised to treat of the exchange of Lord Cornwallis and the Honourable Mr. Laurens;" but he adds, "I apprehend Lord Cornwallis misunderstood Colonel Laurens in the conversation they had upon that matter in Virginia. I could never have given an assurance that his Lordship should be exchanged for Mr. Laurens, the father of the Colonel, as I had no authority to make any such stipulation." The proposed meeting was, however, postponed, and nothing was definitely settled in regard to Lord Cornwallis. Early in May Mr. Laurens was released without any formal conditions, but with a distinct understanding that the desired exchange would be at once effected. His own feelings on this subject are expressed in a letter written from Ostend, May 17, to Dr. Franklin at Paris. "I wish it (Franklin's answer) may prove satisfactory to his Lordship, by enabling me, with your consent and concurrence, to cancel a debt which does not sit easy upon me, and which cannot with honour to our country remain unpaid. I think we shall not—it is impossible we should—incur

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displeasure by doing an act of common justice, and our authority may be fairly implied." Franklin evaded any distinct reply, and in consequence Major Ross was sent to Paris on a kind of semi-official mission, to settle the exchange. The discussions which took place there, must have been either private or verbal, as, notwithstanding a most careful search, no traces of them can be found in the archives of any of the public offices in France. Through Mr. Oswald[1] Major Ross communicated, about June 5, with Dr. Franklin, who acted in the same dilatory and unsatisfactory manner as he had done before. In spite of the representations of Mr. Laurens, and the strong opinion of M. de la Fayette, who urged the propriety of an immediate release, he would sign no paper which did not leave Lord Cornwallis's fate to the ultimate decision of Congress. Major Ross refused at first to accept such an ungracious offer, but the next day was persuaded by Mr. Oswald to alter his determination.

A letter dated August 4, from Lord Cornwallis to Sir Guy Carleton in America, explains how the matter then stood. Fresh difficulties and delays arose, and Franklin, although assured by M. de la Fayette that the request was perfectly fair, and always granted, refused to release the three aides-de-camp of Lord Cornwallis—Lord Chewton,[2] Major Ross, and Lieutenant Haldane. Congress, availing themselves, as Franklin probably expected, of his reservation, and ignoring the release of Laurens, of which they *must* have previously heard, actually (by a letter dated July 30, from General Washington) ordered Lord Cornwallis to return to America according to his parole. Such a proceeding was too unjustifiable to be persevered in, and the demand was not enforced. The negotiations, however, dragged on in the most unsatisfactory manner to the end of the year, and probably were only brought to a close by the signing of preliminaries of Peace January 20, 1783, when all prisoners were released on both sides. It is certain at least, that early in that month Lord Cornwallis still considered himself a prisoner on parole, as it will be seen that he wished Major Ross to proceed to Paris a second time with reference to this question. It is difficult to understand the reason

[1] Richard Oswald of Auchencruive, b. 1705, d. Nov. 6, 1784; m. Mary, dau. of —— Ramsay, Esq.; she is celebrated by Burns in one of his songs. He was a merchant in London, and had been bail for Laurens to the amount of 50,000*l*. The two secretaries of state, Lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox, employed separate plenipotentiaries—Lord Shelburne, Mr. Oswald; and Mr. Fox, Mr. Thomas Grenville.

[2] George, Lord Chewton, afterwards (Nov. 6, 1784) 4th Earl of Waldegrave, a Lieut.-General, and Colonel 63rd Regt.; b. Nov. 22, 1751, d. Oct. 17, 1789; m. May 5, 1782, Elizabeth Laura, dau. of James 2nd Earl of Waldegrave. Vice-Chamberlain to the King from May, 1782, till, on the death of his father, he succeeded him as Master of the Horse to the Queen. M.P. for Newcastle-under-Line from Nov. 1774 to July, 1780.

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of all these subterfuges and delays. The war was practically at an end, and it was well known that even if he had been at liberty, Lord Cornwallis had no intention of returning to America. Whether the Americans were actuated by petty spite, or a desire to revenge themselves upon the most active general who had been opposed to them, or whether they were swayed by some unknown political reasons, it is of course impossible to say.

Pending these negotiations, Lord Cornwallis felt very great difficulty in accepting the office of Governor-General of India, tendered to him by Lord Shelburne. He was even reluctant, while on parole, to appear in the House of Lords, and it was not till June 21, some time after the release of Laurens, that he took his seat.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE KING.

[From a Draft in Lord Cornwallis's writing.]

SIR, London, March 19, 1782.

As I have the presumption to believe that your Majesty has confidence in my professions of aversion to faction, and of unalterable attachment to your person, and zeal for your service, I venture, without apprehending any unfavourable construction, to request that your Majesty will dispose of the office of Constable of the Tower,[1] either now or on any future occasion, if it can contribute to the convenience of your arrangements.

My unwearied endeavours to serve your Majesty and my country, may perhaps induce your Majesty, with your usual kindness to me, to consider favourably my pretensions in the line of my profession, when a proper opportunity offers, which I should prefer, as depending more immediately on your Majesty, to holding an office which is generally looked upon as a civil employment.

I am, with the utmost respect, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

THE KING TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Holograph.]

Queen's House, March 28, 1782.

MY LORD, The whole tenor of your conduct has so manifestly shown, that Attachment to My Person, to Your Country, and to the Military Profession are the motives of Your Actions, that I am certain no fresh proof is necessary to the World for justice to be

[1] Lord Cornwallis had been Constable of the Tower since Dec. 8, 1770.

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done You on that head. I therefore must desire You not, from a false delicacy, to think of resigning the Office of Constable of the Tower of London.

Had not a multiplicity of business prevented Me, Your handsome offer should not have remained so many days unnoticed.

GEORGE R.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.

MY DEAR LORD, Friday Morning, May 31, 1782.

Ross is just going, I am not sure whether any passport is necessary. If you know the direction to Laurens or Oswald, it may save him from making inquiries which may excite curiosity. Excuse my giving you this trouble.

Yours most faithfully,

CORNWALLIS.

The following letter refers to the case of Captain Asgill,[1] which made a deep impression at the time. A man of the name of Huddy, commanding an irregular corps of Rebels, called Regulators, had been guilty of many atrocious murders. In one instance he had put to death, under circumstances of peculiar barbarity, a man of the name of White, belonging to a Loyalist corps. Huddy was subsequently made prisoner and brought to New York, where a Board sat (of which William Franklin[2] was the President), under whom the Loyalist corps acted. By order of this Board, Huddy was taken to the beach, and, without any formal trial, hanged within sight of the American camp, April 15, 1782. A Captain Lippencot happened to have the immediate direction of the execution, and Washington therefore insisted that he should be given up. The demand was, of course, refused, but he was assured that Lippencot should be tried by a court-martial. This was done, but he was acquitted on the ground that he acted under the orders of a duly authorized body. Washington determined to avenge Huddy, by making all the captains who had been captured at Yorktown draw lots to decide which should suffer death. The lot fell on

[1] Captain, afterwards General Sir Charles Asgill, Bart., Colonel 11th Regt.; b. April 7, 1762, d. July, 1823; m. Aug. 28, 1790, Jemima Sophia, dau. of Admiral Sir Chaloner Ogle, Bart. Equerry to the Duke of York from 1782 to his death.

[2] William Franklin, only son of Dr. Franklin, b. 1731, d. Nov. 17, 1813. He was twice married—1st to a West Indian, and 2nd to an Irish, lady. His son published Dr. Franklin's Life and Correspondence. He was the last Loyalist Governor of New Jersey. He settled in England, where he obtained a pension of 800*l.* besides 1800*l.* paid as compensation for his losses.

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Captain Asgill, who was put under close arrest May 18. The English Government, having vainly protested against an act of such gross injustice and inhumanity, signified their intention of making reprisals, by executing a large number of American prisoners. Fortunately the Comte de Vergennes[1] was able to interpose, Lady Asgill[2] having written to him for his good offices, and he prevailed upon Washington to abandon his intention. This was the most unjustifiable act committed by Washington, with the exception of Major André's execution.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO MAJOR ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Culford, Wednesday, July, 1782.

I have had a most affecting letter from Lady Asgill. I wish you would be kind enough to go to her. I have endeavoured to explain to her how impossible it is for me to be of any use, yet perhaps she is not satisfied. I am in great haste.

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

I think Robertson's letter mentions that the court-martial is again going on, which circumstance must afford her some consolation.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS TOWNSHEND.

DEAR THOMAS, Lambeth, Aug. 1, 1782.

I shall be much obliged to you if you will be kind enough to forward the enclosed letter to the Baron de Viomenil[3] at Paris.

You mentioned to me on Tuesday Harry's[4] coming home. I have since heard that he had his old complaint on his breast last spring. I should, therefore, in the present posture of affairs, be clearly of opinion for his coming home immediately.

Yours ever, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes, b. Dec. 28, 1717, d. Feb. 12, 1787; m. 1768, the widow of a surgeon at Pera, named Testa. He was employed for 24 years in diplomatic missions. In July, 1774, he was made Minister of Foreign Affairs, and in 1783 Président du Conseil des Finances, which office he retained till his death.

[2] Theresa, dau. of Daniel Pratveil, Esq., m. Dec. 12, 1755, Sir Charles Asgill, Bart., a banker and alderman of London; d. June 6, 1816. Her very pathetic letter to the Comte de Vergennes will be found in the Annual Register for 1782.

[3] Charles Joseph Hyacinthe de Houx, Marquis de Viomenil, made Maréchal de France July 2, 1816; b. Aug. 22, 1734, d. March 5, 1827; m. April 28, 1772, Anne Marguerite, dau. of Jacques David Seigneur de Vaugien et Courcelles. He had been second in command in America to the Count de Rochambeau.

[4] Hon. Henry Brodrick.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR GUY CARLETON.

DEAR SIR, Culford, Aug. 4, 1782.

Lady Asgill, whose situation has been very distressing, is very anxious to have the enclosed letter transmitted to General Washington. I think I convinced her that it was impossible that the letter could arrive in America time enough to be of any use; but yet she was unwilling to give up sending it. I have therefore taken the liberty of enclosing it to your Excellency, that you may determine whether it ought to be sent to General Washington, if, contrary to all probability, you should receive it before that unfortunate transaction is finally settled.

I mentioned in a former letter how my exchange was circumstanced; but lest that packet should have miscarried, I will again trouble you with a repetition of it.

Mr. Laurens, on obtaining his liberty, engaged to procure me a release from my parole; and as Dr. Franklin had been employed by Congress to offer Lieut.-General Burgoyne in exchange for him, and as that General had already been exchanged in America, he requested the Doctor to give me an immediate release, that I might not be under the necessity of waiting for an answer from America. The Doctor said that he had no authority from Congress to propose any person in exchange for Mr. Laurens but General Burgoyne; but that, as he was of opinion that in justice and equity I ought to be released, and that it was for the honour of his country that it should be so, he would take it upon himself to do it; but he still seemed to entertain some doubts whether the Congress would confirm it. He likewise concurred with the Marquis de Lafayette in giving their liberty to my aides-de-camp, Lord Chewton, Major Ross, and Lieutenant Haldane, who are still, however, to be exchanged whenever a cartel shall take place, as a civility of nearly a similar nature was done to General Lincoln.

I shall take it as the greatest favour if you will give every assistance in your power for the final settlement of this business. I most heartily beg pardon for giving you so much trouble about my affairs, and can only assure you, that if it ever should be in my power to obey any commands of yours, it will give me the greatest satisfaction to do it. I have the honour, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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GENERAL WASHINGTON TO SIR GUY CARLETON.

SIR, Head-quarters, July 30, 1782.

In pursuance of Act of Congress, "directing me to remand immediately Lieut.-General Earl Cornwallis to the United States, unless the Honourable Henry Laurens, Esq., be forthwith released from his captivity, and furnished with passports to any part of Europe or America, at his option, or be admitted to a general parole," I have to request your Excellency that orders for this purpose may be communicated to Lieut.-General Earl Cornwallis by the first conveyance, informing him that as this order is strictly conformable to the tenor of his parole, I have the fullest expectation of his immediate return to the United States, unless the conditions mentioned in the Act of Congress are complied with.

I have the honour, &c.,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO MAJOR ROSS.

MY DEAR ROSS, Brome, Sept. 25, 1782.

The paragraph in the Commissioners'[1] letter alarmed me very much; but I am much relieved by a note which I received this afternoon from Sir G. Carleton, enclosing a copy of a letter from Washington, which I transmit to you, and to which that paragraph is a bad and injudicious answer. The Commissioners were only authorised to say, that Mr. Laurens thought that in justice I ought to be freed from my parole, and that he would accept his liberty on no other condition. I do not, however, think that Washington or Congress will give any determined negative, until they hear from Laurens or Dr. Franklin, and their demand of me for Laurens appears to me rather a fortunate circumstance.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM SIR GUY CARLETON AND REAR-ADMIRAL DIGBY TO GENERAL WASHINGTON, dated Aug. 2, 1782.

With respect to Mr. Laurens we are to acquaint you, that he has been enlarged from all engagements, without any condition whatever. After which, he declared of his own accord, that he considered Lord Cornwallis as freed from his parole. Upon this point we are to desire your Excellency's sentiments, or those of Congress.

[1] The commissioners appointed to settle the exchanges of prisoners.

SIR GUY CARLETON TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, New York, Oct. 27, 1782.

I have received your Lordship's letters, dated 4th and 6th of August. Captain Asgill, I am to acquaint your Lordship, I have considered for a long time past as out of any danger.

What more immediately concerns your Lordship has already engaged my very earnest attention. I wrote to your Lordship by the 'Roebuck' packet, a duplicate of which has been transmitted by the 'Southampton' frigate, in which I enclosed the extract of a letter from Admiral Digby and myself to General Washington on the subject of your exchange, but to this point of our letter I have not received any answer. I have since written to Lord Shelburne, acquainting him of the further measures I have taken to obtain a declaration of your exchange, either from General Washington or Congress, with which you have doubtless been made acquainted. A duplicate of that letter will be sent to his Lordship by the present conveyance. But I am to inform your Lordship that I yet remain without receiving any express declaration of your exchange. Instead of that humane attention to the rights of individuals which prevails in Europe, they seem to practise in this country a studied incivility.

I am, &c.,

GUY CARLETON.

SUBSTANCE OF A CONVERSATION THAT PASSED BETWEEN GENERAL KNOX[1] AND MR. ELLIOT,[2] AT TAPPAN, the 26th of September last, 1782.

Mr. Elliot observed to General Knox, that Lord Cornwallis was so generally esteemed within the British lines, that his Lordship's exchange was an event in which all ranks were interested; Mr. Elliot also mentioned that he made no doubt but that General Knox knew that Sir Guy Carleton had wrote to General Washington on this subject.

General Knox, with his usual and natural frankness, immediately told Mr. Elliot that he perfectly understood him, but at the same time assured him, that it was not in his power to give him any information on the subject of Lord Cornwallis's exchange, but that he would give Mr. Elliot his opinion, which was, that there could be no doubt from his Lordship's letter, of his exchange;

[1] General Knox, b. July 25, 1750, d. Oct. 25, 1806; Washington made him Secretary-at-War shortly before the war ended, and he held the office for 11 years.

[2] Andrew Elliot, Lieut.-Governor of New York, where he had been for many years collector of customs. Though universally respected by both parties, all his property was confiscated, and he was obliged to come to England.

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but that he did not believe that even at this present time, either General Washington or the Congress had received any other information of such exchange having taken place, but what Sir Guy Carleton had transmitted to General Washington, which was most likely to be the reason of Sir Guy Carleton's letter not being answered.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO MAJOR ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Culford, Dec. 23, 1782.

I enclose to you under a flying seal letters to Lafayette and Laurens, which I wish you to show to Mr. Townshend if you approve of them. The letter to Lafayette has cost me a great deal of trouble, and I am not sure, after all, that it is worth sending; if there are any mistakes in the French, pray alter them. If Franklin and Laurens have received any answer or instructions from Congress, they will of course give a positive answer; but as I suspect that no answer has been received by them, I fear my wretched state of uncertainty must continue. Laurens so positively declared to me that he would not consider himself as a free man unless I was set at liberty, that I think he might be worked upon to insist on some strong declaration; but it is so difficult to state this in a letter without danger of giving offence, that I was afraid to express myself more fully. I wish you would consult Mr. T. or Lord Shelburne, or both of them, on the propriety of your making another trip to Paris;[1] they are both much interested in this business, the latter very much on his own account. I am sure if you thought it could be useful you would not grudge the trouble. I own I can see no good purpose it can answer except by pressing Laurens, who is now acting in a public character and declaring himself, as Mr. T. told me, exchanged for me. I am perfectly clear that he told me that he would not accept of his liberty without exchange, and that either I should be free, or he should not be so. It is needless to say more to you on the subject. You will have no difficulty in seeing Lord S. and Mr. T. You can state the declarations of Laurens, on which alone I think any chance of success from your going would be founded. If you wish to hear again from me, or to see me before you proposed going, there would still be time enough before the meeting of Parliament. But I think you can judge as well as myself, unless you have objections which I have not thought of. I understand that the 45th regiment is going to be stationed at Jamaica, so that if all

[1] Major Ross did not go a second time to Paris.

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my plans were demolished, you might follow by the first packet; but I think it perfectly clear that if my exchange is set aside, yours will be so too. I know your attachment to me too well, my dear Ross, to make any apology for what I have said, and beg if anything should strike you as proper to be done, you will not hesitate to act from your own judgment.

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO MAJOR ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Culford, Monday morning [probably Dec. 1782].

I am quite overcome by this business, and really am not sanguine enough to see any hope. Your letters came so late that I had not time to write to the Marquis de Lafayette and Mr. Laurens, but I will do it this day. I should not, however, conceive that the Marquis could be of any service. At all events, the business must be decided before Parliament meets. I never could suffer myself to be publicly named for the command in India[1] without a security from Franklin that I shall not be countermanded. I suspect that Franklin has not sent a copy of the paper to America, and that awkward letter of Carleton's and Digby's was not calculated to forward the business.

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

I should not think Chewton, Haldane, and yourself, more at liberty than I am.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO MAJOR ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Culford, Dec. 25, 1782.

Your letters of the 22nd and 23rd, which, by a provoking mistake of the post-office, I did not receive till after the post went out this morning, gave me great satisfaction. At the same time I received the enclosed letter from Laurens,[2] which is rather obscure, but still, I think, implies my being exchanged; at least it is evident that neither himself or Franklin have received any disavowal from Congress. I should wish the opinion of Mr. Townshend, and, if he thinks necessary, of Lord Shelburne, upon it. I do not recollect the exact words of the Commissioner's letter which makes him so angry, but there is undoubtedly a copy of it in Mr. Townshend's office; I think it represented Laurens having declared me free of

[1] Lord Shelburne had offered India to Lord Cornwallis some time previous to the date of this letter.
[2] This letter has not been found.

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his own authority. Lest you should have taken a hasty trip to Paris, I enclose this to my brother James,[1] that in your absence he may communicate Laurens' letter to Mr. Townshend.

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO MAJOR ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Culford, Jan. 15, 1783.

I received Sir H.'s[2] narrative last night, and have read it in a cursory manner. It is a bad performance, and I think not likely to do the cause much good with people of judgment, yet I think it may be necessary to take some notice of it, as he so often arraigns my march into Virginia, as a measure undertaken without waiting for his consent. The manner in which the Parliamentary registers are published, does not bring the correspondence sufficiently before the public eye, I therefore at present think that your idea is a good one. I will, however, consider the matter, and talk it over when we meet. I shall dine at Phillipson's on Friday; he desires you will meet me. If you can dine there I will call on you, as the General is to send his coach for me and the children to Mansfield Street. I am very glad that my brother[3] has got the 'Ganges.'

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Friday, Aug. 1783.

I most heartily wish you joy. You know too well how much I was interested in the event[4] to doubt the pleasure it gives me. I had a letter from Fawcett[5] to notify your appointment with the rank. Brome is vastly well; we shall be in town on Sunday.

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

I will go to court with you on Wednesday.

[1] Hon. and Rev. James Cornwallis, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, to which see he was nominated July 14, 1781; b. Feb. 25, 1743, d. Jan. 20, 1824; m. April 30, 1771, Catherine, dau. and ultimately co-heir of Galfridus Mann, Esq. At the death of the 2nd and last Marquis Cornwallis, Aug. 16, 1823, he became 4th Earl.

[2] Sir Henry Clinton published a pamphlet on the campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in America; Lord Cornwallis wrote a reply, which drew forth a rejoinder.

[3] Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

[4] The appointment of Deputy Adjutant-General in Scotland, with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel.

[5] Lieut.-General, afterwards General the Right Hon. Sir William Fawcett, K.B., d. Feb. 22, 1804; m. twice, 1st, in very early life; 2nd, Oct. 22, 1786, Charlotte, widow of the Rev. George Stinton, Chancellor of Lincoln. Governor of Chelsea Hospital; Colonel 3rd Dragoon Guards, and for many years Adjutant-General. He had been Aide-de-camp to Lord Granby in Germany.

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MAJOR-GENERAL GRENVILLE[1] TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY DEAR LORD, Hanover, Aug. 22, 1783.

I return your Lordship many thanks for the favour of your last letter of July 25, which came enclosed in one from General Fawcett, and am extremely rejoiced to find that your Lordship has heard so good an account of us here. In regard to what your Lordship touches upon in the latter part of your letter, concerning the choice of proper persons in the military line to be placed about his Royal Highness's person, your Lordship does me great justice in believing that I am incapable of lending myself to anything like a jobbing application. Should I ever be consulted upon this business, there is no one's advice that I would sooner follow than your Lordship's; and to convince you that I act with ,[2] I have already taken an opportunity to prepossess H. R. H. in favour of Colonel Brodrick by adding my mite to your Lordship's recommendation, in giving him that character which I really believe he deserves, and it is with infinite pleasure that I find myself authorized by H. R. H. to assure your Lordship that in this, as in all other instances, any recommendation coming from your Lordship will ever have the greatest weight with him, and that he shall be extremely happy at all times to take your Lordship's advice, having the highest opinion of your Lordship's worth and integrity, both as a man and as an officer.

We have had the satisfaction of attending the Prussian reviews this spring at Potsdam, Berlin, and Magdeburgh, which were very instructive and highly interesting to a military man. We had likewise proposed being present at the Imperial reviews this autumn, but the affairs of Osnabruck (it being the year of H. R. H. taking possession of the government of this bishoprick into his own hands) requiring his presence there about the middle of next month, we have been obliged to postpone this expedition to another year. I flatter myself, however, that we shall have that satisfaction before we quit the Continent.

I shall not trouble your Lordship with any politics, as I believe neither your Lordship nor myself meddle much in that business.

[1] Major-General, afterwards General Richard Grenville, Colonel 23rd Regiment; b. March 1, 1744, d. April 22, 1823, unmarried. His father, James Grenville, was next brother to the Right Hon. George Grenville, and General Grenville's elder brother, James, was created Lord Glastonbury Oct. 20, 1797. General Grenville's friendship with Lord Cornwallis began when they were both aides-de-camp to Lord Granby, and continued unbroken during their joint lives. He was placed about the Duke of York to accompany him to Germany, and continued at the head of his household for many years, and was also for a length of time Equerry and Groom to George III. M.P. for Buckingham town from Nov. 1774 to July, 1780.

[2] Sic in orig.

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I hope, however, things will soon mend for the better, as it appears to me that there is great room for amendment.

I am not in the least astonished at your Lordship's partiality for our new married cousin, Lady Chatham,[1] as by all accounts she is a most amiable woman in every respect. I wish them most sincerely all possible happiness, and feel, with the rest of my family, the greatest satisfaction at this new contracted alliance.

I am, &c.,

R. GRENVILLE.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Brome, Sept. 5, 1783.

Notwithstanding the shooting, I have read the Traité de la Colonne[2] with great attention, and have been much amused by it. The column is certainly a much better order than the phalanx, and the advantages derived from it in the actions of Leuctra and Mantinea are stated with clearness and ingenuity. I likewise grant it to have been far superior to the great squares formed by the Imperialists at Lutzen, but yet I cannot be quite so great an enthusiast for it as the Chevalier.

I have received a letter from Grenville; he has been very kind indeed about Brodrick, and sends me a civil message from the Prince, in regard to myself and Brodrick, so that I believe that plan will succeed. I have recommended a little reading to Brodrick. Grenville does not say a word about coming home, but talks of going next year to the Austrian reviews. We do not expect to hear from you till that momentous business of the monthly returns is got over. Brome gets flesh and strength, but he has still that little short cough; I cannot, however, think it of any consequence. He will return to Eton the week after next, and at that time I shall deliver Mary over to Mrs. Cornwallis[3] at Honingham,[4] with whom she will go to town. I often turn over politics in my mind. Whether I should or should not resign the office of Constable of the Tower at the meeting of Parliament is the question; I at present incline to do it. Being turned out is unpleasant, and

[1] Mary Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas 1st Viscount Sydney, b. Sept. 2, 1762, d. May 20, 1821; m. July 10, 1783, John 2nd Earl of Chatham. Lord Cornwallis was first cousin to Lord Sydney, and General Grenville first cousin to Lord Chatham.

[2] The "Traite de la Colonne" is a dissertation by the Chevalier Folard, in his French translation of Polybius.

[3] Caroline, widow of the Hon. Frederick Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury (uncle of Lord Cornwallis), and dau. of the Hon. William Townshend, 3rd son of Charles 2nd Viscount Townshend; b. July 14, 1727, d. Jan. 5, 1809, m. Jan. 8, 1759. She was sister of Charles 1st Lord Bayning.

[4] Honingham, near Norwich, the seat of Lord Bayning.

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I am not quite clear that it is fair to force Ministers to that measure; but I have time to deliberate. I am quite sure that handsome dealing is not only more satisfactory to oneself, but that it is, even in the worldly consideration, the best policy. I enclose a letter to Grisdale.[1] If he has already passed by Edinburgh, you will probably know enough of his plans to be able to convey it to him.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Lord Cornwallis's political opinions had undergone considerable modification since he first took his seat in the House of Lords. Lord Shelburne had before this time ceased to be in power; and Lord Cornwallis being still much attached to him, was not inclined to support the new Administration. Most of his near connexions also were in opposition, and he foresaw that the time must come (as it actually did a few weeks later) when he would be compelled to take a decisive part. These circumstances made him unwilling to continue Constable of the Tower, which was then considered a Civil office, though it was afterwards declared to be a Military appointment.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Culford, Oct. 26, 1783.

. . . I am determined to take no steps in regard to politics till the meeting of Parliament, when I may form some judgment of what the Ministry and Opposition mean. My partiality is certainly to the latter, but I must see what line they take before I can form any connexion with them. If they should, like former Oppositions, foment a civil war, and endeavour to overturn the constitution of this country by adopting the plan of Messrs. Richmond,[2] Effingham, Wyvill,[3] &c. &c., I can have nothing to do with them. My studies have of late been much interrupted by my visit to Eton, and my passing a week with Lord Townshend.[4] I will not, however, be idle this winter.

[1] Rev. Benjamin Grisdale, a constant correspondent of Lord Cornwallis, b. Feb. 15, 1745, d. June 18, 1828; m. April 11, 1791, Elizabeth, dau. of William Unwin, Esq. of Mansfield. Lord Cornwallis made him chaplain of the 33rd, with which regiment he served in America. He was rector of Withington in Gloucestershire.

[2] The Duke of Richmond for many years was a vehement Parliamentary reformer.

[3] Rev. Christopher Wyvill, b. Sept. 10, 1740, d. March 8, 1822; m. 1st, Nov. 26, 1773, Elizabeth, dau. of Sir Marmaduke Wyvill, Bart.; 2nd, Sarah, dau. of —— Codling, Esq. He was another violent reformer. Walpole said of him: "He is so stupid, he cannot even write English; and the first York Association paper, which was written by him, is neither sense nor grammar."

[4] George, 4th Viscount Townshend, made Marquis Townshend Oct. 6, 1787; a Field-Marshal, and Colonel 2nd Dragoon Guards;

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Brodrick is gone abroad, far from well. Dr. Warren[1] was not easy about him. He is to go directly to Nice. I wish he had gone two months sooner, and that he had followed my advice of not bathing in the sea, which I could not conceive to be safe with his complaint; but he would consult a Brighthelmstone doctor, who would have recommended sea-bathing for every illness in the world.

You write to me very seldom, and yet I dare say you have more leisure than myself—not that I have any real business, but a thousand little plagues: attention to company in the house, letters to Loyalists, and trifles that would look ridiculous on paper. Nothing can give me greater pleasure than hearing from you, and seeing your free and familiar sentiments. I trust that we shall not be more strangers for being at two hundred miles distance.

Lord Hinchingbrook,[2] whom I saw when I was at Eton, told me that the K— said to him that Lord North had asked him whether I would go to India. He answered that he supposed I would, if it was proposed to me to go, in a proper situation. As, however, I have heard nothing from Lord N., with whom I have such easy communication, I conclude that nothing is seriously meant. As the time of year for walking on the terrace was over, I could not conveniently see H. M. . . .

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, Nov. 13, 1783.

. . . I have not yet been in the House, nor have I seen one politician. Shelburne does not come up till after Christmas.

b. Feb. 28, 1724, d. Sept. 14, 1807; m. 1st, Dec. 19, 1751, Charlotte, 15th Baroness de Ferrars in her own right; 2nd, May 19, 1776, Anne, dau. of Sir William Montgomery, Bart. Lieut.-General of the Ordnance from 1763 to 1767; Master-General from Oct. 1772 to March, 1782, and again for a short time in 1783; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland from Oct. 1767 to Nov. 1772. M.P. for Norfolk from Nov. 1754, till he succeeded to the peerage March 12, 1764. He was at the battles of Dettingen, Fontenoy, Laffeldt, and Culloden; and, after the death of Wolfe, and the dangerous wound of General Monckton, commanded the army before Quebec.

[1] Dr. Richard Warren, b. Dec. 13, 1731, d. June 23, 1797; m. 1759, Elizabeth, dau. of Peter Shaw, Esq., M.D. He was a warm political supporter of the Prince of Wales; and his professional opinion on the health of the King was one of the main causes which led the Whigs in 1788, to contest the Regency question so strenuously.

[2] John, Viscount Hinchingbroke, afterwards, April 30, 1792, 5th Earl of Sandwich; b. Jan. 26, 1744, d. June 6, 1814; m. 1st, March 1, 1766, Elizabeth, only surviving child of George, 2nd and last Earl of Halifax; 2nd, April 25, 1772, Mary, dau. of Harry, 6th and last Duke of Bolton. Vice-Chamberlain to the King; Comptroller of the Household and Master of the Buckhounds in succession from Feb. 1771 to Feb. 1806; Postmaster-General from May, 1807, till his death. M.P. for Brackley from Feb. 1765 to the dissolution of that Parliament, and then for the county of Huntingdon till he became a peer.

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Pitt[1] made a most sensible speech, and I think proves that he is not in such haste to come in as to wish to overset all government, and to finish the ruin of the country, in order to obtain that sole object of most patriots. As there is no appearance of any business in the House of Lords, I shall return to Culford till after the holidays, when perhaps I shall be able to decide better on my future conduct. The communication with a certain personage[2] is a matter of some delicacy, and is not easily to be brought about unless some favourable opportunity should offer. Fox[3] has given notice that he intends to bring in the India business on Tuesday next. Charles Townshend[4] asked me to-day if I had heard anything of it. He said Montagu[5] told him that I was the person intended by the Portland party; and added that there could be no doubt of its being the wish of *his* friends. I only answered that I knew nothing of it, and had long since concluded that all idea of it was at an end. I cannot possibly conceive but that if Administration had any serious intention of employing me, they would have sounded me before the matter was brought into Parliament. If, however, it should be any how mentioned, it may give me an opportunity of an audience. You may depend on my acting with great caution, should the offer be made. I am every day more and more convinced of the necessity of military reading, and I assure you that it is very agreeable to me.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Fawcett tells me that Mackay[6] is coming up. I will be attentive to him.

[1] On the address on the meeting of Parliament, Nov. 11.

[2] The King.

[3] Right Hon. C. J. Fox, 2nd son of Henry, 1st Lord Holland, b. Jan. 13, 1749, d. Sept. 13, 1806; m. Sept. 28, 1795, Mrs. Armstead. Although three times Secretary of State, he held that office for only twenty months altogether. M.P., before he came of age, for Midhurst from 1768 to 1774; then for Malmesbury to 1780; and then for Westminster till his death.

[4] Right Hon. Charles Townshend (son of William, 3rd son of Charles, 2nd Viscount Townshend), created Lord Bayning Oct. 20, 1797, b. Aug. 20, 1728, d. May 16, 1810; m. Aug. 20, 1777, Annabella, dau. of the Rev. Richard Smyth. M.P. for Yarmouth, Norfolk, from Dec. 1756, to May, 1796, except in the Parliament of 1784, when he was one of "Fox's martyrs." From Sept. 1751 to 1756 he was Secretary of Legation in Spain, whence he got the name of Spanish Charles. Between Aug. 1765 and Jan. 1784 he held the various offices of Lord of the Admiralty, Lord of the Treasury, Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and Treasurer of the Navy.

[5] Right Hon. Frederick Montagu, of Papplewick, in Nottinghamshire, great nephew of Edward, 1st Earl of Halifax, b. 1734, d. July 30, 1800, unm. A Lord of the Treasury from March to July, 1782, and from April to Dec. 1783. M.P. for Northampton from May, 1759, to March, 1768; and then for Higham Ferrers to 1790. He was one of the seven Commissioners named in Fox's India Bill.

[6] Lieut.-General Hon. Alexander Mackay, Colonel 21st Regt.; Commander-in-Chief in Scotland. Son of George, 3rd Lord Reay, d. May 31, 1789; m. Dec. 24, 1770, Margaret, dau. of Sir William Carr, Bart., of Etal. M.P. for the county of Sutherland from Nov. 1762 to March, 1768, and then for the northern boroughs to March, 1773.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Culford, Nov. 21, 1783.

I last night received your letter of the 15th, and most heartily congratulate you on the termination of the very disagreeable duty at Portpatrick. I have no doubt, however, that your chief must have found a great difference between the method of conducting that embarkation and the former ones. The fame of Bruen's[1] patriotism had reached London before I left it. Grisdale and myself arrived here this day, and mean to lead a quiet but not an idle life in any sense of the word.

You will have seen Fox's plan, and probably his very civil expression[2] in regard to me; but it is plain that nothing could ever have been seriously meant by the questions which I before mentioned. Fox's bill will be strongly opposed, perhaps more so than it deserves; for although I think there are several objectionable parts, I cannot say that the *daring attack* of the *chartered rights* has much weight with me. I think Jenkinson[3] hit one principal blot which can hardly be got over. He supposed the Commissioners to be appointed for three or five years, as proposed by Fox, and that a change of Administration ensued, what would then be the consequence? The directors of East India affairs would probably be acting in direct opposition to the Government at home. After all, it appears to me to be adopting a system almost as exceptionable as the present, and as likely to be perverted to the most corrupt purposes. We shall hear much more on this subject before it comes into our House, which cannot be till after the holidays. I had a great deal of conversation with my friend Lord S.[4] about my situation. It was partly of that nature as hardly to trust on paper. He is clear, however, that I can take no step as to the employment, without a certain person's[5] approbation.

I met yesterday at Court, Pigot[6] the lawyer, one of the Commis-

[1] Henry Bruen, b. 1740, d. Dec. 14, 1795; m. 1788, Harriet, dau. of Francis Knox, Esq. of Rappa. M.P. for Jamestown from 1783 to 1790, and then for the county of Carlow till his death. He had been on the Quartermaster-General's staff in America, where he made a large fortune by contracts. The *patriotism* alluded to in the text was his having voted, Nov. 13, to reduce the number of men for the defence of Ireland from 12,000 to 9000, which was negatived by 106 to 34.

[2] See note in page 14.

[3] Charles Jenkinson, afterwards 7th Baronet, created Lord Hawkesbury Aug. 21, 1786, and made Earl of Liverpool May 28, 1796, b. May 10, 1727, d. Dec. 17, 1808; m. 1st, Feb. 9, 1769, Amelia, dau. of William Watts, Esq., Governor of Bengal; 2nd, June 22, 1782, Catherine, dau. of Sir Cecil Bishopp, Bart., and widow of Sir Charles Cope, Bart. He was Under Secretary to Lord Bute in 1761; and from that time to Nov. 1803 held various offices, almost without intermission. Latterly he occupied the important post of President of the Board of Trade. M.P. successively for Cockermouth, Appleby, Harwich, and Saltash, from 1762 till he was raised to the peerage. The speech above alluded to was made Nov. 20, 1783, on fixing the day for the second reading.

[4] Lord Shelburne.

[5] The King.

[6] Arthur Leary Pigot, afterwards Sir

sioners of Accounts. He told me that Lord Sheffield[1] had frequently been with them from Sir H. Clinton, to say how ill he had been used by them. Their answer was, that if he would do them the honour to come to their Board, they flattered themselves they should be able to explain their conduct to his satisfaction. This he would not agree to, but wished them to enter into a correspondence. They however positively rejected this proposal, probably not being encouraged by my example. . . . Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Culford, Nov. 23, 1783.

I enclose a letter from Digby.[2] Since I wrote to you on Friday I hear that bad news is come from the East Indies. General Matthews[3] and his army taken by Tippoo Saib. This event will, I think, operate powerfully in favour of Administration in the present contest. It would have been a pretty beginning for me if I had gone last spring. Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, Dec. 16, 1783.

Notwithstanding my delicacies and resolution I could not resist the solicitations to come up. You will have seen that we

Arthur Pigot, b. 1750, d. Sept. 6, 1819; m. 1773 a dau. of —— Donnington, Esq. of Manchester. Solicitor-General to the Prince of Wales, 1787, and Attorney-General to the King from Feb. 1806 to March, 1807. M.P. for Steyning Feb. to Dec. 1806; then for Arundel till his death. He was born in Grenada, where his family was settled.

[1] John, 1st Lord Sheffield in Ireland; so created Jan. 9, 1781; made Lord Sheffield in England, July 29, 1802, and Earl of Sheffield in Ireland, Jan. 22, 1816; b. 1735, d. May 30, 1821; m. 1st, 1767, Abigail, dau. of Lewis Way, Esq. of Richmond; 2nd, Dec. 26, 1791, Lucy, dau. of Thomas, 1st Earl of Chichester; and 3rd, Anne, dau. of Frederick, 2nd Earl of Guilford. M.P. for Coventry from Oct. 1780 to March, 1784, and for Bristol from Nov. 1790 to June, 1802.

[2] Stephen Digby, grandson of Simon, 5th Lord Digby, and brother of Edward, 6th Lord, and of Henry, 7th Lord and 1st Earl Digby, b. May 10, 1742, d. July 11, 1800; m. 1st, Oct. 1, 1771, Lucy, dau. of Stephen, 1st Earl of Ilchester; and 2nd, Jan. 6, 1790, Charlotte Margaret, dau. of Sir Robert Gunning, Bart., K.B. (whose younger daughter m. General Ross). In early life Colonel Digby served in the Guards—Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales from 1780 to 1782, and then Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen to 1792; Master of St. Catherine's from Aug. 1788 till his death. He was much in the confidence of the Royal Family.

[3] Having been ordered, in the beginning of 1783, to invade the Mysore territory, he captured Bednore, Jan. 28; but was shortly after besieged there, and surrendered May 3, upon very favourable terms. Those terms were immediately violated, on the plea (which seems to have been well founded), that the public treasure, instead of being given up to the captors, according to agreement, had been divided among the officers of the garrison, the whole of whom were thrown into irons. When or how General Matthews was put to death, has never been ascertained. Few of the captives survived to tell their tale of horrors.

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beat the Administration yesterday,[1] and I have no doubt but the bill will be rejected to-morrow by a greater majority. From the *means*[2] that were taken to effect this everybody seems to conclude that there must be a change of Administration and dissolution of Parliament. Lord Shelburne did not attend the House, so that he probably will not be included in any new arrangement.

Should any proposals be hereafter made to me relative to India, I do not feel at all inclined to listen to them. I am handsomely off, and in the present fluctuating state of affairs at home with violent animosities about India, I can see no prospect of any good. I am aware that present ease may have some weight, but it requires great resolution to engage a second time in a plan of certain misery for the rest of my life without more substantial encouragements. Write to me freely your thoughts on this head. It is, however, very possible that no such proposal may be made to me, but I think that Lord Temple, who will certainly have a very considerable share in a new system, seems inclined to be civil to me. You may easily imagine the confusion that now reigns in this town, and the different countenances of hope and despondency that occur every instant. My boy is in perfect health at Culford, and I hope to return thither on Friday next.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, Dec. 18, 1783.

Mr. Pitt and, I believe, Lord Temple were with the King to-day,—yet they say the Ministers have been in since,—and give out that they were well received, and that there is to be no change. I suspect it will be a repetition of March[3] last. As soon as I find that no material negotiation is on foot I will resign the Tower. In these perilous times I will at least save my honour.

[1] On the 15th the Duke of Chandos moved to adjourn the proceedings, which was carried by 87 to 79; and on the 17th the second reading was negatived by 95 to 76. At that time the whole Peerage, including the 16 Scotch and the 26 Spiritual Peers, consisted only of 235, of whom 6 were minors and 6 Catholics, so only 223 could vote.

[2] The King's communication to Lord Temple was in writing, and to the following effect:—"The King would deem those who should vote for the bill not only not his friends, but his enemies; and if Lord Temple could put this in stronger terms, he had full authority to do so."

[3] Lord Shelburne tendered his resignation in March, but the new government was not formed for six weeks. No member of the Portland Administration had any audience of the King after Dec. 17, except to resign his office.

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I will write again to-morrow night, as I know your anxiety in matters where my conduct is critical.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Friday Night, Dec. 19, 1783.

The Ministry is out, and Pitt is to have the Treasury, and Lord Temple and, I believe, Lord Sydney, Secretaries of State. I believe the Parliament is to be dissolved, but am not sure. My situation of having been sent for up to vote, and keeping my place, sat heavy on my mind, and before I knew of the change I had determined to resign. After a little reflection, I was of opinion that this circumstance should not alter my resolution; that the imputation of having kept my place, and voted in so essential a point against the Ministry still remained. If my friends continue in power I shall probably have some consideration in my own line; if they go out, I must either resign with them or be turned out. The King appeared satisfied with what I said, as I hope you are with what I have done. Let me hear from you.

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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CHAPTER VI.

Resignation of Constableship of the Tower — Prospects of employment — Bruen and the Volunteers — Sir George Yonge — Elections favourable to Ministers — Probability of receiving the Governor-Generalship of India — Lord G. Lennox gazetted for Plymouth — Design of going to the Emperor — Expostulatory Letter to Mr. Pitt — Accepts the Tower.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Culford, Jan. 2, 1784.

If you had been on the spot, I think you would have approved of my conduct; I cannot, on the most mature reflection, repent of what I have done.

You will at first consider the nature of the office,[1] which to be sure by all dispassionate people must be considered as a civil employment: you will then, I believe, agree with me, that, in the present state of parties in this country, it was impossible for me to hold it long without becoming contemptible to all sides, and that perhaps I had already held it too long; indeed I am convinced that I ought to have resigned at the coming in of the Coalition, and that as long as I did hold it, all my military competitors in the government line had a great advantage over me. You will next take a view of my conduct in this last business. When the India Bill was first brought in I left London: both the Bishop of Lichfield and myself resisted the most pressing solicitations to attend it, and gave for reasons for our not doing so, the peculiar situation in which I stood as to India matters. When the Bill was read a first time, and a debate and division expected, neither of us were present, but after the *circumstances*[2] which you know had happened, both of us appeared to throw out the Bill. I now ask to what would even the candid part of mankind attribute such conduct? Surely they would say that my place was the first object to me, and that I would not venture to vote against the Ministry until I was well assured that I should run no risk of losing it.

I have no reason to imagine that any offers whatever will be

[1] Constable of the Tower.

[2] The personal interference of the King.

made to me in regard to India, nor do I now believe it possible that I could ever bring myself to listen to any.

If the Ministry should survive the 12th, I think there is a possibility of its being proposed to me to go to Ireland: I say this without any authority whatever, only that I know that Lord Temple does not go, and that nobody is as yet fixed on for it. I have not heard a syllable of this from any part of the Administration, it is merely wild conjecture, and such as I would not mention to any person living but yourself. I shall, however, turn it well over in my thoughts.

Lord Rawdon is here, and as well disposed and friendly to me as ever. His speech has put him in a situation of being highly considered, and indeed, very deservedly.[1]

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

P.S. Poor O'Hara is once more driven abroad by his merciless creditors.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD SYDNEY.

MY DEAR LORD, Culford, Jan. 8, 1784.

In answer to the first point, I can assure you that my *friends*[2] want no spur to their attendance—to the second, that you shall certainly have hares, partridges, and pheasants if the frost goes, without which I fear we cannot get any—and to the third, that I will certainly have the honour of dining with you.

As your postscript is not quite so clear, I cannot be so explicit in my answer: I therefore shall only say that I should refuse with reluctance any situation[3] in which the present Ministry think I can be serviceable to them, and that my secrecy on such an occasion might be most perfectly depended on. I know it is not pleasant to have employments refused.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, Jan. 22, 1784.

I have put off writing to you from day to day, expecting to have something to say, but matters still continue just as they were.

[1] He spoke Dec. 17, 1783, against the second Reading of the India Bill.

[2] The members for Eye, Captain Cornwallis and Major-General Phillipson.

[3] There is no other trace of any offer of office at this time.

I do not believe there will be a dissolution of Parliament. Powys[1] and some others are trying to form an *Union*,[2] not a *Coalition*, of all parties, but I do not see any prospect of their succeeding. How it is to end God knows. I feel so far easy that my part is taken, and I have nothing to do but to go straight forward.

Believe me, ever, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

MY DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, Jan. 24, 1784.

As I know your anxiety about the present state of affairs, especially as you think me materially concerned, I write to you oftener than I have anything to say; for example, things are just now as they were, one story one hour, another the next, just like the instability and indecision of last March. My private opinion is that there will be no dissolution, and consequently that the Ministers will not stand, but it is an opinion founded merely on conjecture, and perhaps Tuesday may produce a dissolution; till then Mr. Pitt has promised that it shall not happen.

I am still plagued to death and impoverished by starving Loyalists; but I am now determined to shut the purse, except in the most moving instances of misery. I feel your being so far removed from me, but hope we shall meet before the end of the year '84.

Yours ever, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Monday Night, Jan. 26, 1784.

Pitt has this day declared that the Parliament is not to be dissolved, so the bubble is burst and there is an end of the Administration. About fifty members, who call themselves independent country gentlemen, have framed a letter to the Duke of Portland,

[1] Thomas Powys, created Lord Lilford Oct. 26, 1797, b. May 4, 1743, d. Jan. 26, 1800, m. March 31, 1772, Mary, dau. and ultimately co-heir (with her sister Catherine, wife of the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry) of Galfridus Mann, Esq. M.P. for Northamptonshire from Nov. 1774, till he was created a Peer.

[2] Mr. Powys had been previously attached to the Whig party, but quitted them on the India Bill. The attempt to bring about a union of parties was organised at the St. Alban's Tavern, where 53 members of Parliament were present, Mr. Grosvenor, M.P. for Chester, in the chair. After much negotiation with Mr. Pitt on one side and the Duke of Portland on the other, it failed, mainly because neither of those two leaders were really anxious to unite. The lists of members present at the several meetings are imperfect, but about 79 seem to have attended at different times.

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Lord J. Cavendish,[1] Fox, and Pitt, insisting on an Union; but I do not find that there are above ten or twelve of them that have ever voted with Fox, and those whimsical and uncertain, the rest are composed of Pitt's friends. Now I do not see how a number of Pitt's friends can make a fair and equal treaty between him and Fox, any more than the House of Commons two years ago could vote a peace with America. In short, we shall possibly linger on a fortnight or three weeks longer in unavailing negotiation, and then the virtuous Coalition will return in triumph to their places. I feel at least the satisfaction that I have no humiliating sensations to undergo, and that although I shall have lost a much greater part of my income than I could afford, I have lost no character, which is more than most of the *dramatis personæ* can say.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, Feb. 6, 1784.

I last night received yours of the 31st. No political alteration has happened since I wrote last; you will see what was done in the House of Lords.[2] The Commons denounce vengeance; the Ministry declare in the firmest manner that they will not resign. How is it to end? I believe the Duke of Rutland[3] is shortly to be named Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. Orde,[4] the late Secretary of the Treasury, his secretary. Lord G. Lennox[5] kissed

[1] Lord John Cavendish, son of William, 3rd Duke of Devonshire, b. Oct. 22, 1732, d. unmarried, Dec. 19, 1796. Lord of the Treasury, July, 1765, to Aug. 1766; Chancellor of the Exchequer from March to July, 1782, and from April to Dec. 1783. M.P. for Weymouth, 1754; Knaresborough, 1762; York, 1768 to March, 1784; Derbyshire, May, 1794, till his death.

[2] Lord Effingham, Feb. 4, moved two resolutions in favour of Government. After an animated debate they were carried by 100 to 53. The *vengeance* of opposition was vented in six violent resolutions moved, Feb. 16, by Lord Beauchamp, afterwards 2nd Marquis of Hertford, and carried by 187 to 157.

[3] Charles 4th Duke of Rutland, K.G., b. March 15, 1754, d. (in Ireland) Oct. 24, 1787; m. Dec. 26, 1775, Mary Isabella, dau. of Charles 4th Duke of Beaufort. Lord Steward, Feb. to April, 1783; Privy Seal, Dec. 1783 to March, 1784; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from Feb. 11, 1784, till his death. M.P. for the University of Cambridge from Nov. 1774 till he succeeded to the Dukedom, May 29, 1779.

[4] Right Hon. Thomas Orde, created Lord Bolton, Oct. 20, 1797; b. Aug. 30, 1748, d. July 30, 1807; m. April 7, 1778, Jane Mary, natural dau. of Charles 5th Duke of Bolton. At the death of Harry 6th and last Duke of Bolton (the original of Captain Whiffle in Roderick Random), the greater portion of his estates devolved upon Mrs. Orde, the daughter of his elder brother. After holding several minor appointments, Mr. Orde was made Secretary to the Treasury, July, 1782, and resigned April, 1783. Chief Secretary in Ireland, Feb. 1784 to Nov. 1787. M.P. for Aylesbury from Oct. 1780 to March, 1784, and for Harwich to June, 1790; and in Ireland, for Rathcormack, from March, 1784, to April, 1790.

[5] Lord George Lennox, son of Charles 2nd Duke of Richmond; a General, Colonel 25th Regiment, and afterwards Governor of Plymouth, b. Nov. 27, 1737, d. March 22, 1805; m. at Gretna Green Dec. 25, 1759, Louisa,

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hands this day for the Tower: he is not to vacate his seat, and he has received a letter from the Secretary at War[1] signifying that the King has for some time wished to give him some military government to reward his long and faithful services, and that he now takes the opportunity of appointing him Constable of the Tower. This is undoubtedly a pleasing circumstance to me, as it marks more strongly my disinterested conduct, and removes Lord G. from future competition. I still cannot repent of what I have done. I certainly did not receive it as a military employment, but in the ministerial line from Lord North, and it would not have suited my character to have flown to the Crown for indemnity for the part I had taken, and endeavoured to have screened myself under a fresh tenure. Lord G. stands on other ground, and is undoubtedly as secure and free from all shackles as the Governor of Portsmouth. Adieu, it is just eleven.

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, Feb. 7, 1784.

I wrote in such a hurry last night, that I omitted mentioning two or three things. In the first place I am to tell you that ——'s relations have redeemed the bond; I shall not easily engage again in a scrape of that sort. In answer to your question about Rigby,[2] I hear that the late immaculate Treasury advanced 220,000*l.* in the course of last summer, to prevent his being called upon for his balance,[3] and the short day with which Lord John

dau. of William 4th Marquis of Lothian. He was grandfather of the present Duke. M.P. for Chichester from Nov. 1762, to Jan. 1767, and then for the county of Sussex to June, 1790. He was aide-de-camp to the Duke of Cumberland at Closterseven.

[1] Right Hon. Sir George Yonge, Bart., K.B., b. 1732, d. Sept. 29, 1812; m. July 10, 1765, Elizabeth, dau. and co-heir of Bouchier Clieve, Esq. of Foots-Cray. After filling some minor offices, he was, July, 1782, made Secretary at War, a post occupied by his father for many years under Walpole. This office, except from April to December, 1783, he held till July, 1794; then Master of the Mint to Feb. 1799, and, lastly, Governor of the Cape of Good Hope to July, 1806. M.P. for Honiton from Nov. 1763, to May, 1796, and for Old Sarum from March, 1799, to Feb. 1801, when he was succeeded by John Horne Tooke.

[2] Right Hon. Richard Rigby, b. 1722, d. April 8, 1788, unmarried. Commissioner of Trade, 1755; Chief Secretary in Ireland from Sept. 1757, to Oct. 1761, during which time he obtained the valuable sinecure of Master of the Rolls for life; Vice-Treasurer of Ireland from Dec. 1762, to Dec. 1765, and from Jan. to June, 1768, and then sole Paymaster to March, 1782. M.P. for Castle Rising, 1745; Sudbury, 1747; and Tavistock, 1754, to his death. In Ireland, M.P. for Old Leighlin during his secretaryship.

[3] The question of these balances, said to have been 1,100,000*l.*, was brought before Parliament, in 1782, by Kenyon, the Attorney-General, without the knowledge and against the real wish of the Government. The attack was renewed in 1784, after large sums had been paid, on account, by Mr. Rigby's executors. The accounts were finally audited, Jan. 16, 1794, with a balance indebted of 151,783*l.* 3*s.*, subject to a deduction of 46,000*l.* as claimed by the executors. This was not settled till Aug. 1802, when there appeared to be still a large amount due. The

threatened him, as I believe you recollect, is not yet named; in short, he thought they were the strongest side, and could either prosecute or protect; Kenyon,[1] however, is now at him in the Exchequer. My mother[2] is vastly well, and happy in agreeing with all her sons in politics; she laments, however, the state of the Townshend family. Mary[3] and Charles[4] Townshend, and all the Brodricks talk violent opposition language; and Lord Middleton[5] has voted in all the violent questions against Lord Sydney; so much for obligation and friendship. Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

P.S. Innes tells me that Bruen[6] exculpates himself from the charge, by saying that he was obliged to go some lengths with the Volunteers in order to gain their confidence, that he might the more completely defeat their measures in the end, and that he joined heartily in the last vote against them. I do not quite understand this.

The Volunteers have voted an augmentation to their forces with a proportion of artillery; they say General Pitt,[7] but some say Sloper,[8] is to command in Ireland—utrum horum?

Treasury agreed to accept 25,000*l.*, and to wipe off 40,000*l.* Still 6000*l.* seems to have remained unsettled. Mr. Rigby's unpaid private debts at that time amounted to 147,000*l.*

[1] Sir Lloyd Kenyon, created Lord Kenyon June 9, 1788; b. Oct. 5, 1732, d. April 4, 1802; m. Oct. 16, 1773, Mary, dau. of George Kenyon, Esq. of Peel Hall. Chief Justice of Chester from 1780, to March, 1784; Attorney-General from April, 1782, to March, 1784 (except from May to Dec. 1783); then Master of the Rolls; and, June, 1788, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. M.P. for Hindon and then for Tregony from Oct. 1780, to June, 1788.

[2] Elizabeth, Countess Dowager Cornwallis, dau. of Charles, 2nd Viscount Townshend, b. 1702, d. Dec. 9, 1785; m. Nov. 1722, Charles, 5th Lord and 1st Earl Cornwallis.

[3] Mary Townshend, sister of Thomas, 1st Viscount Sydney, b. April 1, 1735, d. April 12, 1821. She was very beautiful; and her picture, in the character of Comedy, was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and is now at Frognal.

[4] Charles Townshend, brother of Mary Townshend, b. March 28, 1734, d. Aug. 10, 1799. From 1758 till his death he was Deputy Teller of the Exchequer, and from holding that office got the name of Exchequer Charles. In politics he was attached to Lord Rockingham.

[5] George, 4th Viscount Middleton, b. Nov. 1, 1754, d. Aug. 12, 1836; m. 1st, Dec. 4, 1778, Frances, dau. of Thomas, 1st Earl of Chichester; 2nd, June 13, 1797, Maria, dau. of Richard Benyon, Esq., of Golden Hall. His mother was Albinia, sister of Thomas, 1st Viscount Sydney. Created Lord Brodrick in England May 28, 1796. M.P. for Whitchurch from Nov. 1774 till he was made an English peer. He could not have sat for that borough without the support of Lord Sydney, who had obtained many places for his family.

[6] Mr. Bruen had voted in the majority of 158 to 49, Nov. 29, 1783, when Mr. Flood had come down in uniform from the Volunteer Convention, and, acting under their instructions, had moved to bring in a bill for Parliamentary Reform.

[7] Right Hon. Sir William Augustus Pitt, K.B., b. 1728, d. Jan. 29, 1800; m. June 21, 1763, Mary, dau. of Scrope, 2nd Viscount Howe. A General; Colonel 1st Dragoon Guards; and Governor of Portsmouth. Commander-in-Chief in Ireland from Feb. 1784 to Dec. 1791. M.P. for Wareham from Nov. 1754 to March, 1761.

[8] General, afterwards Sir Robert, Sloper, K.B.; Colonel 4th Dragoons; d. Aug. 13, 1802; m. Aug. 8, 1752, Jane, dau. of Chief Justice Willes. Commander-in-Chief at Madras, and then in Bengal, from June, 1785, to Sept. 1786, when he was superseded by Lord Cornwallis.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, Feb. 17, 1784.

Things remain as they were. The ministry determined not to resign, but willing to treat; the opposition determined to enter into no treaty till they have resigned. I am told that a certain personage[1] wrote to the Duke of Portland,[2] to express his desire of a firm and permanent administration, and to desire him to meet Mr. Pitt, and that the answer was, that either the ministers must resign, or he must treat personally with that personage. You will not mention this till you hear more.

It seems very doubtful whether the House will not oblige Lord G. Lennox to vacate his seat;[3] if so, there is an end of its being a military appointment. The mass of the people are certainly with the present ministry, yet I do not see a possibility of going on with the present Parliament, and an union seems now totally out of the question.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, Feb. 23, 1784.

I have just received yours of the 18th; the Duke and Orde are gone, but Pitt is still here; I will see him, and unless I get the most explicit assurances from him that what you apprehend shall not happen, I will lose no time in applying to the Duke and to Orde.[4] I did not see the Duke after his appointment, he was so beset by all sorts of people. I have my serious apprehensions for him; he has a good heart, but is hardly enough experienced in business for so ticklish a situation. The Duke has very unwisely taken over three or four boys of the Guards for aides-de-camp, which will be of great disservice to him, and can be of no use to them.

On the whole, political matters bear a better appearance, the

[1] The King.

[2] William Henry, 3rd Duke of Portland, K.G., b. April 14, 1738, d. Oct. 30, 1809; m. Nov. 8, 1776, Dorothy, dau. of William, 4th Duke of Devonshire. Lord Chamberlain, July, 1765, to Dec. 1766; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, April to Sept. 1782; First Lord of the Treasury, April to Dec. 1783, and from March, 1807, till his death; Secretary of State, July, 1794, to July, 1801; and then President of the Council to Jan. 1805. Elected Chancellor of Oxford in 1792 on Lord Guilford's death. M.P. for Weobley from April, 1761, till he succeeded to the peerage, May 1, 1762.

[3] In order to decide the question, Mr. Steele moved, March 3, that the office of Constable of the Tower was not a military office, which was negatived, as he intended, and without a division.

[4] See letter of March 8.

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spirit of the nation is ranged in favour of the present minister, and it is much doubted whether the House of Commons will venture in the present temper of the people to refuse the supplies. Pitt rises every day in character and estimation as to abilities, and he positively declared on Friday[1] night, in one of the best speeches that ever was made, that he would not resign. I have not dined with or seen in private the great personage[2] you inquire about, nor I believe, does any one who votes as I do; in short, there is not a more violent Foxite than him in the kingdom. Lord Southampton[3] has been very ill, but is now recovered; his son Charles[4] is in town, very idle I believe; our friend George[5] is soon expected from Jamaica.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Our friend G. Damer[6] is grown a most violent party man; in short, political animosities are at such a height, as to make it almost impossible to associate with those of the opposite party.

[1] In the debate on an address, moved Feb. 20, by Mr. Powys, calling on the King to dismiss his ministers. There were two divisions; 197 to 177, and 177 to 156. In both Mr. Pitt was in a minority.

[2] The Prince of Wales.

[3] Charles, 1st Lord Southampton — so created Oct. 17, 1780—grandson of Charles, 2nd Duke of Grafton, b. June 25, 1737, d. March 21, 1797; m. July 27, 1758, Anne, dau. and coheir of Admiral Sir Peter Warren. Groom of the Bedchamber to George II. and George III.; Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen. When the Prince of Wales formed his establishment in 1780, he was made his Groom of the Stole, and held that office till his death. A General, and Colonel of the 3rd Dragoons. M.P. for Orford, Bury St. Edmunds, and Thetford, from Dec. 1759 to July, 1780.

[4] Hon. Charles Fitzroy, 2nd son of the above; a General, and Colonel 25th Regiment; b. Sept. 5, 1762, d. Oct. 18, 1831; m. Sept. 21, 1816, Eliza, dau. of —— Barlow, Esq., and widow of Clavering Savage, Esq. It is well known that he had previously contracted a clandestine marriage with the Princess Amelia, youngest dau. of George III., who d. Nov. 2, 1810. He was for a long time Equerry or Groom to George III.

[5] Hon. George Fitzroy, afterwards 2nd Lord Southampton; a Lieut.-General, and Colonel 34th Regiment; b. Aug. 7, 1761, d. June 24, 1810; m. 1st, June 28, 1784, Laura, dau. of the Hon. Frederick Keppel, Bishop of Exeter; and 2nd, Dec. 2, 1802, Frances Isabella, dau. of Lord Robert Seymour. He was for some time Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales. M.P. for Bury St. Edmunds from March, 1784, to Jan. 1787.

[6] Hon. George Damer, afterwards, Feb. 12, 1798, 2nd and last Earl of Dorchester, eldest son of Joseph, 1st Lord Milton, who was made Earl of Dorchester May 15, 1792. Mr. Damer was b. March 28, 1746, d. March 6, 1808, unmarried. Chief Secretary in Ireland from Dec. 1794 to March, 1795. M.P. for Cricklade, the Anstruther Boroughs, Dorchester, and Malton, from May, 1768, till he succeeded to the Earldom, Feb. 12, 1798. In Ireland, for Naas, from Dec. 1794 to 1797. To his sister, Lady Caroline Damer, he left his estates and large mansion in Park Lane, which, on account of its having for many years never been opened to society, was called "Milton's Paradise Lost." On its site now stands the residence of R. S. Holford, Esq., M.P. The first Lord Dorchester was a near relation of Damer, the Elwes of Ireland, who d. July 6, 1720, and on whom Swift wrote a satirical poem, beginning—

"Know all men by these presents, Death the Tamer
By mortgage hath secured the soul of Damer;
Nor can four hundred thousand sterling pound
Redeem him from his prison under ground."

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, March 3, 1784.

I have just received your letter of the 28th. I shall be glad to do everything in my power to assist Baillie;[1] but I have great doubts whether I can be of much use; Sir G. Y—[2] is ignorant and important. You will easily guess what a personal application to him must cost: to give you a specimen: ——, a disagreeable Irish blackguard, had been eight years in the 33rd, he wished to exchange with Lieutenant ——, a very deserving young man, who was one of the reduced lieutenants, for the regulated difference; the whole regiment wished it, the Colonel recommended it, and Sir G. Y— refused it, because —— had not bought. Notwithstanding this, as I know the real concern you take in what affects Lord Ankerville,[3] I will bow lower to the official importance which I despise.

The Tower is this day decided to be a military employment, and Lord George Lennox does not vacate his seat.

I must now tell you a dreadful story, which I would not mention to you, if I did not wish you to observe on the occasion poor Lord ——, and if possible so to gain his confidence, as to be perhaps useful to him. Lord * * * is totally ruined—past all redemption. —— is now beset with bailiffs; his debts amount to more than 20,000*l.*, and I am told his estate in —— is sequestered. What is to become of the poor girls, God only knows. I fear even their clothes will be taken from them. You will easily imagine what I feel on this occasion, yet any thing that I could offer would be useless to them, and must be taken from what I owe to my own children. Little would it avail them, that I should sacrifice every personal consideration for their sake, if I was to pay for the follies of others out of their small fortunes. I strongly advise sending the young ladies down to the Dowager Lady * * *, and I will freely pay the expense of their journey.

You will of course be discreet and secret on this subject; but I would have you, if possible, find out what Lord —— knows, and let me hear your opinion about the girls going to the Dowager, and what the country says about the estate.

They say the King and his ministers are stout, yet how the present Parliament can go on without a change of ministers, I can-

[1] Captain, afterwards Major, James William Baillie, 7th Regiment. Lord Cornwallis succeeded in obtaining for him, March 9, the appointment of Fort-Major of Fort George, which he held till his death, Aug. 16, 1805.

[2] Sir George Yonge.

[3] David Ross, made a Lord of Session, Feb. 1776, b. 1727, d. Aug. 16, 1805. He took the title of Lord Ankerville.

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not discover. I know you will scold me for not being at least more familiar with ministers; but I cannot bring myself to it, and I see important fools every day taking the lead, and becoming men of consequence. I do not believe Lord T.[1] and Mr. P. ever had any quarrel, and think that the former resigned because they would not dissolve the Parliament. I may however be mistaken in this, at present they are apparently friends.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, March 8, 1784.

General Pitt has not only given me the most positive promise that no one should go over you in the 45th,[2] but the strongest assurances that if the Majority should become vacant, you should succeed to it. I will give him a Memorandum before he goes, which would stop any application from the Lord-Lieutenant; but I think, after Pitt's handsome behaviour, it may perhaps be indelicate to write to the Lord-Lieutenant; at least I think I should feel it so if I was in Pitt's situation. I have not heard from —— these three months; I believe he is angry with me for throwing cold water on his grievance that the brevet promotion came within three of him without including him. The House of Commons are this night attacking the advisers of the King's last answer. I suppose they will on this occasion have a majority, but people very much doubt their carrying a *short* Mutiny Bill. It is imagined that some of the military men will not vote for that measure. Lord Eglingtoune[3] looks very well, but is not grown much soberer.

I am, my dear Ross, your most affectionate friend,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Tuesday night, March 9, 1784.

The majority of *one*[4] last night on Fox's representation to the King, has totally disconcerted the measures of opposition, and

[1] Earl Temple.

[2] Lieut.-Colonel Ross, then senior Captain of the 45th, was desirous of obtaining the Majority, which was likely to become vacant. As the regiment was on the Irish establishment, the commissions were, strictly speaking, in the patronage of the Lord-Lieutenant, who in this case seems to have availed himself of his power, as on Dec. 31, 1784, Captain Peter Daly was gazetted to the Majority—probably some parliamentary job.

[3] Archibald, 11th Earl of Eglinton, a General, Colonel 2nd Dragoons, and Governor of Edinburgh Castle; b. May 18, 1726, d. Oct. 30, 1796; m. 1st, March 30, 1772, Jean, dau. of George, 18th Earl of Crawford; 2nd, Aug. 9, 1783, Frances, dau. of Sir William Twisden, Bart., of Roydon Hall.

[4] The numbers were 191 to 190. The late Lord Rosslyn, then Sir James Erskine,

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the Mutiny Bill this day met with no obstruction, so that Mackay's heart may be at rest; from the *strength* of the regiments in Scotland, I think he could not have had much to fear. I do not apprehend there will be any dissolution till the summer, as it would be too late for ministers after the election of a new Parliament to introduce any measures of consequence, and it is the intention of opposition not to interrupt the ordinary business. The ministry are triumphant, and if they manage their affairs with as much prudence and wisdom as they have hitherto done, they may keep their ground many years.

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, March 17, 1784.

I have just time to answer two or three of your queries. Lord Shelburne has had a most severe fit of the gout for these last two months, I believe longer; he is just beginning to crawl about. His conversation is friendly to the present administration, but I should apprehend that the support of a disappointed minister is even more precarious than the voice of the people. Fox[1] is just gone to his regiment. I have seen him very often; he acquitted himself vastly well in his command at Halifax, and is as much attached as ever to his profession, and is no politician. I know not what to say about the dissolution of Parliament, it must either happen before Easter or not till Midsummer. I am inclined still to think the latter, but it is very uncertain.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, April 5, 1784.

I returned last night from Brome, having chose Generals Phillipson and Bathurst.[2] My brother was pressed by Lord Howe

and whipper-in for the Opposition, told the editor that early in the evening it was ascertained that the majority, either way, turned upon the vote of Elwes the miser, then M.P. for Berks; and it was not till just before the division that Sir James could elicit from him his intentions.

[1] Hon. Colonel Fox, afterwards General the Right Hon. Henry Fox, Colonel 10th Regiment, younger son of Henry, 1st Lord Holland, b. March 4, 1755, d. July 18, 1811; m. Nov. 14, 1786, Marianne, dau. of William Clayton, Esq., of Harleyford. He was Governor of Minorca from 1795 to 1802; Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean from Jan. 1801 to Feb. 1808, and in Ireland from May to Nov. 1803.

[2] Major-General, afterwards General, Peter Bathurst, b. Jan. 8, 1723, d. Dec. 20, 1801; m. Elizabeth, dau. of George Evelyn, Esq., of Nutfield. M.P. for Eye, April, 1784, to June, 1790, and Sept. 1792, to Oct. 1795.

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to stand for Portsmouth,[1] where Government was in great danger of being beat, and it was thought his name and character would be of great use. I was very unwilling to part with my brother from Eye, and greatly at a loss whom to recommend. I had only an hour allowed me to decide, and I think I have chosen well, as Bathurst is a man of great honour, perfectly independent both in mind and fortune, and an eager and zealous friend to Mr. Pitt.

Poor Brome has had a violent cough, with some fever, and irritation on his breast; they were obliged to bleed him two or three times, and lay on two or three blisters within the week. He is now recovering very fast; but I am so disturbed at these frequent attacks, that I have determined to send him for one year to Dr. Wakeham,[2] and then, if he appears quite strong, to let him return to Eton.

The elections have gone very favourably to ministers. Poor Mr. C. Townshend[3] has lost his for Yarmouth. Fox is in great jeopardy. This day's poll is—

Hood	3262
Wray[4]	2985
Fox	2868

This day was the great push. It is just eleven.

Yours ever,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, April 9, 1784.

The Ministry prevail in elections, the triumph in Yorkshire[5] is a great one; my neighbour Sir C. Bunbury[6] is turned out of the

[1] Admiral Cornwallis and Sir H. Fetherstonhaugh were returned, Mr. Erskine defeated.

[2] Rev. Dr. Wakeham, Rector of Ingham, a parish adjoining Culford, b. Feb. 27, 1763, d. Dec. 5, 1838.

[3] The members returned were Henry Beaufoy, Esq., and Sir John Jervis, afterwards Lord St. Vincent.

[4] Sir Cecil Wray, Bart., b. 1735, d. Jan. 10, 1805; m. Esther, dau. of —— Summers, Esq. M.P. for Retford from May, 1768, to July, 1780, and for Westminster from June, 1782, to March, 1784. He was one of the victims of the Rolliad and Probationary Odes.

[5] Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Henry Duncombe were returned; Mr. Foljambe, the late member, nephew of Sir George Saville, and Mr. Weddell, retiring without a contest. In Mr. Wilberforce's Life it is said the promises were 11,173 to 2510; the subscription 18,670*l.*, and not 5000*l.* spent.

[6] Sir Charles Bunbury, 6th Baronet, b. May, 1740, d. March 31, 1821; m. June 2, 1762, Sarah, dau. of Charles, 2nd Duke of Richmond, to whom George III. was supposed to have been attached. Sir Charles was celebrated for his victories on the turf. The numbers at this election were—

Sir John Rous	1652
Mr. Grigby	1283
Sir C. Bunbury ..	739

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county of Suffolk, and I think it probable that Mr. Coke,[1] a violent Foxite, will share the same fate in Norfolk.

I enclose to you a paper at the request of Captain Byrd,[2] who thinks that you can state a clear account of Mrs. Byrd's demand to be laid before the Treasury. I do not myself believe that she has now any chance of obtaining what is so justly due to her, and what Sir Henry has in reality defrauded her of, at the expense of a breach of his positive promise. That worthy knight has quarrelled with his friend the Duke of Newcastle,[3] and is left out of the new Parliament, and I hear he is going to travel for two or three years. Grant is disappointed of a seat in Parliament, which he was fool enough to wish to obtain at the expense of 2500*l.* Tarleton[4] is now standing a poll for Liverpool. I saw George Hanger[5] to-day; he has settled his affairs, and tells me he has between 400*l.* and 500*l.* to live on. The Duchess of Devonshire[6] is indefatigable in her canvass for Fox; she was in the most blackguard houses in Long Acre by eight o'clock this morning: Fox is, however, 288 behind Sir Cecil Wray, notwithstanding the assistance of the Duchess, and Mrs. Bouverie,[7] and Mrs. Robinson,[8] and many other fair canvassers.[9] I had a letter from Yorke[10] to-day in good spirits,

[1] Thomas William Coke, created Earl of Leicester, Aug. 12, 1837, b. May 4, 1752, d. June 30, 1842; m. 1st, Oct. 5, 1775, Jane, dau. of James Dutton, Esq., and sister of James, 1st Lord Sherborne; 2nd, Feb. 26, 1822, Anne, dau. of William, 4th Earl of Albemarle. Sir Edward Astley, the old member, and Sir John Wodehouse, afterwards the 1st Lord Wodehouse, came in without a contest. Mr. Coke was M.P. for Norfolk from May, 1777, to Dec. 1832, except in the Parliament of 1784, and in that of 1806, when he sat for the town of Derby, having been turned out of the county on petition.

[2] Captain Byrd was son of a Mrs. Byrd, who had rendered essential services to Lord Cornwallis in his American campaigns. Lord Cornwallis, when in India, renewed his application on his behalf.

[3] Henry, 2nd Duke of Newcastle-under-Line, b. April 20, 1720, d. Feb. 22, 1794; m. Oct. 16, 1744, Catherine, dau. and coheir of the Right Hon. Henry Pelham, the minister. Lord of the Bedchamber to George II., and afterwards to George III., till 1762. He held two great patent sinecures, Comptroller of Customs, and Auditor of the Exchequer. Sir Henry Clinton had sat for Newark in the preceding Parliament.

[4] He was defeated. The numbers were—

Mr. Bamber Gascoyne	959
Lord Penryhn	855
Colonel Tarleton	844

[5] Hon. George Hanger, afterwards, Dec. 11, 1814, 4th and last Lord Coleraine, a Major-General, b. 1751, d. March 31, 1824, unmarried. A personal friend of the Prince of Wales, and attached to his household. He was a very eccentric character, and would never assume his title.

[6] Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire, wife of William 4th Duke, dau. of John 1st Earl Spencer; b. June 7, 1757, d. March 30, 1806, m. June 5, 1774.

[7] Henrietta, dau. of Sir Everard Faulkener, K.B.; b. Feb. 12, 1750, d. Nov. 17, 1825; m. 1st, June 30, 1762, Hon. Edward Bouverie, and 2nd, Oct. 2, 1811, Lord Robert Spencer.

[8] Mary Darby, b. Nov. 27, 1758, d. Dec. 29, 1800; m. April 12, 1775, —— Robinson, an attorney's clerk. When acting Perdita (by which name she was afterwards generally known), Dec. 3, 1779, she attracted the attention of the Prince of Wales, with whom she lived for some time. In 1799 she undertook the poetical part of the Morning Post.

[9] After 40 days' polling the election terminated May 16; it began April 1. The numbers were—

Lord Hood	6694
Mr. Fox	6234
Sir Cecil Wray	5998

Till the close of the 23rd day Sir Cecil had a majority.

[10] Lieut.-Colonel, afterwards Colonel Yorke,

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and giving a most excellent account of the appearance and discipline of the 33rd.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Culford, May 9, 1784.

I received about three weeks ago a letter by express from Lord Sydney, saying that Government had determined to send a Lieut.-General immediately to Madras, but that whoever went was to be taught to expect a Commander-in-Chief soon after him. He asked my opinion of Sloper as the Lieut.-General, and wished to know my sentiments as to the command-in-chief, whenever that appointment should be agitated in Council. I sent him a kind answer, thanking him for his attention to me. I told him I did not know enough of Sloper to be able to give an opinion about him, but as the resolution was taken to send a Lieut.-General, I must freely own that I could not point out a proper one. In regard to myself, I said that since I had turned my thoughts to Indian matters, I had never seen the military command there in a favourable light, and that if an answer was to be given by the return of the messenger, I should certainly beg to be permitted to decline it; but if it was a matter of future discussion, and that no appointment was immediately to take place, I should when I came to town talk the matter fully over with him before I gave a final answer. I now find it reported all over the kingdom that I am to go, and am daily pestered with letters about it. This is all I know about the matter, and Lord Sydney said so much about secrecy, that I was afraid to write to you by the post; but as you have heard so much, I could be no longer silent to you.

The more I turn it in my mind, the less inclination I feel to undertake it. I see no field for extraordinary military reputation, and it appears to me in every light dangerous to the greatest degree. To abandon my children and every comfort on this side the grave; to quarrel with the Supreme Government in India, whatever it may be; to find that I have neither power to model the army or correct abuses; and finally to run the risk of being beat by some nabob, and being disgraced to all eternity, which from what I have read of their battles appears a very probable

b. May, 1745, d. 1825, m. Juliana, dau. of Thomas Dodd, Esq. of Swallowfield, M.P. for Reading. He was Deputy Lieutenant of the Tower from March, 1794, till his death. He exchanged the Lieut.-Colonelcy of the 33rd with the Hon. Colonel Wesley—the Duke of Wellington.

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thing to happen—I cannot see, in opposition to this, great renown and brilliant fortune. . . .

I had a letter from Haldane the other day in tolerable spirits, and perfectly satisfied with a conversation that I had with the Duke of Richmond about him. He has marked a map with our march for Faden,[1] and sent an explanation with it. I do not quite like the explanation, but it is a delicate thing for me to have any hand in it, as I have no inclination again to commence author. Adieu, my dear Ross.

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, May 25, 1784.

I attended Lord Sydney to-day at his desire; he put the question to me again about India, and I answered nearly as before; but on my laying particular stress on the circumscribed power of the Military command without the Civil, he said he was sure Mr. Pitt would wish to give me both. I told him that I could not think of it with pleasure, that it did not agree with my favourite passion, but that as soon as their plan was digested and put into an intelligible form (which by his conversation I should think was not in much forwardness), I would consider whether I could undertake it with any degree of safety for myself, or appearance of utility to the public; and if that should be the case, I might perhaps be induced to sacrifice every prospect of comfort and happiness in this world, to the service of my country and the advantage of my family. I said that I feared our opposition to Fox's Bill, and clamour about chartered rights, would tie the hands of Government very much in regard to the Company. Lord S. says, and indeed I have heard from other hands, that the Company are desirous of my going, but I feel how precarious their favour must be. In short my mind is much agitated. I can come to no resolution till I know the plan; yet inclination cries out every moment, Do not think of it; reject all offers; why should you volunteer plague and misery? duty then whispers, You are not sent here merely to please yourself; the wisdom of Providence has thought fit to put an insuperable bar to any great degree of happiness; can you tell, if you stay at home, that the loss of your son, or some heavy calamity, may not plunge you in the deepest despair? try to be of some use; serve your country and your friends; your confined circumstances do not allow you to contribute to the happiness of

[1] Faden was the principal mapseller at that time; his premises are now occupied by Wyld.

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others by generosity and extensive charity; take the means which God is willing to put into your hands.

I have had a long and friendly conversation with Mackay;[1] he seems to think himself sure of getting some appointment, either Major of Brigade or Assistant-Adjutant-General. I offered to speak to Fawcett, but he seemed rather to wish me not to do it. He insists that I shall go to India, and says his friends at the India House assure him of it; he desired me to give him early notice if it took place, as he made no doubt of your going with me. I told him that was most certain, and promised, if I should be appointed, not only to give him the earliest notice, but use every means in my power to procure him the recommendation of the Deputy-Adjutant-General. I think by the means of Fawcett I could easily carry that point for him with the King, and it would rid me of my engagements to the Major. After all I have said, I can hardly think the India business will come in such a shape as to oblige me to accept. I will, however, give my reason as free scope as possible to act, by boldly combating my passions, and hope I shall decide for the best. . . . I refer you to the newspapers for the triumphant divisions in the House of Commons.[2]

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, June 13, 1784.

I have had no communication with Ministers relative to India since I wrote last, but Grant told me, in confidence, that they intended to offer me to be Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. I am sensible that, finding I can live comfortably in England, and having every reason to expect comfort from my children, who are now nearly arriving at an age when an anxious and affectionate father would wish to be constantly watching them, I should, by going to India, sacrifice all earthly happiness, without even gratifying my favourite passion, which has hitherto excited me to quit ease and enjoyment for anxiety and mortification: yet I flatter myself I shall still have fortitude enough to do my duty, if I should see a prospect of being really serviceable to my country. You may depend on having the earliest intelligence. Lord Waldegrave[3] is not likely to live many weeks. I can hardly doubt my

[1] Captain, afterwards Major-General Alexander Mackay, and D.A.G. in Scotland, b. 1741, d. April 26, 1809, unmarried.

[2] The address was carried by 282 to 114, May 24, the first day of the session.

[3] John, 3rd Earl Waldegrave, b. April 28,

succeeding to his government—this would be to me ease and affluence. There has been a little jealousy and misunderstanding between Lord Rawdon[1] and Pitt. I have been the negotiator, they are now fast friends, and both think themselves obliged to me.

Sir Henry has printed another pamphlet, and circulated it amongst his friends, but he has not yet published it. A copy was sent to me. It is a letter to the Commissioners of Accounts, accusing them of want of candour and justice in not examining him, as they did me and Sir W. Howe, and observing that I assumed a merit to myself which was not due to me, by my Orders of the 23rd of December,[2] 1780, as far as they regarded the Commissary-General's department, as the appointment of Commissaries of Captures was first made by him; and that if I had seen his Orders obeyed, my Order would have been unnecessary. I believe you recollect at whose instigation his Order was given. It is not worth any serious notice, perhaps I may send it to you. He talked for near three hours to the Commissioners of Accounts on the operations of the War, arraigned my military conduct, repeated everything that he said in his former pamphlet relative to the march into Virginia and the post of Yorktown, and concluded by saying that if his plans had been adopted in time (for he said they were at last), America would have been now at our feet. I trust that you will easily believe that I shall enter into no India engagements.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

P.S.—I am as usual pestered to death every morning by wretched starving loyalists.

1718, d. Oct. 22, 1784; m. May 7, 1751, Elizabeth, dau. of John, 1st Earl Gower. A General; Colonel 14th Regiment; Master of the Horse to the Queen from 1770 to his death. M.P. for Orford, Nov. 1747; then for Newcastle-under-Line to Nov. 1763. His mother, the Dowager Countess, m. Sept. 6, 1766, H.R.H. William Henry, Duke of Gloucester. His government of Plymouth, alluded to above, was given to Lord George Lennox.

[1] There are no papers in the possession of the Editor which throw any light on this allusion.

[2] "Head-quarters, Wynnesborough, Dec. 23, 1780.

"As I consider myself a steward for the public money expended by the troops under my command, I think myself bound, by the duty I owe my country, to regulate the charges to be made by the different departments.

"The Commissary-General is not to charge Government for the complete ration delivered to the soldier, unless such ration is supplied from the stores sent from England. Whenever he delivers to them fresh provisions, he must only charge to them the real amount of what he pays for the cattle, for which the receipts of the inhabitants will be his vouchers. The same rule must be strictly observed in the delivery of flour and Indian meal."

In this pamphlet Sir Henry prints some of his own orders, which by no means justified his assertions.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, June 21, 1784.

Public business always goes on very slowly. The Smuggling Bill[1] is to be brought in to-day. No time is fixed for the Budget and Taxes; so that if any India Bill is to be brought in, it must come very late, and I think that a sufficient attendance cannot be procured to carry it through with decency. I have heard nothing more since I wrote last. I told Lord Sydney that I should go out of town the latter end of the week, leaving my proxy; and that if he had anything material to say to me I would come up on his sending for me. Sloper tells me that the Company have refused to comply with the terms which Lord S. proposed to him, and to which he acceded, particularly the promise of a letter of service as Lieut.-General. This does not look like a sufficient agreement between the Company and Administration to produce any proper establishment for the East. I still hold the same sentiments, and am prepared for the sacrifice if safe and honourable; at the same time I cannot help wishing that it may not happen. Medows[2] breakfasted with me this morning; he told me he would go with me to the East Indies. Fox says the same. There cannot be two general officers in the service, whom on every account I could more earnestly wish to have with me than Medows and Fox. God knows how it will turn out. You know my sentiments on Lord S. as a man of business.

I do not believe there is any foundation for your reports of divisions in the Cabinet.

Our last accounts of poor Brodrick are very alarming; indeed I have scarce any hopes of ever seeing him. I have had another friendly conversation with Mackay: he is possessed with the idea of my going to India, and has recommended to my protection, but not to my family, a nephew of his, the chief of his family,[3] whom he intends to send out to that country. I believe his idea of my

[1] This Bill, better known as the Commutation Bill, was intended to check smuggling, then carried on to an immense extent, principally in tea. It was estimated that out of 12,000,000 lbs. imported (the quantity in 1856 was 86,000,000 lbs., of which 63,000,000 were taken out for consumption) only 5,500,000 lbs. passed through the Custom House. The duty was lowered from 50 to 12½ per cent. at an estimated loss to the revenue of 600,000*l*. To meet this deficiency it was proposed to lay a tax on windows.

[2] Major-General, afterwards General Sir William Medows, K.B., brother of the 1st Earl Manvers, b. Dec. 31, 1739, d. Nov. 14, 1813; m. May 30, 1770, Frances Augusta, dau. of Robert Hamerton, Esq. of Hamerton; Colonel of 7th Dragoon Guards; Commander-in-Chief in Ireland from June, 1801, to May, 1803.

[3] The Chief of the Mackays at this time was Hugh, 6th Lord Reay, who was of weak mind, and died Jan. 26, 1797, but the person meant is evidently his heir presumptive, George, who died in the East Indies, Dec. 12, 1790, and whose younger brother, Eric, became 7th Lord Reay.

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going to India prevents his pressing the business of an Assistant to your Staff; but I do not know how to help it, as he showed a great disinclination to my speaking to Fawcett on the subject.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

P.S.—Mackay has promised that on my notifying to him a probability of my going to India, he will give leave to you to go north or south, as you please.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Culford, Aug. 4, 1784.

I this day received a letter from Lord Sydney, a copy of which I enclose with my answer.

I have too good an opinion of your good sense and judgment not to be very anxious to hear your sentiments on what I have done; I know you will give them freely. If you have not seen the Bill, it may be necessary to inform you that the Commander-in-Chief has no more military patronage than any other member of the Council, and even the Council are tied down to give every promotion according to seniority, unless on some very extraordinary occasions, when they are to enter their reasons for deviating from that rule; and if those reasons are not approved of, the appointment is to be void. I cannot think by Lord Sydney's letter that Ministry have an idea of my proposing myself for anything, and even if there were more desirable situations it would be an awkward thing enough to do. Wishing as I do not to go, I am afraid of my inclination so far getting the better of my duty, as to make me hang back too much. I trust however that I have not done it.

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

LORD SYDNEY TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Private.]

MY DEAR LORD, London, Aug. 3, 1784.

I enclose to you the East India Bill, which will go to the Committee to-morrow. If there should appear in it any situation that would be agreeable to you, I am persuaded that you might command it. The East India Company are really desirous to trust their affairs to you; and I need not say that the Ministry go at least as far, if not still farther beyond them. The Bill will be in

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the Committee to-morrow, but I do not suppose that it will be materially altered, if at all.

There is an account just arrived of a peace with Tippoo Saib.[1] This is an entirely private letter, and you will have the goodness to consider it as such, and answer me accordingly. Whatever you do not wish to have communicated to others shall remain a secret with me.

I am, &c.,

SYDNEY.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD SYDNEY.

MY DEAR LORD, Culford, Aug. 4, 1784.

However my inclination might lead me to wish for retirement after the vexations and disappointments I experienced on the unfortunate service in which I have been engaged, yet if it appeared to me at any time that there could be a hope that my poor abilities would be useful to my country, no consideration of personal convenience or safety should induce me to shrink from it.

With great diffidence of my being equal to the arduous task, I accepted the proposal made to me by Lord Shelburne, although I doubted much whether I could do it. I was sensible that with the power intended to be lodged in the person who was to be both Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, much was to be done. The circumstances of the times have made it necessary to change that system. I feel myself much flattered with the good opinion and confidence of the East India Company, and am most gratefully sensible of the good disposition of the Ministry towards me. I should however make but an ill return to their attention to me, if I aimed at any situation in India in which I did not think that I could essentially serve them. If I sought for the place of Governor-General, I should not only abandon a profession to which I have from my youth wholly turned my thoughts, and to which I have hitherto sacrificed every consideration of advantage and happiness, but I should feel myself in competition with some person, whose habits of business would render him much more proper for the office than myself. I will besides own that the army is a favourite passion, and that I cannot give it up. But after acknowledging my predilection for the military line, I cannot undertake the command in India, being convinced that in the present circumscribed situation of the Commander-in-Chief, without power or patronage, an officer could neither get credit to himself, nor essentially serve the public.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] A very discreditable peace was signed March 11.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Culford, Sept. 3, 1784.

Since I received Lord Sydney's letter I have not heard one word about India, so that now I consider that business as absolutely and finally concluded; indeed I can hardly think that Lord S. would suppose from my letter that I would be Governor-General without being Commander-in-Chief. I am satisfied with myself as to the manner the thing has gone off, and I believe all my friends and the world in general would have blamed me if I had shown more forwardness.

The last accounts of H. Brodrick, of the 16th August, are so much and so materially better, that I have great hopes; there likewise are now great hopes of Lady Chatham's recovery, of whom we have long despaired.

I know of nothing in this part of the world worth your hearing. My children are vastly well.

I am, dear Ross, yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Brome, Sept. 19, 1784.

Campbell[1] is certainly to be Commander-in-Chief in Bengal. My friend Lord S. is in a scrape about Sloper. After waiting about six months, every day expecting his appointment, he has found out that the Ministry have never recommended him to the Directors. I find, however, that he will submit to go to command on the Coromandel coast, although Campbell should have a commission of General to command in chief in India, but I do not believe they intend that he should go at all. Jervis[2] is to have the naval command, but I know nothing of the civil arrangements. I am now in the middle of the hurry and bustle of my month[3] at Brome, which is not the pleasantest in the year.

Phillipson is vastly well, but I think he grows much deafer, and he has most provokingly left all his trumpets in London, which is hard upon me in our têtes-à-tête.

[1] Sir Archibald Campbell. He was made Governor of Madras, and Sir R. Sloper ultimately Commander-in-Chief in Bengal.

[2] Sir John Jervis, K.B., created Earl of St. Vincent, May 27, 1797, b. Jan. 19, 1734, d. March 13, 1823; m. June 5, 1783, Martha, dau. of Chief Justice Parker. M.P. for Launceston, Jan. 1783, to 1784; then Yarmouth, Norfolk, to 1790; then Wycombe, to Jan. 1794. Sir Andrew Mitchell was ultimately appointed to this command.

[3] Lord Cornwallis kept almost open house for about a month every year at Brome, to maintain his Parliamentary influence at Eye.

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I look on Ireland as gone; and I do not think that in the present temper and circumstances of this country, we shall take any vigorous step to bring them to their senses.[1] . . .

I understand that Lord Euston[2] is certainly to marry Lady Maria Waldegrave,[3] which will be a blessed event for our friend Chewton, and take almost all care from his shoulders. I cannot believe the story about the Lord-Lieutenant[4] throwing the glass of wine. If there is any foundation for it, it must have been by some joke or accident. I fear my good accounts of Lady Chatham were premature. I do not find that she mends at all, and I fear there are no hopes of her. Poor girl, how short was her hour of happiness!

My children are to be here on Saturday next. My brother William has had a smart fit of the gout, it is a little hard with his diet. If you have the same weather that we have had for these last three weeks, you will see the northern counties to great advantage.

I am, dear Ross, yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

Mansfield Street, Nov. 3, 1784.

I never before, my dear Ross, sat down with regret to write to you. It grieves me to think of the concern this letter will give you, but you must hear the story.

I told you I thought myself sure of Lord Waldegrave's Government. I had, when I resigned the Tower, told the K— that, without interfering with his arrangements, I should thankfully receive any mark of his favour in the line of my profession to which he might think my services might give me pretension, or words to that effect. His answer was, that nobody was nearer to his heart. A few days after my return to Culford, after my resignation, I received a letter from Lord Sydney, making the strongest professions of friendship in the name of the Administration, and saying that they wished they could offer me anything that I would take. I again answered that my wishes were confined to my profession, &c. &c. In a con-

[1] There was much unpleasant feeling in Ireland—violent riots in Dublin—the agitation about the Volunteers still subsisting. In August, delegates elected in various places to promote parliamentary reform, but the Attorney-General prosecuted and convicted the sheriffs who had presided over the meetings held for that object.

[2] George Henry, Earl of Euston, afterwards, March 14, 1811, 4th Duke of Grafton, b. Jan. 14, 1760, d. Sept. 20, 1844; m. Nov. 16, 1784, Maria, dau. of James, 2nd Earl Waldegrave. M.P. for Thetford, March, 1782, to March, 1784; and then for the University of Cambridge till he succeeded to the Dukedom.

[3] Lady Mary Waldegrave, b. Oct. 11, 1761, d. Feb. 1, 1808. Her father, of whom Lord Cornwallis speaks as "Chewton," had already succeeded to the Earldom.

[4] The Duke of Rutland was much given to conviviality, and some such adventure may possibly have occurred.

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versation I had with him in May or June, about the East Indies, I said that I by no means wished to go; that I did not think myself at liberty to refuse any situation in which I thought I could be useful with safety and honour to myself, but that I had much rather stay at home; that although I was poor, I could live on a little; and that I thought I had pretensions in the line of my profession: to which he answered, "Nobody more, and the K— thinks it a shame that you and Sir G. Carleton have not better military appointments." I know you will say, why did you not ask for Plymouth then? I answer, because I acted from the heart and not from the head. I knew what I had done for both K— and Ministry; I thought they felt it as I did; and I thought it rather indelicate, after what had passed, to ask for anything specific.

When I heard at Culford of Lord W.'s death, I again thought it indelicate to post up to town, trusting to the friendship of the highest powers, and being convinced that I should hear from one or other before anything but the Guards was disposed of; besides Lord Chatham was at that time with me, which would have made it particularly awkward. I, like Falstaff, expected every minute to be sent for till I saw Lord G. L.'s name in the Gazette for Plymouth. I then thought it time to come to town, especially as I was summoned on a court martial[1] to meet in a few days. I arrived in town last night, and saw Lord Percy's[2] name in the Gazette for the Grenadiers. This morning I went to Lord Sydney, and asked him whether my name had ever been brought in question as to the succession of any part of the military promotions. He said that to be sure my name had been *mentioned*, and stammered. He then said that Lord G. L. had a sort of a promise of Plymouth, and that it was not thought that I should like the Grenadiers: should I have liked them? I bid him say what he had to say, and I would answer him. He seemed to have nothing more to say; I then said that if Lord G. L.'s military pretensions were so much stronger than mine, or that the Duke of Richmond

[1] On Colonel Debbieg of the Engineers, who was tried for having written several improper letters to the Duke of Richmond, the Master-General of the Ordnance, and for charging him with partiality. He was found guilty of all the charges, sentenced to be reprimanded, and ordered to apologize to the Duke. Lord Howard de Walden was the president of the Court.

[2] Hugh, Earl Percy, afterwards, June 6, 1786, 2nd Duke of Northumberland, K.G., and a General; b. Aug. 28, 1742, d. July 10, 1817; m. 1st, July 2, 1764, Anne, dau. of John 3rd Earl of Bute, and, 2nd, May 25, 1779, Frances, dau. of Peter Burrell, Esq. of Beckenham, and sister of Peter 1st Lord Gwydyr. The military appointment mentioned in the text was his nomination to be Captain and Colonel of the 2nd Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards, afterwards, June 25, 1788, made the 2nd Regt. of Life Guards. The Duke was made Colonel of the Blues, Dec. 30, 1806, but resigned in a pique Dec. 1812, and that Regt. was given to the Duke of Wellington. Lord Percy was M.P. for Westminster from May, 1768, till he became Baron Percy on the death of his mother, Dec. 5, 1776.

was so powerful that their caprices were at all events to be gratified, that I must submit, although I could not conceive what purpose it could answer to Lord G. L. to exchange from the Tower; that as to the Grenadiers, though I should have been much disappointed at nothing else being offered to me, there appeared so little chance of anything falling in the military line that I should probably have accepted them; but that what hurt me most was the contempt and neglect with which I had been treated. He then told me that Lord G. L. had not even asked for Plymouth, but that the Ministry had offered it because they wanted the Tower for another arrangement, but that the K. wanted to give Plymouth to Lord Townshend. That answer, you may suppose, satisfied me. Wanted it for Lord T., who had joined the party, to tie his hands behind him! I have now done for ever with Kings and Ministers. You will not mention the part that relates to Lord T. I have just seen Gore,[1] who showed me a letter from Lord G. Lennox, saying that he left the Tower with regret, and did not wish the exchange. Adieu. You shall hear again soon.

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, Nov. 6, 1784.

I have just received your letter of the 26th from Maize, and am glad to hear so good an account of Ballindallock. As for the snow, we have had our full share in this country.

I had this morning another conference with Lord S., at his request, and on his assurance that he now was more master of the history of the disposal of Plymouth, and that he hoped to convince me that no slight was intended. He began by saying that when Lord G. L. took the Tower, the Ministry promised to remove him to Plymouth, and that they then considered me out of the question, as being intended for the supreme command in India; that the present state of Ireland made it necessary to give up English Vice-Treasurers, and that they wanted the Tower to accommodate Lord Edgecumbe,[2] and ended with some bombast flummery.

[1] Major, afterwards Colonel John Gore, Deputy Lieutenant of the Tower, b. 1724, d. March 5, 1794. He had been Lieut.-Colonel of the 33rd.

[2] George, 3rd Lord Edgecumbe, made Earl of Mount Edgecumbe, Aug. 18, 1789, b. March 3, 1721, d. Feb. 4, 1795; m. Aug. 6, 1761, Emma, only dau. and heir of John Gilbert, Archbishop of York. An Admiral of the Blue. He had held some offices in the Household, and succeeded Lord Cornwallis as Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, May, 1771; resigned, Jan. 1773; then Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners to March, 1782; and again Vice-Treasurer of Ireland from March, 1784, to Dec. 1793. M.P. for Fowey, July, 1746, to Nov. 1761, when, on the death of his brother, May 10, 1761, he became a peer.

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I told him that the promise to Lord G. L. could not be binding unless he required it; and that I had seen a letter from him to Major Gore, in which he said that he had rather have kept the Tower. "But," says I, "why tell me this idle story? The contest lay between Lord Townshend and Lord Edgecumbe; and you well know, and have already confessed to me, that neither King or Minister ever thought of me for it." I then said that if the King or Mr. Pitt had sent for me, and told me that my waiving my pretensions, and giving them a thousand pounds a-year out of my estate, was necessary for the support of Government in this country and for the affairs of Ireland, I would cheerfully have complied; but that I could not bear without resentment the usage I had met with; that every fool I met in the street condoled with and pitied me. I then went on to Lord Percy's getting the Grenadiers, and stated his behaviour to the King contrasted with mine. I then got up, said I could talk no longer on the subject, and wished him good morning. He said, "We must not part on these terms." I answered, "We can part on no other," and went out of the room. There is an end of the second and last chapter; and I am sacrificed to gratify that contemptible fellow Lord Edgecumbe, to whom the Tower cannot be worth above 400*l.* a-year, as he loses his half-pay as Admiral. God bless you, my dear Ross, I will keep up my spirits, be frugal of my money, and I shall ever value your friendship as one of my greatest comforts. General Stopford[1] has got the 5th Regiment, which four years ago the King was anxious to give to Medows.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, Nov. 8, 1784.

I did not feel quite easy at having had no communication with any person but Lord Sydney. I therefore determined to send the enclosed letter to Mr. Pitt.

I think now I have done with this vexatious business. Our court-martial meets to-morrow, I trust it cannot last many days, and as soon as it is over I shall quit this town till the end of February. I have sometimes thought, if the war on the Continent should go on, of trying to get to the Emperor. I am afraid it

[1] Hon. Edward Stopford, son of James, 1st Earl of Courtown; a General, and Colonel 5th Regt.; b. June, 1732, d. Oct. 22, 1794; m. June 27, 1783, Letitia, dau. of William Blacker, Esq.

would be difficult to manage, and perhaps still more difficult to make myself useful to him. God bless you! My hand is tired with writing.

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT.

DEAR SIR, Mansfield Street, Nov. 8, 1784.

As every transaction relative to myself with the present Administration has passed through Lord Sydney, and as I have no reason to be satisfied with his Lordship's conduct towards me, I feel an inclination to state to you the occurrences that have happened to me, with my feelings on them. You may cast your eye forward on the paper, and if you think it too long and uninteresting you need not read it. Lord Shelburne proposed to me, in May, 1782, to go to India as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. However disagreeable it might be to me to abandon my family and connexions in England, I thought it my duty to accept the offer, provided the affairs of India were so arranged that I could go with a prospect of being useful to my country. I afterwards confirmed my acceptance to the King, and held myself bound to him and to the public, to undertake that arduous command. When Mr. Fox and Lord North forced themselves into power, I thought that notwithstanding my sentiments on their coalition, it was not proper for me to take any political part until the business of India was settled. I conceived that I remained still engaged to undertake the command in that country, if the same conditions were proposed; and that if I declared war against the Ministers by the resignation of my place of Constable of the Tower, it would be a breach of the engagement on my part, especially as I received some civil messages on that subject on their first coming into office. I therefore determined to keep aloof until the Indian affairs were brought to an issue, and to take no part in whatever plan might be agitated in Parliament, with full intention to resign my place as soon as it was over. Circumstances obliged me to change my conduct without time for any explanation. I felt that I had acted unhandsomely by the late Administration, by having kept a place under them, if not in a friendly, at least not in a hostile, manner, and watching the first opportunity to join in ruining them. It then appeared to me that I had no means of securing my character from so base an imputation, but by resigning my office, and determining never more to accept of a civil employment. When I resigned, I told the King

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of my determination, adding that if he at any time thought my military services deserved a mark of his favour in the line of my profession, I should gratefully accept it, but that I did not mean to distress his Government on my account. A few days after this I received a very friendly letter from Lord Sydney, saying, in the name of the Administration, that they wished they could offer anything that I would accept. I answered, with the most sincere professions of friendship, that I could only accept something in my own line. Again, in a conversation with Lord Sydney about the latter end of last May, on Indian affairs, when it seemed impossible that the civil and military command could be joined, I told him that I was very glad to be fairly off; that I had never wished to go; that although I was poor I could live without it, and that I flattered myself I had pretensions in my own line; to which he answered, "Nobody has stronger," and intimated that the King was of the same opinion. I was weak enough to imagine that the sacrifice of everything that was dear to me in this world to the King's service in America, and my constant and, I believe he will allow, disinterested attachment to him for these last twenty years, had procured me a place in his Majesty's affections; I was vain enough to hope that my character and conduct abroad and at home had given me some small share in the esteem of Mr. Pitt. Judge what must be my feelings when I see these two great personages, although differing on some part of the late arrangement, yet both agreeing to expose me to the world as an object of contempt and ridicule. The apologies made to me by Lord Sydney have only added insult to the injury, and, I am sorry to say it of one whom I have sincerely loved, were of so disingenuous a nature that I do not care to think of them. I told him, and told him truly, that had the King, or had Mr. Pitt, sent for me, and told me that it was necessary for the support of their government that I should not only waive my pretensions, but give up half of the income of my estate, I would cheerfully have complied, and gloried in the sacrifice. I have now, Sir, only to say that I still admire your character—that I have still hopes that your abilities and integrity will preserve this distressed country; I will not be base enough, from a sense of personal injury, to join faction, and endeavour, right or wrong, to obstruct the measures of Government; but I must add, and with heartfelt grief I do it, that private confidence cannot easily be restored.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

MY DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, Nov. 10, 1784.

I this morning saw Mr. Pitt at his request, when after a long conversation with great temper, he proposed to me to take the Tower; I declined it saying, that though I should have had no objection to the Tower at first, on the supposition of Lord G. L.'s preferring Plymouth, that now it was known that there had been a negotiation; that it was not originally intended; and that it did not come as a spontaneous mark of the King's or Mr. Pitt's personal regard or attention to my services, it would rather be construed into a political bargain. He said that he trusted both our characters would put us above such an imputation. He declared upon his honour, that, instead of intending me any slight, he wished to give me every mark of his esteem and friendship; that if he had inadvertently offended, he could only ask pardon and offer any reparation in his power; that he could give me no stronger proof of this than by offering me the Tower, which he again pressed me to take. I professed myself perfectly satisfied with this, and with much civil language, which I used throughout the whole conversation without departing from a proper dignity, I desired some hours to consider of my acceptance: I have just notified it to him with assurance of total oblivion of all that has passed. I have wrote a letter of the same sort to Lord Sydney, and so this disagreeable affair has ended better than we could have expected. I have not time to say more at present.

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT.

DEAR SIR, Mansfield Street, Nov. 10, 1784.

The fairness and candour of your behaviour to me, and your obliging expressions of friendship, have determined me never to turn my eyes back to whatever fatality occasioned the disagreeable subject of our conversation. I shall most thankfully accept the Tower from you, and I shall erase from my mind every idea that I could ever have been slighted by Mr. Pitt.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, Nov. 13, 1784.

I have nothing material to say, but that I have got the Tower, which in point of income and security I suppose to be as good as Plymouth; the manner we will not talk of. Every thing has been most perfectly cordial between Pitt and me, and with the others all is forgot and forgiven. I have been sitting on a court-martial on Colonel Debbieg;[1] as the court is not yet dissolved, I can only say that we were a miserable set of judges.

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, Nov. 19, 1784.

As I have received no answer to all my letters, I conclude that you have been still wandering about the country. I am rather pleased to think that you will receive them all together, so that you will avoid in part the uneasiness which the first would have occasioned. You will not, however, think the whole injury done away, or be surprised when I say, that I still feel most sensibly and seriously mortified. The behaviour of a certain personage when I was presented was much as usual; I thought, considering all things, rather dry.

Lord George Gordon[2] is enlisting men publicly for the Dutch service, besetting the Treasury with mobs, and will probably soon set fire again to the town.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD SYDNEY.

MY DEAR LORD, Culford, Dec. 7, 1784.

I am sorry I had left town before you sent to me. I have no desire to exchange the Tower for any other Government; but if Mr. Pitt should at any time wish me to do it, I shall be much inclined to acquiesce in any arrangement that may be agreeable or convenient to him. I inclose to you a letter which I have received

[1] Colonel, afterwards General Debbieg, R.E., b. 1731, d. June 27, 1810.

[2] Lord George Gordon (godson of George II.), son of Cosmo, 3rd Duke of Gordon, b. Dec. 25, 1751, d. unmarried, Nov. 1, 1793, in Newgate, where he was confined for a libe on Marie Antoinette. M.P. for Ludgershall, from Nov. 1774, to July, 1780. His share in the riots of 1780 is well known. He wrote some violent and absurd letters to Mr. Pitt, with reference to the subject above mentioned, for which see An. Reg. of this year.

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from my old friend Charles O'Hara, not with an idea that you can render him any service (knowing as I do how few things there are to give, and how many persons there are ready to receive); but as he mentions some reliance on your good will towards him, that you may, if you please, have an opportunity of saying something civil either directly from yourself, or through me. His zealous services under my command, and the pains he took, and the success he met with, in reconciling the Guards to every kind of hardship, give him a just claim, independent of our old friendship, to my strongest representations in his favour.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Culford, Dec. 21, 1784.

I have received your letters of the 28th and 14th, and am glad your northern tour did not disagree with you. It is impossible that Ballindallock[1] or Lapland could produce worse weather than we have had this last fortnight. Lord Rawdon was here some days, but could get no partridge shooting, which we commonly have in perfection at this time of the year.

East India matters must I think go ill. Our friend Dundas,[2] although a very clever fellow, is, I fear, but a short-sighted politician. You know I was partial to a great part of Fox's Bill. Rawdon talks of affairs in Ireland as still in a most dangerous way; but I find he is hostile to the Castle, and I fear will soon be so to the ministry here, in spite of my endeavours to prevent it.

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] The seat of General Grant in Inverness-shire, now the property of Sir George Macpherson Grant, his heir.

[2] Right Hon. Henry Dundas, created Viscount Melville, Dec. 24, 1802, b. April 28, 1742, d. May 29, 1811; m. 1st, July 16, 1765, Elizabeth, dau. of David Rannie, Esq., of Melville Castle; 2nd, April 3, 1793, Jane, dau. of John, 2nd Earl of Hopetown. M.P. for the county of Edinburgh from Nov. 1774 to March 1784 (except for a few months in 1782, when he sat for Newtown in the Isle of Wight), and then for the city of Edinburgh, till he was made a peer. Solicitor-General, and then Lord-Advocate, from 1775 to 1783; Treasurer of the Navy; President of the Board of Control; and Secretary of State,—generally holding two offices at the same time, from Jan. 1784 to March, 1801. First Lord of the Admiralty from May, 1804, to May, 1805. Keeper of the Signet from 1783 till his death.

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CHAPTER VII.

Mr. Pitt's offer of the Governor-Generalship declined by Lord Cornwallis — Compensation to American Loyalists — Fortification of the Seaports — Mission of Lord Cornwallis to Frederick the Great — Their interview at Sans Souci — Military Manœuvres in Silesia — Lord Cornwallis accepts the Governor-Generalship — Sails from England.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, Feb. 23, 1785.

I had hoped to see you so soon that I omitted writing. I am sorry your journey is postponed.

I was again most violently attacked a fortnight ago to take the Governor-Generalship. Mr. Pitt's letter was kind and flattering to a degree, and he earnestly requested an interview. I agreed to go to him; our conversation was, however, rather superficial on the business, and he desired me to talk to Dundas. I easily found out from him that (after having lost sight of my going for six months) it was now taken up to prevent some disagreement in the Cabinet. He told me that if I would say I would go, many things which I objected to in the Bill should be altered. I was well aware of the danger of a declaration of that sort, and indeed, from their manner of conducting India business ever since the Bill passed, their disagreements at home, and the circumstances attending the appointment of their Generals,[1] and the present sudden application to me, merely to get rid of a momentary rub amongst themselves, I was convinced it would be madness in me to engage; so that, after taking twenty-four hours to consider, I gave a very civil negative. I will tell you all this transaction more at large when we meet. I endeavoured to give this very important matter the fairest and most impartial decision in my own mind: I think I was not biassed by any improper love of ease, and I hope that I have acted for the best. The Ministers[2] were so hard run last night on the

[1] The three Generals were Lieut.-General Sloper, Bengal, Lieut.-General Sir John Dalling, Madras, and Brigadier-General Lawrence Neilson, Bombay. Lord Cornwallis did not rate any of them highly, and their subsequent conduct fully justified his opinion.

[2] At the close of the poll for Westminster, a scrutiny was granted by the returning officer. In the first session of the new Parliament the House of Commons decided by large majorities that it should be continued, but a reaction took place when it appeared that, after many

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Westminster scrutiny, that it is supposed they must give it up. The most dangerous rock still is Ireland: how can they satisfy both countries?[1] Besides, there are certainly dissensions in the Cabinet.[2]

Brodrick[3] is past all hope, and we may daily expect to hear the worst. My family are all well, and, with the rest of your friends, are impatient to see you. Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, London, March 7, 1785.

I was glad to find by your letter of the 1st that you approve of my conduct in regard to India; I believe you know how much I value your approbation. As I am in the habit of running down frequently for a week to Culford, I wish you would let me know four or five days before you come up. I have assured —— that he need not be afraid of seeing you, for that you so totally despair of working any reformation, that you will not throw away a lecture upon him. Indeed, he seems determined on the destruction of himself and his unfortunate children. As for his wife, it does not much signify.

I had a letter this day from Grisdale, who tells me he shall be in Paris by the first week in April. Brodrick[3] continues much the same. I am your most affectionate friend,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD SYDNEY.

MY DEAR LORD, Mansfield Street, April 26, 1785.

Having understood from Colonel Hamilton[4] that you wished me to explain my sentiments fully concerning him, I can with truth

months' investigation, the majority had not been reduced. On the night alluded to in the text, Feb. 21, two divisions took place. In the first Ministers had a majority of 203 to 145, but in the second only 145 to 136. And on March 3 they were beaten by 162 to 124. The return was made next day, the numbers being:—

	On the Poll.	On the Scrutiny.
Hood	6694 ..	6558
Fox	6223 ..	6126
Wray ..	5998 ..	5895

[1] This refers to Mr. Pitt's proposal to place on a permanent footing the commercial regulations between England and Ireland. In the former country he carried his resolutions by large majorities, but, in the latter, Mr. Orde, on Aug. 12, 1785, could only muster 127 to 108, and the plan was dropped.

[2] If these supposed dissensions in the Cabinet ever existed, they must have soon been made up, and certainly nothing resulted from them. No contemporary history or memoirs, nor any papers to which the Editor has had access, throw any light upon this allusion. There may have been some discussions on the subject of Parliamentary reform, a scheme obnoxious to most of Mr. Pitt's colleagues, but which nevertheless he brought on, April 18.

[3] Hon. Henry Brodrick, d. June 16, 1785.

[4] Colonel Hamilton, North Carolina regt.

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assure you that I heard from all quarters that he bore a most excellent character before the war; and I can myself bear witness that he took the most fair and steady part, unbiassed by interested or vindictive motives, and that I sincerely believe him to be a benevolent and worthy man. The peculiar hardship under which he labours, that his principal property being in trade, cannot come under the cognizance of the Commissioners,[1] renders him an object of the greatest compassion. After having enjoyed for many years a most affluent fortune, with an unblemished character, he is now reduced to extreme poverty. His claims in America for the vast sums which are due to him are treated with contempt. You will easily believe that I would not have said all this for a man whom I did not think truly meritorious.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

The question of compensation to the American Loyalists had been repeatedly discussed in Parliament. All parties[2] considered that they had an irresistible claim upon England, and united in condemning the conduct of the American Government, by whom the property of the Loyalists had been almost universally confiscated. It was pleaded in extenuation, that such confiscations were the acts of individual States, and not of the Federal Government. Such a defence was scarcely to be admitted, as Great Britain could not recognise any authority but the one with whom all business was transacted.

During the negotiations for peace in 1782-3 the English plenipotentiaries had made the utmost exertions to enforce these claims, the justice of which Franklin was unable to deny; but as he was determined never to admit them, he endeavoured to parry the demand, by calling on the British Government to pay for all the slaves who had escaped, and for all the property which had been seized or destroyed in the course of the war. The discussion terminated by the introduction of the 4th, 5th, and 6th Articles of the Treaty of Peace. By these it was stipulated, that Congress should *recommend* to the several local legislatures, that they should restore all estates belonging to real British subjects who had not borne arms during the war; that all persons, including those who had been active partisans, should have twelve months to settle their

[1] The claims of the Loyalists for compensation were submitted to Parliament July 8, 1783; an Act of Parliament was passed nominating Colonel Robert Kingston, John Wilmot, Daniel Parker Coke, John Marsh, Esqrs., and Colonel Thomas Dundas, Commissioners to investigate and report upon them. They had each a salary of 1500*l.* a-year.

[2] See the speeches of Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, June 6, 1788.

affairs; and it was also *recommended*, with reference to this class, that their property should be given back upon payment of the sums which had been advanced on the security of such property: that all *bonâ fide* debts should be paid; that there should be no further prosecutions or confiscations. It was confidently asserted that these recommendations would be cordially adopted; but, almost without exception, the Courts of the several States evaded giving judgment in favour of British or Loyalist creditors, and in hardly a single instance were these stipulations carried into effect.

The English Parliament therefore resolved to discharge what they considered a debt of honour. Commissioners, as has been already stated, were appointed to investigate the claims, and in 1788 an Act was passed to indemnify the sufferers according to the following scale:—

Claims under	£10,000	Paid in full.
„	15,000	90 per cent.
„	50,000	85 „
„	200,000	80 „
Claims above	200,000	70 „

In each case 10,000*l.* was to be paid without deduction. A somewhat similar scale was adopted with reference to incomes arising from professions and offices.

Large sums were voted at different times to meet these demands, some of which, being of a special nature, were dealt with separately. In March, 1790, the following was the number and amount of the claims examined and allowed:—

	Property.		Income.	
Claims put in.	Amount claimed.	Allowed.	Claimed.	Allowed.
2,291 ..	£8,216,126 ..	£3,033,090 ..	£113,438 ..	£84,218

Of which 2,096,326*l.* for property, and 54,458*l.* for income, had been paid. There still remained 316,764*l.* for property, unpaid, besides three large claims[1] specially reported to Parliament, and which they were to adjust. Included in the above was about 114,000*l.* for losses in East Florida.

The conduct of the State Courts was often brought under the notice of the American Government. At length, in 1794, a convention was entered into, under which English and American Commissioners were appointed to sit at certain towns in America, and there investigate the amount fairly due by American debtors. The American Commissioners tried every subterfuge to avoid giving

[1] Mr. Penn, 500,000*l.*; the Earl of Granville, 60,000*l.*; Lord Fairfax, 60,000*l.*

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any decisions. At times they refused to sit at all. At length 1,420,000*l.* was adjudged to be due. Still the Government declined to pay it, and it was not till 1803, that a sum of 600,000*l.* was offered, and, in despair of obtaining strict justice, accepted by England. Thus, after a lapse of more than twenty years, only 42 per cent. of the capital was paid, and nothing allowed for interest.

In 1784 it was proposed to take a vote of 50,000*l.* on account of fortifications at the seaports; but the objection having been raised that no information on the subject had been laid before Parliament, the vote was withdrawn. In 1785 the King nominated a Board of Land and Sea Officers to investigate the whole question, of which the Duke of Richmond, then Master-General of the Ordnance, was President. The Board consisted of eleven military and three naval officers. To these were added three military and four naval officers when they met at Portsmouth, and three naval officers only, at Plymouth.[1] The views of the Duke of Richmond as to the imperative necessity of extensive works were, on the whole, supported by the land officers, who almost unanimously approved of a system of detached forts, and recommended that the Crown should purchase all the lands in their vicinity, that no private buildings might be erected thereon. The sea officers coincided generally with these opinions, but a few of each service accompanied their assent with such provisoes and limitations as to render it almost nugatory.

Mr. Pitt, on February 27, 1786, brought forward the plan of which a large majority of the Board had approved. He was opposed by most of the Whig party, reinforced by the pretended lovers of economy, by the hunters after popularity, and by some few local members, whose constituents imagined their properties would be injured. On a division the numbers were equal—169 on

1 *For both places.*

Lieut.-General Sir Guy Carleton.
„ Sir William Howe.
„ Earl Cornwallis.
„ Sir David Lindsay.
„ Sir C. Grey.
Major-General Pattison.
„ Cleveland.
„ Bramham.
„ Green.
„ Roy.
„ Garth.
Vice-Admiral Barrington.
Captain Hotham, R.N.
„ Sir A. Hammond, R.N.

For Portsmouth only.

Lieut.-General Lord G. Lennox.
„ Burgoyne.
„ Earl Percy.
Vice-Admiral Lord Hood.
Captain Bowyer, R.N.
„ [illegible], R.N.

For Plymouth only.

Vice-Admiral [illegible].
Lieut.-General Green.
Captain [illegible], R.N.

each side—and the Speaker, Cornwall, gave his casting vote against Government. Time has since proved this decision to have been as unwise as it has ultimately been expensive.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Portsmouth, May 2, 10 P.M., 1785.

We have had a most tiresome day; there is, however, some arrangement, and, though the prospect at present is tremendous, I have hopes that it will go off quicker than people at present expect. In the King's instructions a wish is expressed that we may be able to make our report the first week in June. We have this moment left off business, and we meet to-morrow morning at six o'clock. As I am to be up so early to-morrow, you will excuse my saying more to-night. Our respective opinions are not to be divulged. You shall hear from me again in a day or two. Grey is here.

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Portsmouth, May 3, 10½ P.M., 1785.

The Board sat from six this morning till four in the afternoon, and from seven this evening till ten. The intermediate time was filled by a most disagreeable dinner of three hours. Suppose to yourself the utmost of all human misery, and your supposition must fall greatly short of our condition. Being at sea in a gale of wind on a lee-shore would be luxury. God only knows when our misfortunes can end; I think they may last two or three months. Tell all my friends that they must not expect to hear from me, and to be satisfied if they do not see in the papers that I have hanged myself.

Yours ever,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Portsmouth, May 4, 10 P.M., 1785.

I think the prospect to-day rather brightened; we understand that the question on the Irish propositions is to come on next Wednesday, and I think everybody seems to hope that the business here may be finished, so that the Members may be finally dismissed from hence by that time, to meet us at Plymouth on Monday

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sennight. If this should take place, we may flatter ourselves that three weeks at Plymouth may finish all. I am too tired and sleepy to attempt to give any account of our proceedings.

Yours ever,

CORNWALLIS.

We live at the King's expense, so that at least, I shall grow rich.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Portsmouth, May 8, 1785, Sunday night.

I passed ten hours and a half at the Board both on Friday and yesterday. This day was a holiday, and I have been all day on the Gosport side, and had a very pleasant ride and quiet dinner with Moncrieffe[1] and Haldane. Our proceedings are the most extraordinary and the most tiresome that you can conceive. The King's instructions, drawn up of course by the Duke, contain about a thousand questions, nineteen in twenty of which are nearly self-evident propositions, but few of them so clearly drawn as not to admit of some cavilling, to which many of us are much inclined: the Duke himself puzzles the cause very much. Carleton and Grey never will admit that the intended works are strong enough, and would readily agree to erect twenty fortresses here, and as many at Plymouth, as strong as Bergen op Zoom; Sir D. Lindsay[2] is likewise of that opinion; the only two who oppose all fortifications are Percy and Burgoyne. This is for your private ear. Of all the blockheads and sycophants in the world, I believe General ——— is the greatest. I will, if possible, write you one line to-morrow after the Board breaks up, to tell you my thoughts about coming to town.

Most sincerely yours,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Plymouth, May 24, 1785.

I this morning received yours of the 21st. The arrival of Macbride[3] will probably cause a delay of a day or two, but I think

[1] Colonel Moncrieffe, R.E., d. July, 1794.

[2] Lieut.-General Sir David Lindsay, Bart., afterwards General and Colonel 59th Regt., b. 1730, d. March 27, 1797; m. Susanna Charlotte, dau. of Samuel Long, Esq., of Jamaica, and widow of George Ellis, Esq.

[3] Captain John Macbride, afterwards Admiral of the Blue, d. Feb. 17, 1800; m. July 14, 1775, Ursula, dau. of William Ffolkes, Esq., and sister of Sir Martin Ffolkes, Bart. M.P. for Plymouth from March, 1784, to June, 1790. He supported Lord Percy's views.

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we shall certainly get away by Sunday the 29th, and that, considering all impediments, I can safely lay my account to my being in town on the 1st.

The D. of R. has expressed the most earnest and flattering desire that Charles Lennox[1] should be one of our party, and I thought it best, on every account, to acquiesce readily in it. I shall not write to Haldane till I see you; but, as he left the possibility of his going very much in doubt, and did not express the smallest inclination towards the expedition,[2] I trust he cannot be angry. Charles Lennox is a fine, good-humoured, unaffected lad, no pride or buckram, and will one day be a *popular* D. of R. Fox is still here.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

P.S. If you should have anything to say to me about the Clothing Board, or about General Bathurst going to Clarendon,[3] you will send a letter for me, to the White Hart at Salisbury, to be left till called for. The new mail-coach goes to Salisbury.

The state of Europe, and especially of Germany, was at this time very critical. The Empress of Russia[4] had been rapidly increasing her possessions at the expense of the Porte, and had seized the Crimea and other territories in that quarter, encouraged by the Emperor Joseph,[5] who was desirous of the support of Russia, to enable him to carry out various schemes of aggrandizement. Among other plans, he wished to persuade the Elector of Bavaria[6] to cede to him his hereditary dominions, receiving in exchange the Austro-Belgic provinces, with the title of King. France seemed disposed to consent to this arrangement; but

[1] Charles Lennox, eldest son of Lord George Lennox, and afterwards, Dec. 29, 1806, 4th Duke of Richmond, K.G., b. Dec. 1, 1763; d. Aug. 28, 1819, at Montreal, of the bite of a mad fox; m. Sept. 9, 1783, Charlotte, dau. of Alexander, 4th Duke of Gordon. A General and Colonel 35th Regt. He was present, as an amateur, at the battle of Waterloo. Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland from April, 1807, to Aug. 1813, and Governor-General of Canada from May, 1818, till his death. M.P. for the county of Sussex from Nov. 1790 till he succeeded to the Dukedom.

[2] Lord Cornwallis's intended visit to the Prussian reviews.

[3] Clarendon, near Salisbury, the seat of General Bathurst.

[4] Catherine, Empress of Russia, dau. of Christian Augustus, Prince of Anhalt Zerbst, b. May 2, 1729; d. Nov. 7, 1796; m. Sept. 1, 1745, Peter III. She was proclaimed Empress July 9, 1762, and Peter died four days after.

[5] Joseph II., Emperor of Germany, b. March 13, 1741; d. Feb. 20, 1790; m. 1st, Oct. 6, 1760, Maria Isabella, dau. of Philip, Infant of Spain and Duke of Parma; 2nd, Jan. 23, 1765, Maria Josephine, dau. of Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, and Jan. 17, 1742, Emperor of Germany.

[6] Charles Theodore, Elector of Bavaria, b. Dec. 11, 1724; d. Feb. 16, 1799; m. 1st, Jan. 17, 1742, Marie Elizabeth Aloise, dau. of Joseph Charles, Comte Palatine de Salzbach; 2nd, Feb. 15, 1795, Marie Leopoldine, dau. of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria.

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Prussia, in concert with several of the smaller states, among which was Hanover, strongly objected to any augmentation of the power of Austria in Germany.

Joseph was also at this moment embroiled with Holland about the navigation of the Scheld, which he was determined to open by force, if necessary; but this dispute was settled by the intervention of France, between which country and Holland an alliance was soon after formed. That alliance, however, was intended to support the democratic party, not that of the Stadtholder;[1] and, but for the energetic interference of the successor[2] of Frederick the Great, France would, two years later, have succeeded in her plans, and, as Frederick remarked to Lord Cornwallis, have governed Holland through her ambassador.

In the Memoirs of Mr. Fox, Lord John Russell has printed a despatch, written just before Mr. Fox resigned the Seals. There appears to be some doubt whether this despatch was actually sent; but if it were transmitted to Berlin, it is clear that it must have given the impression that England was all but ruined, and was totally unable to resist her enemies. In any case, the tone of the Foreign Office must have inspired all continental states with a thorough contempt for this country; and it is not therefore surprising that Frederick was disposed to place so little reliance on our exertions or promises. What effect the conversation with Lord Cornwallis produced on his mind it is impossible to say. He was taken ill on the 18th of September; and though his health improved much, he never recovered his strength, and died in the August of the ensuing year.

In consequence of the unsatisfactory aspect of affairs, Comte Lusi,[3] the Prussian Minister at the Court of St. James's, hinted that if a person of rank and high character could go to Berlin as a confidential agent, though without any ostensible mission, Frederick would be more likely to open his mind to him than to Lord Dalrymple,[4] the English Minister at that Court. As Lord Cornwallis proposed visiting the Continent in the course of the summer, in order to attend the Prussian reviews (a favour but

[1] William V., Prince of Orange, b. March 8, 1748; d. April 9, 1806; m. Oct. 4, 1767, Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, dau. of Augustus William, Prince of Prussia.

[2] Frederick William II., King of Prussia, b. Sept. 25, 1744; d. Nov. 16, 1797; m. 1st, July 14, 1765, Elizabeth, dau. of Charles, Duke of Brunswick; 2nd, July 15, 1769, Frederica Louisa, dau. of Louis, Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt.

[3] Comte Spiridion Lusi, a native of Cephalonia, b. 1735; d. Sept. 1, 1815; a Lieut.-General, Minister in London from 1780 to 1788.

[4] John, Viscount Dalrymple, afterwards Oct. 13, 1789, 6th Earl of Stair, b. Sept. 24, 1749; d. May 31, 1821, unm. He had served in America, was Minister in Poland from Jan. 1782 to 1784, and then at Berlin to Aug. 1787.

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sparingly granted by Frederick), it seemed impossible to select a fitter person for this mission. Before he left England, he received verbal instructions, but they were not officially communicated in writing till September 2.

FREDERICK II.[1] TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, Je me fais un plaisir d'avance de vous voir au camp de mes trouppes en Silésie, comme vous me l'annoncez par votre lettre du 3 de ce mois. Vous pouvez compter d'y être accueilli avec tous les égards dûs à votre mérite, et sur ce, je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait, My Lord, en sa sainte et digne garde. FEDERIC.

A Potzdam, le 9 Août, 1785.

Au Lord Cornwallis, Lieutenant-Général au service de la Grande Bretagne.

SIR JAMES HARRIS[2] TO THE MARQUIS OF CARMARTHEN.[3]

[Private.]

MY DEAR LORD, Hague, Friday, Sept. 9, 1785.

I could devise no other safe and expeditious manner of conveying your letter to Lord Cornwallis than by despatching Brooks with it, with orders to find him out wherever he is. He therefore set out in the Trackschuyt on Monday evening, with instructions to assume the name and manners of a common traveller as long as he

[1] It is well known that he had a particular dislike to a letter which occupied more than one page, and that he always began his own, and expected that all addressed to him should begin, at the top of the page. This, and a subsequent one, dated Sept. 24, form no exception to the rule. This, consisting of four lines and a half only, is written at the very top of a sheet of letter-paper, the address being quite at the bottom; the signature is in a very small cramped writing. The other letter is precisely similar, it consists of four lines only.

[2] Sir James Harris, K.B., created Lord Malmesbury Sept. 19, 1788, and made Earl of Malmesbury Dec. 29, 1800, b. April 9, 1746, d. Nov. 21, 1820; m. July 28, 1777, Harriet Mary, dau. of Sir George Amyand, Bart. At the date of this despatch he was Minister at the Hague. He was employed in the Diplomatic Service at Madrid, Berlin, St. Petersburgh, the Hague, Paris, and Lisle, almost without interruption, from 1767 till 1797. His correspondence, published by the present Lord Malmesbury, proves that, in his anxiety to obtain information, he was not always very scrupulous as to the means. One anecdote, not given there, is, it is believed, quite authentic. When Minister at ——, it was of great importance to obtain possession of the secret instructions given to one of his colleagues. All other means having failed, he carried to a successful issue an intrigue with Madame de ——, a near relation of the minister in question, and through her obtained the papers. M.P. for Christchurch in the intervals of his diplomatic employments in the parliaments of 1768, 1780, and 1784.

[3] Francis, Marquis of Carmarthen, afterwards, March 23, 1789, 5th Duke of Leeds, b. Jan. 29, 1751, d. Jan. 31, 1799; m. 1st, Nov. 29, 1773, Amelia, dau. and sole heir of Robert, 4th and last Earl of Holderness; 2nd, Oct. 11, 1788, Catherine, dau. of Thomas Anguish, Esq., a Master in Chancery. A Lord of the Bedchamber, and then Lord Chamberlain to the Queen from 1776 to 1780; Secretary of State from Dec. 1783 to June, 1791; M.P. for Eye for a few months in 1774, and for Helston for about as long in 1775. Called up to the House of Lords as Baron Osborne May 14, 1776.

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remains in the territory of the States, which he probably will get out of on Tuesday. He then is to pass for a valet-de-chambre of Stepney,[1] going to settle his master's affairs, and to pass through Hanover and Brunswick, where he is to inquire for Lord Cornwallis; and then to proceed for Berlin, where, if he does not find him, Mr. Ewart[2] will at least put him on the right scent. As I foresaw the Princess of Orange[3] would and must know indeed ultimately of his arrival at Berlin, I felt the chance of losing her confidence, if I kept the despatching Brooks a secret from her. I did not therefore only make a virtue, but a civility (full as essential in politics) of necessity, and immediately after the receipt of the mail which brought me your last letters I went to the House in the Wood,[4] under the pretence of introducing Lady Mary Duncan,[5] who is now here, and told her I had despatched a special messenger to Mr. Ewart. . . . .

I am sure you will laugh at the idea of my having made Lady Mary Duncan subservient to political purposes; but I would have employed her even in a more preposterous way, if it had been essential towards carrying a material point.

I am, &c.,

J. HARRIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Berlin, Sept. 9, 1785.

I wrote to you from Breslaw a long and confidential letter, but when I read it over, I was afraid to send it, and put it in the fire. You shall have a full detail when I come to England, which will be about the end of next month. Suffice it to say that on the whole, from the first person I met, I have been throughout rather disappointed. I intend after the Potzdam manœuvres, which end the 23rd, to go to Cassel, and return to the Magdeburg inspection, which is under the Duke of Brunswick,[6] on the 10th, 11th, and 12th October, and then return directly to England. Our old General,

[1] Sir John Stepney, 7th Bart., b. 1744; d. Oct. 1811, unm. M.P. for Monmouth Boroughs from Nov. 1767, to March, 1788. The third Bart. m. Justina, dau. of Vandyke. Sir John was succeeded by his brother, the well-known Sir Thomas Stepney.

[2] Joseph Ewart, b. 1759; d. Jan. 27, 1792; m. 1785, Elizabeth Frederique, Comtesse von Wartersleben. He was Secretary to Sir John Stepney in 1783, Secretary of Legation at Berlin from 1785 to 1787, and then Minister there to Dec. 1791.

[3] Wife of William V., Prince of Orange, b. Aug. 7, 1751, d. June 9, 1820.

[4] The residence of the Stadtholder, situated at the extremity of the large wood, nearly two miles in length, which joins the Hague.

[5] Lady Mary Duncan, d. of Sackville, 7th Earl of Thanet, b. 1723, d. (according to Collins) July 5, 1806; m. Sept. 10, 1763, Sir William Duncan, Bart., Physician to the King, and uncle to the 1st Lord Duncan.

[6] The Duke of Brunswick was, in 1758, the Hereditary Prince.

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Duke Ferdinand, looked much better than I expected, and received me very graciously. Abercromby,[1] Musgrave,[2] Symes,[3] and the precise and buckram Dundas[4] are here. La Fayette[5] and I were the best friends possible in Silesia. He is gone to Vienna, but returns for the Potzdam manœuvres. I have hitherto proceeded on the business[6] which you know of, as well as I could expect. You must suspend your curiosity on all the subjects which I have not touched upon, till my return to England.

Your ever faithful and affectionate friend,

CORNWALLIS.

JOSEPH EWART, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF CARMARTHEN.

MY LORD, Berlin, Aug. 30, 1785.

. . . Every possible mark of attention was shown by the King to His Royal Highness the Duke of York; and Lord Cornwallis and General Grenville had the honour to dine every day with His Majesty. . . . . I have, &c.,

JOS. EWART.

THE MARQUIS OF CARMARTHEN TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Private and Confidential.]

MY LORD, St. James's, Sept. 2, 1785.

Count Lusi, the Prussian Minister, having repeatedly mentioned to me the King, His Master's, desire, of having it in his power to communicate to His Majesty, by the means of some confidential person, his sentiments respecting the present general state of Europe, I am commanded by the King to inform your Lordship, that it is His Majesty's pleasure that you should acquaint the King of Prussia of your being duly authorised to confer with His Majesty on any points, which it may appear to him expedient to communicate to the

[1] Colonel Abercromby, afterwards Lieut.-General the Right Hon. Sir Ralph Abercromby, K.B., Colonel 2nd Dragoons, b. Oct. 7, 1734, d. March 28, 1801, of wounds received at the battle of Alexandria, March 21; m. Nov. 17, 1767, Mary Anne, dau. of John Menzies, Esq., of Fernton. She was created Baroness Abercromby, May 28, 1801.

[2] Colonel, afterwards General Sir Thomas Musgrave, 5th Bart., Colonel 76th Regt., b. 1737, d. Dec. 31, 1812, unmarried.

[3] Lieut.-Colonel Richard Symes, afterwards Lieut.-Colonel 53rd, and a Brigadier-General, wounded at the capture of Guadaloupe, July 2, 1794, and d. shortly after.

[4] Colonel, afterwards Right Hon. Sir David Dundas, K.B., b. 1735, d. Feb. 15, 1820, m. Charlotte, dau. of General Oliver De Lancey, a General and Colonel 1st Dragoon Guards, Commander-in-chief from March, 1809, to May, 1811. He was the first officer who introduced into the British army a uniform system of manœuvres, which he based upon the Prussian model, but he was so strict a martinet that his regulations were too precise to be always carried out, and they have since been much modified.

[5] Lord Cornwallis never again met La Fayette, of whose talents and judgment he had not a high opinion, though he thought him well meaning.

[6] The mission to the Court of Berlin.

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King in the most secret and confidential manner; at the same time your Lordship will not fail to assure His Prussian Majesty of the King's friendship and good will towards him.

The earnest desire of the King of Prussia to open a more direct and confidential intercourse with England, I am apt to believe originates rather in a desire of sounding the intentions of this Court, than from any real intention of a fair and candid communication either of future views or even of present opinions: it behoves us, however, at all events to cultivate this apparent friendly conduct on the part of that Prince, and, by not committing ourselves, meet him precisely upon his ground.

I had the honour of stating to your Lordship, previous to your departure for Berlin, that before any serious connexion could be entered into with Prussia, it would be absolutely necessary to know how far that power might be depended upon in respect to France, and whether the former intercourse between them was either diminished or maintained; and the only circumstance which could probably totally break that intercourse would be the King of Prussia discovering some new plan of aggrandizement, projected by the Emperor in concert with, and to be supported by, the Court of Versailles. Should such an event take place, this country must then give up all hopes of an alliance with the Emperor; at the same time Prussia could no longer reckon upon the assistance of France; and in that case it might be prudent for England and Prussia to form a more close and intimate connexion.

In the mean time, however, it will be highly expedient to listen with attention to any proposal the King of Prussia may make, either in respect to the future conduct of the two Courts in Russia or in Holland, or to the general system he may think they should pursue in case the Emperor and France should evidently be acting in concert, so as to endanger the public tranquillity by the attempting any new project of aggrandizement or ambition.

Every degree of information in regard to that Prince's sentiments upon these points will be of importance for His Majesty to be apprized of; and the high opinion which the King of Prussia, in common with the rest of the world, entertains of your Lordship's character, will probably induce him to be more communicative to you upon these subjects, than to any other person His Majesty could have honoured with so confidential a commission.

Your Lordship will not fail to observe, that in the present situation of affairs, it is our wish rather to listen to what may be proposed by His Prussian Majesty than to make any direct proposal on our part. Former transactions have convinced this Court of the

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great caution necessary to be observed in every transaction with so artful as well as so experienced a character in every branch of political intrigue; and therefore it behoves us more than ever, at a moment like the present, to proceed with that degree of caution and circumspection as will neither engage us too deeply on the one hand, nor on the other, prevent that Prince from listening to any proposals of a more direct tendency towards friendship and alliance, should future circumstances oblige us to wish for such a connexion.

Your Lordship will have the goodness (whenever you think proper to write upon the subject of any conversation you may have with the King of Prussia) to send your letters by some safe conveyance to Sir James Harris at the Hague, who will take care to forward them, as the common post is by no means to be trusted.

I am, &c.,

CARMARTHEN.

JOSEPH EWART, ESQ., TO THE MARQUIS OF CARMARTHEN.

[Private.]

MY LORD, Berlin, Sept. 10, 1785.

. . . Lord Cornwallis not having an opportunity of conversing in private with the King of Prussia in Silesia, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship, by his particular direction, an account of the steps he has taken since his arrival here.

As it was necessary His Prussian Majesty should be prepared for giving an audience at Potzdam, I accompanied Lord Cornwallis to Mons. Hertzberg's[1] on the 8th; and the following is the substance of the communication made to that Minister in his Lordship's own words:—That the King had commanded me to assure His Prussian Majesty that the connexion formed between them by the Germanic Association gave him great satisfaction, especially as he hoped it might lead to a more intimate and closer connexion between England and Prussia, which was a thing His Majesty most earnestly desired. That although the finances of England had suffered by the late expensive war, yet that had not been in a greater proportion than those of her rivals; and by the plan of strict economy which was adopted, and the flourishing state of her commerce, there could be no doubt that England would be able to support her weight and dignity with the other powers of Europe. That Lord Carmarthen

[1] Ewald Frederick, Comte de Hertzberg, Minister at War, b. Sept. 2, 1725, d. May 27, 1795, m. Hyma Maria, Baroness Inn and Knyphausen. He had been nearly 50 years in the public service, and during most of that time assisting the Comte de Finckenstein in the Foreign Department.

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had assured me that the members of the Cabinet entertained the same wishes which His Majesty had expressed, and would be glad, by endeavouring to render mutual good services, to lay the foundation of a firm and lasting alliance. That I (Lord Cornwallis) was charged with no negotiation, having been commanded, as a Military man, to see the Prussian troops; and that His Majesty and His Ministers seizing such an opportunity of making these strong professions of His Majesty's friendship, was a convincing proof how sincerely they preferred a Prussian alliance to that of any other power.

It is unnecessary to say anything of Mons. Hertzberg's sentiments expressed on the occasion, as they have already been so often mentioned to your Lordship, and he immediately wrote an account of this conversation to the King. But as Lord Cornwallis made nearly the same communication to Count Finckenstein[1] yesterday, it may not be amiss to give some account of his very favourable answer. His Excellency said that he should have the immediate opportunity of acquainting the King his master verbally with his Lordship's report, and that he was persuaded he would be highly sensible of so respectable a testimony of the King's, and of the flattering mark of attention shown by His Majesty and His Ministers in the employing his Lordship to give such assurances. That no doubt could be entertained of the sincerity of the King of Prussia's professions to England, after the eventual engagements which had been already formed on the principle of the mutual interests of the two Courts, which coincided so perfectly in every point. And that as the great object of both was the preservation of peace, His Prussian Majesty conceives that every purpose could be answered at present by a general concert of measures, without exciting the jealousy of our respective rivals, by contracting a formal alliance. But that, at the same time, the King of Prussia was ready to render every service in his power to England, which might not be incompatible with our mutual pacific system. And could we ever succeed to detach Russia from the alliance with Austria, His Prussian Majesty would no longer preserve his present precautions, but be ready to enter into the closest connexion with Great Britain.

Last night Mons. Hertzberg showed me the King's answer to him, in which, after approving of what had passed in the conversation with Lord Cornwallis, he orders him to acquaint his Lordship

[1] Charles Guillaume, Comte de Finckenstein, b. Feb. 11, 1714, d. Jan. 3, 1800; m. May, 1743, Sophia Henrietta Susan, Countess Finckenstein Silgenberg. He celebrated the 50th anniversary of his entering the public service Jan. 5, 1799. He was Minister for Foreign Affairs, and practically Prime Minister, for many years.

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with his intention of speaking to him fully at Potzdam, and of then delivering his sentiments on the different subjects.

I next waited on Count Finckenstein, who likewise told me in the strongest terms his wish to open himself to Lord Cornwallis without reserve; and that His Majesty desired his Lordship would accompany His Royal Highness the Duke of York to Potzdam, on the 17th for that purpose.

The Prussian Minister farther told me the King had repeated his earnest desire to cultivate the closest intimacy with His Majesty, both as King of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover; and that he was ready to do all that could be required of him on the above-mentioned pacific principles.

That His Majesty had again particularly mentioned the Russian Minister's observing that he thought some source of contention might soon spring up between the Imperial Courts, which the English Minister at Petersburgh might have it in his power to increase, so as to bring about the wished-for change; repeating that he would then contract whatever engagements Great Britain might think proper.

Count Finckenstein also informed me that he had spoken to him fully with relation to Holland, particularly insisting on the caution it was necessary to observe, on account of the numerous embarrassments of the Stadtholder; but that His Majesty did not entertain the least doubt of the re-establishment of the ancient system in the Republic, whatever might happen at the present moment.

Lord Cornwallis desires me to add, that the King of Prussia's offers to Great Britain of his good offices, as far as possible, without risking a rupture, could only relate to the measures which may be thought advisable in Holland.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

JOS. EWART.

MARQUIS OF CARMARTHEN TO SIR JAMES HARRIS.

[Secret and Confidential.]

MY DEAR SIR, St. James's, Sept. 19, 1785.

The K. of P. is outrageous with poor Lusi for having intimated the expediency of writing to Lord Cornwallis upon the subject of a nearer connexion between the two Courts. He tells him he has been guilty of an *effronterie* which deserves the most exemplary punishment; in another letter supposes he must have

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le diable au corps to have been guilty of such an indiscretion, and threatens him with his heaviest displeasure if not more discreet in future. His poor penitent Minister sends a copy of a despatch for his justification; and after wishing rather to sacrifice his life than incur his master's displeasure, throws himself on the clemency of that mild and merciful monarch. Had his P. M. seen my letter to Lord Cornwallis, he need not have been alarmed at the idea of our pressing him to form an alliance, as the chief purport of my despatch was directing his Lordship to get all possible information from H. M., and in return to give him as many *civil words* as possible, but not to commit this Court in the smallest degree by the remotest idea of anything like an alliance. The dread of such a proposal expressed in the letters to L. is a sufficient proof, I think, of the French influence still remaining in full force at Berlin, notwithstanding any professions to the contrary; and, to say truth, I am not sorry for its still continuing, as I cannot but think that circumstance alone will contribute more than anything to the revival of the old system. In the mean time, however, our language must be as friendly, and our conduct as respectful and attentive as ever, to the Court of Berlin. In short, we should make it as useful to us as possible, without ever trusting it for a moment.

I am, &c.,

CARMARTHEN.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE MARQUIS OF CARMARTHEN.

[Private.]

MY LORD, Potzdam, Sept. 20, 1785.

I have endeavoured with as much accuracy as possible to transmit to your Lordship the heads of what His Prussian Majesty said to me in the Duke of Brunswick's apartment at Sans Souci. On my reading over the paper to the Duke, he was of opinion that I had stated every thing very exactly, and had left out nothing that was in any degree material. The Duke further said that he was convinced the King had spoke his real sentiments without any reserve, and that he was perfectly sincere.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that the Duke of Brunswick was present during my interview with His Majesty, and it certainly affixes a much greater weight to every thing that passed.

On the evening of the 18th the King was taken ill, and yesterday morning we were much alarmed about him. It appears to have

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been the gout that attacked his stomach; and as it has now fallen into his foot, I should apprehend there is no danger. Mr. Ewart remains here all day, and will inform your Lordship if any material alteration should take place in regard to His Majesty's health. I cannot conclude without mentioning in the strongest terms the merit, assiduity, and intelligence of Mr. Ewart, and assuring your Lordship that I think it very fortunate that our business at this Court is in such able hands. I propose being in England in about a month, when I shall be glad to give His Majesty every information in my power relative to this country.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

HEADS OF WHAT THE KING OF PRUSSIA SAID TO LORD CORNWALLIS AT SANS SOUCI, THE 17TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1785.

His Majesty assured me that he was equally desirous of friendship and connexion with the King of Great Britain, but said that we must first take a view of the political state of Europe. That the balance of power, which England had so long and so strenuously supported, was lost: That France, Spain, Austria, and Russia were in alliance; and that Holland was in the power of France, to whom the ruling powers were totally devoted.

That England and Prussia were *isolés*, without any ally whatever. That those two powers alone were not a match for that mass which he had described. That England would have to contend with the fleets of France, Spain, Holland, and perhaps Russia: He should have upon his hands the armies of France, Austria, and Russia; that although from some fortunate circumstances such a contest had been maintained, it was not a game to play often.

He said France and Austria were closely connected, because France wished to be able to turn her whole force to her Marine, and against England; and that the Emperor's alliance secured her from a continental war. That this was so favourite a point with France, that she even consented to the alienation of Bavaria, although it was guaranteed by her to the Duke of Deuxponts.[1] He had heard, but spoke of it only as a report, that the Elector of Bavaria was to

[1] Charles Augustus Chretien, Duc de Deuxponts, b. Oct. 24, 1746, d. Oct. 13, 1795; m. Feb. 13, 1774, Amelie, dau. of Frederick Chretien, Elector of Saxony. In 1794 the French took possession of the country, but the final annexation did not occur till 1804. On the extinction, Feb. 16, 1799, of the family then reigning in Bavaria, Maximilian Joseph, Duc de Deuxponts (brother of Charles Augustus), became Elector, and, Dec. 1805, King, of Bavaria. The Duchy of Deuxponts now forms part of the territories of that kingdom.

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have the title of King, and to receive a fixed revenue from the Low Countries, guaranteed to him by France; that the garrisons were still to be Austrian, and that France was to have Namur and Luxemburg.

He stated that Austria had hold of Russia, both by the Empress and her favourite Potemkin;[1] that the Emperor flattered the former with conquests on the Turks, and even with the possession of Constantinople, and the latter with promises of being Hospodar of Wallachia and Moldavia. That, in this situation of affairs, he did not think it would be wise to give alarm to all the Great Powers of Europe by a treaty between England and Prussia. He considered England as his ally, and hoped the King of England would look on him in the same light. He would do him every good office in his power, and give him intelligence of every thing that came to his knowledge that could affect or be prejudicial to him, and trusted that His Britannic Majesty would do the same in return to him. That a treaty still subsisted between them, which he was willing to consider as binding, and which would at present answer every purpose.

That he felt the utmost anxiety for the affairs of Holland, from his connexion with the house of Orange, and from his desire of preventing Holland from becoming in fact a province to France, which would be highly prejudicial to the interests of Prussia as well as those of England.

That it was the plan of France, after destroying the Staathouderat, to govern the States by an ambassador. That he would do every thing in his power to counteract this both in France and Holland, and had already taken some measures for that purpose. He was convinced violent means would not do, unless we had a force to support them, which was not at present the case. Even if a popular commotion could be raised, as in the time of the De Wits, a French and Austrian army were on the borders of Holland, ready to support their party. He was apprehensive that the interference and activity of our Minister at the Hague would do mischief if it was discovered. He admitted that an alliance with France would immediately follow the peace with the Emperor, and said, How can I prevent it?—and intimated that there was no other way but by declaring war against all Europe. After talking much on this subject, and stating that the treacherous conduct of France towards the Republic, and the disgraceful peace which she obliged her to

[1] Gregoire Alexandrowich Potemkin, b. Sept. 1736, d. Oct. 15, 1791, on the roadside, when travelling to Nicolaieff, in the arms of his niece, Comtesse Branitzka.

make,[1] would certainly render the ruling party very unpopular, he repeated that he would give every assistance in his power and communicate freely with England. He thought the Stadtholder, to save himself from destruction, must for the present give up some of his privileges.

He then expatiated much on the necessity of endeavouring to detach some of the powers from the great league, and pointed out Russia as the principal object. He said that if Russia could be got over, he was ready to sign a triple alliance as soon as we pleased. He thought it of the utmost importance to England to gain Russia, as well for her political as commercial interests; and that it would not be difficult to inspire the Empress of Russia with a jealousy, that the Emperor was not in earnest in his assurances of assisting her designs against the Turks; that he would not be desirous of exchanging so feeble a neighbour as the Turk for one so powerful as Russia. His Prussian Majesty likewise was of opinion that means might be used to gain Potemkin, and suggested that, if the Emperor held him by the flattering hopes of being Hospodar, we might throw out other objects to catch his vanity, and mentioned amongst others the crown of Poland. He was convinced that Denmark would follow Russia.

He asked how we were with other powers, and particularly Portugal; and said that he heard the Prince of Asturias[2] was inclined to us. He said he knew France was trying to hurt us everywhere; that she had sent people to India to disturb the tranquillity of that country, but that they had returned without effecting anything; that she was busily employed in Ireland. He hoped we would lose no time in putting our affairs there on so safe a footing as to be in no danger of a civil war, which on an appearance of a foreign one, France would not fail to use her utmost efforts to foment.

He was very glad to find that our finances were in so much better a comparative state than those of France, who, whilst we had been taking the most efficacious means to support our credit, had been losing hers, and had even been running out since the peace.

He admired the plan of strict economy laid down by Mr. Pitt, of whom he spoke in the highest terms, and made no doubt but his great abilities and integrity would restore his country to the im-

[1] France acted as mediator between the Emperor and Holland; and, by her advice, the latter had sent deputies to Vienna, who, July 24, had made very abject apologies and concessions. Preliminary Articles of Peace, containing most humiliating terms, were signed Sept. 20.

[2] Charles Prince of the Asturias, afterwards, Dec. 14, 1788, Charles IV., King of Spain, b. Nov. 11, 1748, d. Jan. 20, 1819; m. Sept. 4, 1765, Maria Louisa, dau. of Philip, Infant of Spain and Duke of Parma.

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portance which she had formerly held in the scale of Europe, and render her as great and respectable as his father had done.

During the whole conversation, which was very long on his part, he never intimated an idea of a possibility of a breach between France and Austria, but spoke of their union as fixed on the most permanent basis. He never mentioned any *ménagement* to be necessary to be observed by him towards France, except such as would preclude her from any plausible pretence of proceeding to extremities against him, before he was strengthened by proper alliances.

FREDERICK II. TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

Monsieur le Lieutenant-Général de Cornwallis,—C'est bien à regret que je ne puis avant votre départ d'ici vous renouveller de bouche les sentimens d'estime que votre mérite M'a inspirée. Je le fais par la présente, en réponse à votre lettre d'hier, et vous permets en même tems, d'aller voir les manœuvres de mes trouppes à Magdebourg; priant Sur ce Dieu, Monsieur le Lieutenant-Général de Cornwallis, qu'il vous ait en sa sainte et digne garde.

Potzdam, ce 24 de Sept. 1785. FEDERIC.

Au Lieut.-Général de Cornwallis, au service de S.M.B.

Frederick had been taken ill Sept. 18, and the signature to this letter is hardly legible.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Hanover, Oct. 5, 1785.

I take the opportunity of Grenville's going home to send you a few lines, as I think it tolerably safe; but as I am but just arrived from Cassel, and Grenville sets out to-morrow morning, I have not time to say much.

In the first place, the Royal Person[1] whom I saw first does not give much hopes, further than a great deal of good nature and a very good heart. His military ideas are those of a wild boy of the Guards, the uniforms and promotions of that corps, about which He is vehement to excess. One cannot, however, help loving him. There is no *maintien*—no distance—any impudent blackguard may be as familiar as he pleases. There is no chance of any good coming

[1] The Duke of York.

but by his being kept abroad, and of the English being kept from him.

My reception in Silesia was not flattering; there was a most marked preference for La Fayette; whether it proceeded from the King's knowing more of France, and liking better to talk about it, I know not. The cavalry is very fine; the infantry exactly like the Hessian, only taller and better set up, but much slower in their movements. Their manœuvres were such as the worst General in England would be hooted at for practising; two lines coming up within six yards of one another, and firing in one another's faces till they had no ammunition left: nothing could be more ridiculous. Out of compliment to the Duke of Brunswick, I go to the inspection at Magdeburg, but I assure you I grudge travelling 160 miles on the worst roads in Europe for it, very much.

I had no opportunity of saying a word to the King in Silesia about the business you know of; but when I arrived at Berlin, I received a letter from Lord C., authorizing me, through the Prussian Ministers, to ask for a confidential audience. I was there honoured with a long and very interesting conference at the Duke of Brunswick's apartments at Potzdam, in presence of the Duke, when Frederick showed that, however the strength of his body may be impaired, the faculties of his mind are still perfect. I sent the substance of what he said to Lord Carmarthen, and stated it, I believe, very accurately; at least the Duke of B. assured me that I was perfectly correct. The old man was taken ill the next day. He is still indisposed, and I think it very doubtful whether he will live out the winter. The Prince of Prussia[1] is loved to adoration in that country, and appears really to deserve it. He is warmly disposed to a connexion with England; but whether he has abilities to maintain the importance of that sandy desert, time only can discover.

I am concerned and shocked beyond measure at the loss of my poor friend Ducie;[2] it really for the moment makes me unfit to attend to anything, and I fear you will find this letter very confused. I propose being in London by the end of this month, and shall not quit Germany with much regret.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Afterwards King of Prussia.

[2] Thomas, 2nd Lord Ducie of Tortworth, b. Oct. 26, 1733, d. Sept. 11, 1785; m. Feb. 20, 1774, Margaret, dau. of Sir John Ramsden, Bart.

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THE MARQUIS OF CARMARTHEN TO JOSEPH EWART, ESQ.

SIR, St. James's, Oct. 7, 1785.

. . . Your very interesting despatches, Nos. 99, 100, and 101, with their several inclosures, were received on Sunday and Monday last, and have been laid before the King.

In case Lord Cornwallis should be still at Berlin, you will inform his Lordship of my having received his letter, and of the King's satisfaction at the friendly sentiments, as well as confidential communication upon the general state of Europe, which fell from His Prussian Majesty in the conversation which that Prince held with his Lordship. . . . I have, &c.,

CARMARTHEN.

SIR JAMES HARRIS TO THE MARQUIS OF CARMARTHEN.

[Private.]

MY DEAR LORD, Hague, Nov. 1, 1785.

. . . I had a great deal of very interesting conversation with Lord Cornwallis, which he, no doubt, will have repeated to your Lordship. The most important part of it was the account of that which passed between him and the Duke of Brunswick, and his description of the Prince of Prussia's character and sentiments. The idea that France has shut the door to Prussia, and not Prussia to France, reconciles a great deal of seemingly contradictory conduct which has passed under my eyes for these last four months. Till, however, Prussia *acts here*, where she can act without danger and efficaciously, I shall not consider the door to be locked, and rather suppose it to be ajar. . . . I am, &c.,

J. HARRIS.

H. R. H. THE DUKE OF YORK TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY DEAR LORD, Hanover, Nov. 29, 1785.

Permit me to return your Lordship my most sincere thanks for your very obliging letter of the 8th, which came safely to my hands. It gave me the greatest pleasure to hear that you have so perfectly succeeded in removing those suspicions[1] which we had remarked, and which might have been of the very greatest detriment hereafter. By a letter which I received by the last courier,

[1] This alludes to Lord Cornwallis's interview with Frederick.

I was very happy to find that the account of the conversation which you have had, has given such entire satisfaction, and that people are sensible that it is everything which we had a right to expect. I do not choose by this mode of conveyance to say more, but I shall take the liberty to write to you more fully upon this subject[1] by the first sure opportunity.

We had last week a great boar hunt, in which we killed sixty. Abercromby fired twice at them, but missed both times. However, Thursday next we shall have another, when I hope he will have better success, for he declares he shall not be at ease till he has killed one. I will not trouble your Lordship this time with a longer letter. I cannot however conclude, without repeating to your Lordship, how exceedingly happy I am in having had this opportunity of making your acquaintance, and how anxious I shall ever be to keep it up.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

FREDERICK.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, Feb. 13, 1786.

I had just sent my letter to the post before I received yours of the 9th. I am glad you approve of my despatch.[2] I cannot say I have heard much about it since I came home. The D. of Gloucester[3] has not been ill; the whole was a lie, probably with some view as to public mourning. I certainly should be glad of a regiment of Guards, but cannot at present judge what steps I could take in case of a vacancy.[4]

With Lord Lothian's[5] permission, I spoke to Lord Carmarthen, who has promised to write to Keith,[6] to desire him to employ Lord

[1] This letter, if ever written, has not been found.

[2] The account of his conversation with the King of Prussia.

[3] Brother to the King, b. Nov. 23, 1743, d. Aug. 25, 1805; m. Sept. 6, 1766, Maria, dau. of the Hon. Sir Edward Walpole, K.B., and widow of James 2nd Earl Waldegrave. His brother, the Duke of Cumberland, married, about 5 years earlier, Anne, dau. of Simon, 1st Earl of Carhampton, and widow of Christopher Horton, Esq. These two marriages, which were announced about the same time, were very offensive to the King, and caused the introduction of the Royal Marriage Act. The Duke of Gloucester was a Field Marshal and Colonel of the 1st Regt. of Guards.

[4] The three Colonels were the Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of York, and the Duke of Argyle. The two latter survived Lord Cornwallis, the first died only two months before him.

[5] William John, 5th Marquis of Lothian, K.T., b. March 12, 1737, d. Jan. 4, 1815; m. July 15, 1760, Elizabeth, only dau. of Chichester Fortescue, Esq. of Dromisken. A General, and Colonel 11th Dragoons.

[6] Right Hon. Sir Robert Keith Murray, K.B., a Lieut.-General, and Colonel 10th Regt., b. Sept. 20, 1730, d. July 7, 1795, unmarried. Minister at Dresden, Copenhagen, and Vienna from 1768 to 1790.

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Ancram,[1] and said he would let me know as soon as he got an answer. I shall not fail to remind him of it.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-COLONEL ROSS.

DEAR ROSS, Mansfield Street, Feb. 23, 1786.

The proposal of going to India has been pressed upon me so strongly, with the circumstance of the Governor-General's being independent of his Council, as intended in Dundas's former bill, and having the supreme command of the military, that, much against my will, and with grief of heart, I have been obliged to say yes, and to exchange a life of ease and content, to encounter all the plagues and miseries of command and public station. I have this day notified my consent, and shall go down to-morrow for a few days to Culford. You will lose no time in coming up, as I shall want your assistance immediately. They talk of sending us off early in April, but that I suppose will be impossible.

Yours ever,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD SYDNEY.

MY DEAR LORD, Mansfield Street, April 10, 1786.

Understanding that it is thought proper that I should be honoured with a Commission of Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in India, I should wish you would be kind enough to lose no time in taking His Majesty's pleasure on this subject. It is probable that Sir Eyre Coote's[2] Commission may be proposed as a model; but as it contains a power of granting all commissions below those of Colonels of Regiments, and as I understand that His Majesty has expressed a strong disinclination to delegate such power in time of peace, I would by no means desire to press the insertion of it in

[1] William, Earl of Ancram, afterwards 6th Marquis of Lothian, K.T., b. Oct. 4, 1764, d. April 27, 1824; m. 1st, April 14, 1793, Henrietta, dau. of John, 2nd Earl of Buckinghamshire (whose previous marriage with Somerset, 1st Earl of Belmore, had been dissolved by Act of Parliament); 2nd, Dec. 1, 1806, Harriet, dau. of Henry, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch.

[2] General Sir Eyre Coote, K.B., b. 1726, d. April 30, 1783; m. July 8, 1763, Susan, d. of Charles Hutchinson, Esq., Governor of St. Helena. He was among the most distinguished of the British Commanders in India, and had acquired the devoted attachment of the sepoys.—*See Quarterly Review*, vol. xviii. p. 390.

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my Commission. I likewise beg that it may be understood that I do not expect any pay[1] from this appointment.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD SYDNEY.

MY DEAR LORD, Mansfield Street, April 14, 1786.

As I find you did not see the King yesterday, I take the liberty, as time presses, to remind you of the dormant commission of Adjutant-General for Ross. The King spoke of it to Fawcett in terms of the most perfect approbation. You might probably by letter receive the King's orders to notify his pleasure on this head to the War Office. I have not inquired about my own commission, but conclude that everything is done about it. I trust to your kindness in expediting this business with earnestness.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD SYDNEY.

MY DEAR LORD, Portsmouth, April 30, 11 A.M., 1786.

I am perfectly satisfied with the opinion of the gentlemen of the law relative to the sign manual. The packet is just arrived, and I found the despatches from the India House here, so that we shall certainly sail to-morrow morning if the wind continues fair. Be assured of my sincere good wishes to yourself and Lady Sydney, and all your family.

And believe me, most affectionately,

CORNWALLIS.

Ross desires me to present his best respects.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY.

DEAR JAMES, St. Helens, May 5, 1786.

I have just received your letter, and one from William, for which I beg you will thank him. Our wind continues as contrary as possible. I hope you will continue to write to me. Your account

[1] The salary of Governor-General was 25,000*l.*, and of Commander-in-chief 6000*l.* Lord Cornwallis did not draw the latter even when on service. Fifteen months in the field cost him nearly 30,000*l.*

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of Brome gives me great pleasure. I hope you will not have much trouble about the house, and rather wish that General Fawcett had taken it at once off your hands.

Your truly affectionate brother,

CORNWALLIS.

I have received a letter from Lord Fairford.[1] If Mrs. Cornwallis or yourself should see him, you may say I will attend to it.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY.

DEAR JAMES, Back of the Isle of Wight, May 6, 11 A.M., 1786.

. . . We have just got under sail, and shall, if the wind stands, get down Channel. . . . Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Arthur, Lord Fairford, afterwards 2nd Marquis of Downshire, b. March 3, 1753, d. Sept. 7, 1801; m. June 29, 1786, Mary, Baroness Sandys in her own right. Sat in England, as Lord Fairford, for Lostwithiel, Nov. 1774 to 1780, and then for Malmesbury, to March, 1784; and in Ireland, as Lord Kilwarlin, for the county of Down, from June, 1776, till he became a peer, Oct. 13, 1793. His name will occur frequently in the years 1798 *et seq.*

CHAPTER VIII.

INDIA.

Additional powers conferred on the Governor-General — Mr. Pitt's East India Bill — Illegal treaties with Native Princes — State of the Company's troops — Lord Cornwallis's habits and mode of life — Conduct of the late Government — Abuses in recruiting Company's army — Corruption of Civil Servants — Trade with China — Creditors of Native Princes.

IN preparing this portion of these volumes, it has been found extremely difficult to compress the large mass of materials into a reasonable compass, and at the same time to give a continuous account of the political career of Lord Cornwallis, and to explain his motives for the vast changes he introduced.

In making the selection, many interesting letters have been inevitably omitted, but this has arisen from a reluctance to increase the bulk of the work, and, for the same reason, papers already published have very seldom been reprinted, except when they were necessary, as in the case of the Zemindari settlement, to complete the narrative of the administration of Lord Cornwallis. Some others, mostly of great length, have been thrown into the Appendix, but they will be found well deserving an attentive perusal, by those who desire accurate information of the principles which guided Lord Cornwallis, or wish to read the details of his campaigns.

Nearly four years had elapsed since Mr. Dundas first suggested the appointment of Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General of India. In the interval great changes had taken place. Additional power had been conferred on the Governor-General, and various checks were introduced, rendering less probable the continuance of the abuses of which complaints had previously been so justly made. The great administrative talents, the firm decision, and the commanding intellect of Lord Clive[1] and Mr. Hastings,[2] had under all disadvantages, succeeded generally in

[1] Robert Lord Clive, in Ireland, so created Dec. 21, 1761; b. Sept. 29, 1725, d. Nov. 22, 1774; m. Feb. 1753, Margaret, dau. of Edmund Maskelyne, Esq., of Purton.

[2] Right Hon. Warren Hastings, b. Dec. 6, 1732, d. Aug. 22, 1818; m. Oct. 1777, Marian Baroness Imhoff, who had previously divorced her first husband.

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securing for the Chief of the Government, such influence as enabled him to carry his own plans into execution. But in one well known instance, the designs of Mr. Hastings were overruled by colleagues, whose temper and vanity, added to a total ignorance both of the wants of India and of the policy which ought to have been pursued, led them effectively to thwart the more judicious course which Mr. Hastings was anxious to follow. When, however, as too frequently happened, power fell into inferior hands, all the vices of the system became prominent; peculation reigned without control, and the rule of the British in India became a curse to the country.

Antecedent to 1773, the Councils at the several Presidencies were composed of numerous members, over whom the Governor had no positive control. Nor could he or his Council feel any confidence that the policy adopted one year would not be reversed in the next. In those days all the twenty-four Directors were elected annually, and the Court of Proprietors more than once availed themselves of their power to change nearly the whole body, and thus to overturn former determinations. To receive large dividends was the great object of the Proprietors, and provided such were supplied, they cared little by what means the necessary resources were obtained. A Clive might refuse to obey their directions, but even a Hastings was often compelled to have recourse to measures of which he did not approve, in order to secure the support of his masters.

Under the Act of 1773, the Directors were elected for four years, six going out annually in rotation. A Governor-General and four Councillors were appointed for Fort William, with a limited authority over the subordinate Presidencies, but the Governor-General had no greater power than his colleagues, except that when the votes, including his own, were equal, he had the power of giving a second. Mr. Hastings was the first Governor-General under this Act.[1]

It would be foreign to the object of these pages to discuss his administration. He left Calcutta February 8th, 1785, and was succeeded by Mr. afterwards Sir John Macpherson.[2] Meantime

[1] The members of the first Supreme Council were named in the Bill. They were Mr. Hastings, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Barwell. Of these, Mr. Barwell only, supported Mr. Hastings.

[2] Sir John Macpherson, Bart., so created June 10, 1786; b. 1745, d. Jan. 12, 1821. He went to India in 1767, and was soon employed by some of the native princes, in whose pecuniary transactions he was speedily involved, much to his own advantage. The Nabob of the Carnatic made him his agent in England, and was always supposed to bring him, and five others into Parliament. He was made a member of the Supreme Council Jan. 9, 1781. M.P. for Cricklade from April, 1779, to May, 1782, and for Horsham Sept. 1796 to June, 1802. He was a man of large stature, and went by the name of "The Gentle Giant."

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the affairs of India had excited a strong interest and much party feeling at home. Two Committees of the House of Commons had been appointed—the one a Select, the other a Secret Committee. Twelve reports emanated from the first, and six from the latter, drawn up with great ability, and these led to the introduction of Mr. Fox's celebrated Bill in 1783. In the following year Mr. Pitt proposed and carried a Bill, differing in many important points from Mr. Fox's.

Mr. Pitt established a Board of Control, consisting of six Privy Councillors, of whom one was to be a Secretary of State acting as President. This Board was invested with the superintendence, and in fact with the complete control, of all the civil, military, and revenue affairs of the Company, and their authority extended to rejecting any despatch prepared by the Court of Directors, and substituting one drawn up by themselves.

The mode of electing the Directors, as fixed in 1773, was maintained. But instead of all questions being submitted to the whole Court, a Secret Committee, not exceeding three in number, named by the Court, was alone to be intrusted with the knowledge of any matters requiring secrecy, especially such as related to peace or war.

Each Presidency was under a Governor and three Members of Council, the Governor, as before, having only a casting vote; but the Governor in Council at Fort William had supreme authority over Madras and Bombay, and might, if necessary, even suspend any or all of the governing body in those Presidencies.

The great new feature in this Bill, was a clause restricting the Governor-General in Council, without the express permission of the Court of Directors, from declaring or commencing hostilities against any native prince, or entering into any defensive or offensive treaty, which might involve the Company in war; or guaranteeing the dominions of any prince, unless hostilities should have been commenced, or preparation made for the attack of the British dominions, or of those of any prince whose territories had already been guaranteed.

Lord Cornwallis had always felt that the powers conferred on the Governor-General by the Act of 1773 were far too limited, and this, among other reasons, made him reluctant to accept that office when tendered to him in 1782. Nor did he think that the bill of 1784 entirely removed the difficulty, and it was not till he was assured by the Government that his objections should be obviated, that he finally consented to go to India.

A bill was accordingly brought in (26 Geo. III. c. 16), but it

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did not receive the royal assent till after he had left England. By it, the Governor-General and the other Governors were enabled, in cases which they considered of emergency, to act without the assent of their Councils, and even contrary to their opinion. But dissents might be recorded in writing. The nomination also of the Commander-in-Chief to a seat in Council was no longer to be obligatory on the Company, but was left permissive, as it had previously been.

If a retrospective view be taken of the conduct of the Company's servants in India—of their rapacity, their corruption, the oppression they exercised, their utter ignorance in many instances of the country—no powers conferred upon the Governor-General could be considered too great. Nor had the Court of Directors been exempt from blame. Few had any personal knowledge of India. Most were only anxious to promote their personal objects. All, it may be said, revelled in jobs. The check therefore of the Board of Control was most important, and ever since that time, this system which in theory appears so impracticable, has worked with singular advantage to the country.

Compared with the present territories of the Company, their dominions then were of very limited extent. They had but lately emerged from the position of a company of merchants, trading with the natives under permission of the sovereign princes. The duties were collected, coins struck, justice administered, under the name of the latter, who had but a very short time antecedent to that of which we are now treating, relinquished their claims. Doubts were then—and even to a much later period—entertained, whether the jurisdiction of the Company in some districts was complete, without their authority having been recognised by the phantom Shah Alem.[1]

The Presidency of Bombay was confined almost to the island on which the town is situated, the adjacent island of Salsette, a small extent on the main land, Tellicherry, and a few other districts of little importance. The Presidency of Madras was more extensive; but Bengal was the only one of the three which could pay its own expenses, and it had in fact to supply the large deficiencies of the other two. In it were comprised many rich provinces, the most fertile of which were Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

[1] Shah Alem, son of Alemgir II. (the Ali Goher of Clive), and representative of the House of Tamerlane, was nominally sovereign of Hindostan, and resided at Delhi. He had no real power, though the sunnuds were always made out in his name, and coins struck with his titles. He was taken prisoner in 1788 by Gholam Kadir Khan, by whom his eyes were put out; b. 1723, d. Nov. 19, 1806. He was allowed, when the Company took possession of Delhi in 1803, to govern that city and a small district round it, with 90,000 rupees a month, but he was not permitted to call himself Emperor of Hindostan; his pension was afterwards raised to rather more than 15 lacs a-year.

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Between these and Bombay, extended a vast region governed by independent princes. The Mohammedan rulers, of whom the Vizier[1] at Lucknow, and the Nizam at Hyderabad,[2] were the most powerful, still owned the nominal rule of Shah Alem, the unfortunate descendant of the mighty Timour.[3] They termed themselves his vicegerents, and exercised the right of sovereignty in the name of princes, who, fortunate if they were allowed to retain their eyesight, were confined powerless to the narrow precincts of a palace, from whence their ancestors had issued orders which no one dared to disobey.

The principal chiefs of the Marathas, were the Peshwa[3] at Poona—Holkar[4] at Indore—Moodajee Bhonsla,[5] the Raja of Berar, at Nagpore—and Sindia,[6] whose camp was for many years his only home, though he ultimately made Gwalior his residence.

Besides these powerful sovereigns, the nabobs of the Carnatic[7] and of Furruckabad,[8] and the Rajas of Travancore[9] and Tanjore,[10] possessed considerable territories on the coasts of the Carnatic and of Malabar, and in the southern extremity of the peninsula. But

[1] The Vizier or Nabob of Oude, 'Asaf ud Dowlah, son of Shujah ud Dowlah (who was Nabob of Oude in the time of Lord Clive, and d. Jan. 1775), was descended from a respectable family of Nishapur in Khorasan. The first of his ancestors who distinguished himself as a soldier, obtained large territorial possessions, and was made Subardar of Oude in 1720 by the Emperor Mohammed Shah. Asaf ud Dowlah d. June, 1797.

[2] Asaf Jah, or Nizam Ali, was a younger son of the prince of the same name, who was Viceroy of the Deccan, and made himself independent. Several sons mounted the throne in succession, but July 18, 1761, Nizam Ali, having defeated his brothers, became sovereign; d. Aug. 6, 1803, at Hyderabad.

[3] Mahdoo Rao Narain, b. April 18, 1774, destroyed himself Oct. 27, 1795.

[4] Tookajee Holkar had been an officer in the Peshwa's service, and was chosen by Ahalya Bai, as well known for her private virtues as for the admirable manner in which she governed her territories, to command her forces, for which he paid a nuzzer of 15,62,000 rupees to the Peshwa's ministers. He ultimately obtained an independent position. He died Aug. 15, 1797. His illegitimate son, Jeswunt Rao Holkar, after much vicissitude, succeeded to his power, and was engaged in several wars with the Company.

[5] Moodajee Bhonsla was brother of Sanogi Bhonsla, the preceding Raja, who had adopted his nephew as his heir, but on Sanogi's death Moodajee usurped the power. On his death, 1788, Raghoji, his nephew, became Raja. He took an active part against the English, and was in the battle of Assaye, where he ran away; d. March 22, 1816.

[6] Madajee Sindia, an illegitimate son of Ranoji Sindia, who had originally been a private trooper in the service of the Peshwa, but rose to high command, and acquired extensive property. He and his five sons were very conspicuous in the troubles which agitated the Mogul empire, but Madajee, several of his brothers being dead, obtained possession of his father's territories Jan. 1761. He died Feb. 12, 1794, and was succeeded by his great-nephew, Dowlah Rao Sindia.

[7] More commonly, but improperly, called the Nabob of Arcot. Mohammed Ali was placed on the musnud by the English in 1755; b. 1717, d. Oct. 13, 1795.

[8] Mozuffer Jung was nabob in 1786. He was murdered soon after by his eldest son, who was, on that account, imprisoned for life at Lucknow. The 2nd son, Imdad Hossein Khan, was placed on the musnud, but in 1802 he ceded his territories to the Company; b. 1781, d. Feb. 4, 1813.

[9] Ram Raji Behauder, d. July, 1813. Most of the inhabitants of the district of Travancore are Nairs, whose customs are very peculiar. Each woman has several husbands, and as paternity is therefore doubtful, property is always transmitted through the females, and the regents who act as sovereigns, are generally princesses called Tamburetties. But that was not the case in this instance.

[10] Ameer Sing, d. April, 1802; deposed in 1798.

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the most important and dangerous of all the princes was Tippoo,[1] who inherited his father's bitter enmity towards the English, without either his civil or military talents.

At the time Lord Cornwallis assumed the direction of affairs, Tippoo was contemplating the attack upon Travancore, which led to his disasters in 1792, and became the primary cause of his total overthrow in 1799.

The various states into which India was divided, were frequently at war with each other, and often mutually called upon the English for aid against their adversaries. In very few cases had this assistance been given, and it was equally the wish of the Ministers in England and of the Court of Directors, that all such interference should cease. Practically there was in most of the important Courts an English resident, whose advice in critical cases was frequently solicited and generally followed, but the position of some of these residents was to a certain degree embarrassing.

Up to the time of Lord Cornwallis's arrival in India, the Company did not assume complete independence. They admitted that, with certain inconsiderable exceptions, they held their territories as a kind of feudatories of the Mogul, or of some other nominal great power, to whom tribute was paid, and offerings tendered on the accession of a new prince or other important occasions, in the same manner as was done by the real native subject.

Lord Cornwallis before long put a stop to this practice, ordered that nothing should be done which savoured of dependence, and that if at any time a present were offered, it should never be as an admission of inferiority. He insisted that the Governor-General should be treated in every respect as the equal, at least, of every ruler, and that no chout or other payment should be made by the Company to any native prince, except such peshkush as had been fixed by treaty, and made one of the stipulations on the unreserved surrender of territories.

Lord Cornwallis did not arrive at Calcutta till the beginning of September, 1786. He had of course no previous personal knowledge of the mighty empire over which he was about to rule, and he was necessarily ignorant of the manners, usages, and language of the country. For information, therefore, he was obliged to rely on his Council and his subordinate officers. Of these, so many were either pledged to the erroneous policy of his predecessors, or were implicated in the malversations which had so extensively prevailed, that he had no little difficulty in selecting able and honest

[1] The date of Tippoo's birth is uncertain. By some it is said to be 1739; but Colonel Wilks fixes it in Jan. 1753. Killed in the storm of Seringapatam May 4, 1799.

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advisers. Fortunately among the residents at the native courts, were some men of superior talent, especially Mr. Malet[1] and Mr. Anderson.[2] From these he received valuable assistance, while for matters connected with revenue, his principal reliance was on Mr. Shore.[3]

The first question to which Lord Cornwallis directed his attention was one which admitted of no delay. Mr. Macpherson, who as has already been stated succeeded Mr. Hastings, had availed himself of his short-lived power to enter into treaties (as illegal as they were prejudicial to the interests of the Company) with several of the native princes then at war with Tippoo, and especially with the Marathas. The Court of Directors strongly reprobated this conduct,[4] and Lord Cornwallis immediately proceeded to relieve the Company from these engagements. So quickly did he decide upon the course advisable to be pursued, that his determination was communicated to the several princes early in October.

The investigation of the gross jobs and corrupt practices which had disgraced former governments, occupied much time, and the inquiries were not completed till the following year.

The endeavours made by some of the creditors of the Vizier, to obtain official interference to enforce their claims, brought the whole subject of these debts under the notice of Lord Cornwallis, who not only refused any aid, but called on Mr. Dundas to pursue a similar course. He was equally desirous to leave the creditors of the Nabob of the Carnatic to recover their debts as they could; but, although he was not aware of the fact, this question had already been settled by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, who had decided that the Nabob should pay a fixed sum—a very large one—through Commissioners appointed to investigate the various claims.[5]

[1] Mr., afterwards Sir Charles Warre Malet, Bart.; so created Feb. 12, 1791; b. 1753, d. Jan. 24, 1815; m. Sept. 17, 1799, Susanna, dau. of James Wales, Esq. He was at this time Resident at Poona.

[2] James Anderson, b. Oct. 23, 1757, d. Oct. 1833; m. Nov. 1800, Catherine, dau. of Andrew Grant, Esq., a son of Lord Elchies, a lord of session.

[3] Mr., afterwards Sir John Shore, Bart.; so created Oct. 2, 1792, and raised to the peerage as Lord Teignmouth in Ireland, Oct. 24, 1797; b. Oct. 5, 1751, d. Feb. 14, 1834; m. Feb. 14, 1796, Charlotte, dau. of James Cornish, Esq., of Teignmouth. For some years member of the Supreme Council in Bengal, and Governor-General from Oct. 1793 to March, 1798.

[4] In a despatch from the Secret Committee, Sept. 20, 1786.

[5] What was termed the registered debt, was paid off by regular instalments—12,00,000 of pagodas, or 480,000*l.* annually—and those claims were discharged by May, 1804. The remainder was subjected to a strict examination, first by a committee at Madras, which sat from 1785 to 1791 without completing their task; and afterwards by a commission in London nominated in 1805, and assisted by another commission at Madras; an annual sum of 3,40,000 pagodas, or 136,000*l.*, being allotted to discharge the claims. They completed their labours in March, 1830. Some idea may be formed of the frauds attempted, when it is stated that out of 30,400,000*l.* claimed, only 2,687,000*l.* was allowed. It was

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No measure of any public importance was brought forward this year, and as the peace of India was not disturbed, so far at least as the British dominions were concerned, Lord Cornwallis was able to devote his attention to the important subject of the revenue, and to pave the way for the immense changes which he ultimately effected in that branch of administration.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD SYDNEY.

MY DEAR LORD, Madras, Aug. 24, 1786.

You will be glad to hear that I have hitherto had a most prosperous and expeditious voyage. Sir John Dalling's health has not been good, and he had determined to come home before he heard of his recall: I likewise hear that Sloper has been ill. The most perfect harmony subsists here; no Governor ever was more popular than Sir A. Campbell. I have received a letter from Macpherson, promising the most zealous assistance and support.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO VISCOUNT BROME.

MY DEAREST CHARLES, Calcutta, Sept. 17, 1786.

When you receive this letter you will have been almost a year without hearing from me, but I trust you will not have forgot me. I am always thinking of you with the greatest anxiety. I have no fear but for your health. If that is good I am sure everything else will be right. You must write to me by every opportunity, and longer letters than I write to you; for I have a great deal more business every day than you have on a whole school-day, and I never get a holiday.

I have rode once upon an elephant, but it is so like going in a cart that you would not think it very agreeable. Give my compliments to Mr. Hayes.[1] I shall be very glad to hear his account of you. God bless and preserve you, and send us a happy meeting.

Your most truly affectionate father,

CORNWALLIS.

in a debate with reference to the registered debt, that Mr. Burke made his celebrated speech, Feb. 28, 1785, but which at the time produced so little effect upon the House, that, after consulting with Mr. Grenville, Mr. Pitt considered a reply unnecessary.

[1] Charles Hayes, d. May, 1828; m. Miss Briggs, of Eton.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

[Private and Confidential.]

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Sept. 17, 1786.

You will see that we are got into a very awkward, foolish scrape, by offering assistance to the Marattas; how we shall get out of it with honour God knows; but out of it we must get some how, and give no troops. I am not prepared to give an opinion about the Convention[1] with the French; it is very unpopular here. Macpherson says it is as much so in the French settlements.

Sloper has been and is still very ill; but he is not pleased with his recall. He is however, nearly single in that opinion; he has rode Macpherson without mercy. Many jobs must be undone with as much delicacy as possible. Macpherson is perfectly cordial, and all promise a most hearty support.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD SYDNEY.

MY DEAR LORD, Calcutta, Sept. 17, 1786.

I shall only mention one thing to you now, relative to Captain Monson.[2] I had heard that he was appointed aide-de-camp to Sloper by your recommendation, and for that reason intended, if I liked his character, to continue him in my family. From what I heard of him at Madras, I was convinced that I could not make him my aide-de-camp, but when I arrived here I was astonished to hear that Sloper, partly to get rid of him, and partly to put money in his pocket, had prevailed upon Macpherson to let him go to the Nizam, to offer his service to him. Both Sloper and Macpherson are so ashamed of the transaction, that they will not own that they have given him any recommendation, but I am perfectly sure that they have done it. The sending of a captain in the King's service, and aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief, to serve in the Nizam's army against his enemies, is as much, though not as effectually, taking part in the war as if we had sent him 10,000 men.

[1] This Convention was concluded at the Mauritius, and contained various stipulations in favour of the French, which were not approved of by the English Ministry. After some negotiation the terms were modified, and a fresh treaty signed at Paris, as will be seen in the subsequent pages.

[2] Captain, afterwards Colonel the Hon. William Monson, younger son of John, 2nd Lord Monson; b. Dec. 15, 1760, d. Dec. 26, 1807; m. Jan. 1786, Anne, dau. of John Debonnaire, Esq. M.P. for Lincoln from Dec. 1806 till his death. He served a long time in India, and commanded in the disastrous retreat of July and Aug. 1804, when his corps, consisting of five battalions of sepoys, 3000 native cavalry, and some British artillery, was almost entirely destroyed by Holkar.

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I have therefore been under the necessity of sending him orders to join his regiment immediately. I wish this to be explained to his family, lest they should think I had used him ill.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY.

DEAR JAMES, Calcutta, Sept. 18, 1786.

I did not intend writing to you by this packet, but as its sailing is deferred for some hours, I think it will be some pleasure to you to see under my hand that I am well, and that I flatter myself that I shall be able to render some essential service in this country. I can give no guess how I can manage my own affairs, as I have not yet begun housekeeping. Remittances will be uncertain as to time; in my situation I must be nice in the mode; I am sure that I must live vastly within my income; but we are paid half in money and half in certificates, which, although they bear 8 per cent. interest, are at 13 per cent. discount; in two or three months I shall be able to write more fully on this subject. I long much to hear from England, yet I dare hardly hope to do it in less than three or four months. They flatter us with cooler weather in another month; at present nothing can be hotter. I have written to Brome—there all my hopes are fixed; if he continues well, I shall broil in comfort. Your truly affectionate brother,

CORNWALLIS.

The singular confederacy of the Marathas is described at great length by Duff, to whose work the reader is referred for the details of their origin and history, which are there most accurately given. Their nominal head was the Raja of Sattara.[1] He was a mere pageant, spending an indolent life at Sattara, in utter inactivity and destitute of power, in fact in such strict seclusion, that it almost amounted to restraint. Like Shah Alem, he was the counterpart of the Rois Fainéants of France, when Charles Martel and his father governed under the humble title of Maires du Palais.

The real authority was exercised by the Peshwa, a title which, literally translated, means "he who stands before." He was nominally only the Prime Minister of the Raja, but practically all the

[1] The Raja of Sattara in 1786 was Shaho Raja, the adopted son of his predecessor Ram Raja, who died in 1777. The seclusion in which they were kept, renders it difficult to give very accurate details about them.

Maratha chiefs paid him obedience more or less strict. Sivagi, the founder of the Maratha state, did possess, and his immediate successors partially retained, considerable influence, till the Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao, usurped all the power of the government. He converted a large portion of the Maratha territories into a state really independent, and fixed his residence at Poona. On his death in June, 1761, he was succeeded successively by his two sons, Madho Rao, and Narain Rao.[1] The posthumous son of the latter, Mahdoo Rao Narain, became the legitimate Peshwa.

Other Maratha chiefs followed the example of Balaji Baji Rao, and made themselves practically independent, though still nominally subservient to the Raja of Sattara, or rather to the Peshwa. All of them were perpetually making war upon each other; but if assailed by any foreign power, they generally united and made common cause against the enemy. Their territories were gradually absorbed, one by one, by the Company, and there now remains hardly a single independent Maratha chief, the descendants of Holkar, Sindia, and the Gaekwars, resident at Indore, Gwalior, and Baroda[2] perhaps excepted. But even they retain only portions of the possessions of their ancestors, and are in the class of Protected Princes.

MINUTE OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

[Extract.]

Sept. 27, 1786.

Having now had the papers relating to the late negociations between this Government and the Marattas, I feel myself most forcibly called upon to request that this Board will reconsider them in the most serious manner. That the offer, through our Resident at Poona, to grant an assistance of troops from Bombay to the Peshwa, proceeded from the warmest anxiety for the public good, I am firmly persuaded; but I am clearly of opinion, that if

[1] Madho Rao was b. Aug. 1744, d. Nov. 18, 1772; Narain Rao b. 1755, murdered Aug. 30, 1773. At his death, his uncle Ragonath tried to be Peshwa, but the birth of Mahdoo Rao Narain prevented him from obtaining that dignity. He was however in possession of the real authority, but after the treaty of Salbye he was obliged to retire into private life, and died early in 1784. The direction of affairs then devolved on Nana Furnaveze. Mahdoo Rao Narain was succeeded by a son of Ragonath, Bajee Rao, who was born in 1775. He did not get the musnud till Dec. 4, 1796, and with him terminated the dominion of the Peshwas, when he was deposed, June 3, 1818, by Lord Hastings. Nana Sahib, whose atrocities at Cawnpore have (Sept. 1857) given him such unenviable notoriety, is his adopted son.

[2] Gaekwars—literally herdsmen. Dumnaji d. in 1768. His eldest son Syagi was supposed to be nearly an idiot, and Govind Rao assumed the reins of power. But Futteh Sing, the 4th and youngest son, took up the cause of his elder brother, and governed, from 1771, as Regent. He died Dec. 21, 1789, and then Manogi, another brother, took his place. He died Aug. 1, 1793, and Govind Rao at last got undisputed possession, and held it till his death, Sept. 1800.

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performed, it would amount to a direct breach of the late treaty of peace with Tippoo Sultan, in the first article of which, the contracting parties engage that "they will not directly or indirectly assist the enemies of each other;" and it would be no less acting in defiance of the Act of 24th Geo. III. I cannot consider the French, or any other intriguers that we know of, as in any degree approaching to the spirit of the above exception. It is unnecessary to examine the policy of a measure we are not at liberty to adopt: we cannot give the three battalions without going to war; we cannot go to war without offending the laws of our country. It is therefore high time to extricate ourselves from our present critical and dangerous situation, the continuance of which will not only give the most just grounds of offence to Tippoo, but will probably produce a quarrel with the Poona ministers, who, by Mr. Malet's letter to the Governor-General of the 2nd of June, already express a diffidence of our sincerity. I beg leave, therefore, to propose to the Board, that we should avail ourselves of the opportunity of the change in the Government to draw a distinct line for our own future conduct, and that I should be directed to write to the Peshwa accordingly.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO CHARLES WARRE MALET, ESQ., RESIDENT AT POONAH.

SIR, Calcutta, Sept. 27, 1786.

I am free to confess to you, that upon my taking charge of this Government, it gave me great concern to be informed of the nature of the late negociations with the Court at which you reside; for, whilst Tippoo Sultan observes on his part the treaty with the Company, we are forbid by that treaty, as well as by Act of Parliament, to give assistance directly or indirectly to his enemies. We are in an unpleasant dilemma. By our offer of aid we have given cause of complaint to Tippoo; and by our not making good that offer, I much apprehend that we shall offend the Poonah administration. Under all these circumstances however, the Board has resolved to adopt the measure of a strict adherence to subsisting treaties; and we hope that while Nana Furnaveze[1] and the other Ministers are inclined to be angry at the disappointment, they will not refuse their approbation of this proof of our spirit of

[1] Nana Furnaveze. His real name was Balaji Janardan. Furnaveze, or correctly Phar-Navis, is a title equivalent to superintendent of financial accounts. He was the confidential minister of the Peshwa, Madho Rao, and his descendants, and supported them against their uncle Raghoba. But he was subsequently reconciled to Raghoba's son, Baji Rao, and became his minister. He died March 13, 1800, having had for forty years the principal influence in the conduct of the Maratha government. He was a man of remarkable talent and skill.

justice. Inclosed is a letter to the Peshwa,[1] conformable to the above resolution; and you will please to deliver it in the proper manner by the earliest opportunity. You will at the same time accompany it with a declaration in the most civil terms, that, having the most friendly disposition towards the Peshwa and the Mahratta State, and the highest esteem for the character of Nana Furnaveze, it has given me the utmost pain to find myself under the necessity of commencing my administration with a measure, upon which it is possible to put any other construction; but I can allow no consideration to operate with me in competition with the preservation of the faith of treaties, and obedience to the laws of our country. You will, I am sensible, have a delicate part to act upon this critical occasion. But from your abilities and address, I entertain great hopes of your being able to make this communication without occasioning a breach of the friendly intercourse between the two Governments. You will add to any other expedient that may occur to yourself, towards smoothing a matter probably in itself disagreeable, that from the high opinion I have of the power of the Mahratta empire, I cannot bring myself to believe that they have any serious danger to apprehend from such an enemy as Tippoo. But should such danger arise from the interference of any European Power against them, this Government will be ready to consider how far they can then venture to take vigorous and effectual steps for their protection and support. I also wish you to give the strongest assurances to the young Peshwa of my warm attachment to his person, and to inform him that I have already given orders to search for the largest and the smallest elephant in this country, and when found, I shall beg leave to present them to him.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUTENANT JAMES ANDERSON, RESIDENT WITH MADAJEE SCINDIA.

SIR, Oct. 2, 1786.

As we could not in the opinion of the Board give a military aid to the Mahrattas without a breach of the late treaty with Tippoo, and of the Act of Parliament 24th Geo. III., it has been thought expedient to extricate ourselves from that embarrassing negociation by the circumstance of my arrival, and that I should write the letter to the Peshwa, of which a copy is enclosed. Soon

[1] This letter only conveyed the substance of the minute of Sept. 27, and is therefore not printed.

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after our resolutions on this subject were passed, we received a letter from Mr. Malet, dated the 21st of August, which has induced us to give him some discretionary power respecting the delivery of the letter to the Peshwa. Should he have received certain information that Tippoo has committed any open act of hostility against any British possessions, the letter to the Peshwa is to be withheld entirely; should he be persuaded that the negociations are likely to terminate in a speedy peace, he is at liberty to delay the delivery of the letter as long as it can be done without his being driven to give an evasive answer, or convey to the Mahrattas the smallest hopes of assistance. Mr. Malet has been directed to give you notice two or three days previous to the delivery of the letter to the Peshwa, that you may be properly apprized of his intention, and take an opportunity of communicating it to Madajee Scindia. Being unable to form an opinion to my satisfaction on the probable effect of the measure we have adopted on the mind and schemes of Scindia, it has been thought prudent, instead of writing to himself, to leave it to your discretion to communicate the substance of our resolution, at the time and in the manner you may think most proper, after having received notice from Mr. Malet that my letter is to be delivered to the Peshwa; and you may accompany the communication with assurances of our most sincere regret at finding ourselves restrained by our duty to our country, from giving those proofs that may have been expected from us, of our earnest concern for the prosperity and welfare of the Mahratta State.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

MINUTE OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Oct. 2, 1786.

The petition received from Mr. Fraser at our last meeting in this department, has led me to apprehend that it has been sometimes the practice of this Board, to interfere between his Excellency the Nabob-Vizier and his private creditors in a manner which, in my opinion, is highly inexpedient and improper, and unwarranted by the nature of our connexion with him; I therefore beg leave to move, that it may be resolved that the Secretary should be ordered to convey our positive instructions to the agent at Lucknow, that he shall not in future solicit the Vizier or his ministers for the payment of private debts; and to the accountant, that he must on no pretence receive any money, except on account of this Government.

CORNWALLIS.

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The two following letters are inserted as specimens of the Oriental style of writing. Lord Cornwallis, considering it undignified for the British Government to exchange compliments with the Native Princes, determined to put an end to such a style in the communications between them and the Governor-General, but it was long before he accomplished his object.

FROM H. R. H. THE SHAH ZADA TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

[From the Prince, in his own handwriting.]

Oct. 6, 1786.

The particulars of my coming to Lucknow, it is certain that before this you have fully learned from the information of Governor-General Hastings and other faithful gentlemen. At present, for your information, I write at large the account of my journey to this quarter, that his deceased Majesty Ameer Tymur, my ancestor, by command of the Almighty, after possessing himself of the seven kingdoms of India, which extend to the four cardinal points, and are the most excellent of kingdoms, having chosen this country for the residence of his posterity, like their native country, bestowed upon it the honour of being his place of abode. Accordingly, from a period of 500 years, his successors, high in dignity and authority, have continued to give laws and issue commands in this country; and the fame of their conquests and the report of their government are as plain as the sun and brighter than the moon. There is no necessity for narration: the accounts and particulars of the conquests and government of each monarch are recorded in the histories and annals, and are as well known as the sun. From the day when his exalted Majesty Shah Allum gave beauty to the throne of Indostan, every one of his slaves and servants, whom considering to be trustworthy, he had appointed to the government of kingdoms, came ungrateful to his sovereign, forgetting the honour to which he had been raised, and performing no duty of obedience and allegiance, was totally deficient in the offices of service. In the end they were all defeated and punished. When his Majesty, from his favour and beneficence, bestowed dignity on me superior to my brothers, and honoured me with the title of heir-apparent, I could not support the sight of the shame and disgrace, of the ingratitude, of these villains; and bold thought came into my comprehensive mind, that coming forth from the corner of retirement, I should direct my steps towards some quarter. As the particulars of the allegiance and sincerity and fidelity of the noble English gentlemen used to come to my hearing, I turned the reins of my

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desire towards Lucknow, in reliance upon the attachment and service of the English gentlemen; and my heart's object was this, that with the conjunction and advice of the noble English gentlemen, having provided for the settlement of the kingdom, and having planned the establishment of the throne of His Majesty, I should obtain happiness from the title of Heir-Apparent which His Majesty had bestowed upon me, and should in return for this favour perform some service which might be acceptable to His Majesty, and might remain recorded in the annals of the world. Accordingly, after my arrival at Lucknow, discourses of designs and actions took place with Governor Hastings; but as his departure towards Europe was near, the event of this business did not come to light. As all matters depend on their season, the event of these happy objects was kept until your arrival. God be praised that the objects of all my prayers to God is come to pass! Truly, from hearing the happy news of the arrival of you worthy of favour, fresh delights and innumerable joys come to me; and it became fixed in my penetrating mind, that by the assistance of God the settlement of the affairs of His Majesty's throne will take place in the manner which I wish, through the wise plans of you, a peer gifted with sincerity. From the certainty of this event, a thought came into my mind, that having speedily honoured you, and made myself happy by an interview, I should in person, without the intervention of letters and correspondence, bring forward with you the views of settlement to the kingdom, and the thoughts of embellishment to the affairs of the throne of His Majesty; and the plans should be finally settled for the expulsion and removal of the wicked enemies of the throne, who, having raised their heads to rebellion and war, have caused injury to the country; and having executed, might be determined by your advice, face to face, I should obtain happiness and honour from His Majesty's presence in consequence of my journey, through the blessing of God and your firm alliance, and should exert myself for the ease and security of mankind; and as my heart has been long desirous to visit the country of Bengal, and to see the town and buildings of Calcutta and to journey on the river, and a speedy interview with you is my wish, I shall very soon depart towards Calcutta by the river, and by God's grace I shall very speedily arrive in that country. This is the duty of your allegiance, that upon the receipt of this letter you send in answer, a petition of summons for me, that it may meet me on the road, and that from the perusal of it the particulars of your attachment and fidelity may be made known to me; and whatever other wishes and views of my heart may exist, God willing, I will soon declare

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them after an interview. By God's permission, if any regulation for the throne of His Majesty, and any settlements for the country should take place through your alliance, you will acquire, in a proper manner, reputation and fame in the eyes of my uncle His Sacred Majesty of England, and in the presence of His Majesty, my lord and director; and it will remain during your life recorded on the page of the world. Further considering me to be favourable and longing, continue hoping for real kindness, and know me to be soon arriving.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO H. R. H. THE SHAH ZADA.

I have been honoured with the receipt of your Highness's shooka, acquainting me with the particulars of your Highness's coming to Lucknow, of your intention of conferring upon me the happiness of an interview, with the other matters of great importance.

I have already taken the liberty, in an address which I had the honour to present to your Highness, under date the 28th September, to represent the many weighty reasons which imposed upon me the necessity of declining an honour which I should be proud to receive; and I trust that your Highness's wisdom and penetration have fully comprehended them, and admitted their propriety. It is a matter of the sincerest concern and affliction to me to be obliged to refer your Highness to those reasons in consequence of the shooka which you have now honoured me with, particularly as I am sensible of the very uncommon honour conferred upon me by its being written by your Highness's own hand.

Your Highness, whose mind is illuminated with the rays of science, and who are so well versed in the histories of nations and the annals of mankind, will know that those to whom Providence has assigned the direction of human affairs are bound by circumstances of time and situation that will not permit them to act agreeably to their wishes and desires. I most sincerely lament that such should be my fate, and that impediments not to be removed should intervene to frustrate not only the anxious desire of my heart to pay my respects to you in person, but also to deprive me and the English nation of the honour of your sublime presence in Calcutta. In fact, what greater dignity could I receive, and how shall words express the sorrow which afflicts me, from the absolute necessity of being deprived of such distinguishing marks of your Highness's regard for me and the English nation?

The misfortunes of the illustrious House of Tymur are not

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unknown to me, and I have long lamented, and still lament with heartfelt affliction, that the wishes of the enemies of your royal father, whose presence dignifies the throne of empire, should so long have prevailed. My prayers are daily offered up to the Disposer of human events for the restitution of His Majesty to the dignity and fortune of his illustrious ancestors.

Having fully explained my sentiments on the subject of the honour your Highness proposed to confer upon me by an interview, what more can I add? Permit me, however, to repeat the request I had the honour to prefer to your Highness in my former address, to remain at Benares, where, in consequence of my orders to the officers of the Sircar, the attention and respect due to your Highness's exalted dignity will be paid with all assiduity. Though our meeting is impossible for the present, I consider it as postponed only till a more propitious opportunity. In the mean time I humbly request your Highness to continue to honour me with the happy news of your royal welfare, for which I continually offer up my prayers to the Almighty.

Earl Cornwallis to H. R. H. the Duke of York.

Sir, Calcutta, Nov. 10, 1786.

In the pursuit of military knowledge in which I left your Royal Highness, under the great authorities of Potsdam and Brunswick, I can hardly hope that a letter dated Calcutta will meet with a favourable reception. But as I formerly took the liberty of telling your Royal Highness that every part of the British army had an equal claim to your care and patronage, and that we could not allow you to belong to any particular corps, so I must now consider you as the person who is one day to have the direction of the whole force of Britain, and looking to that period, I will not be afraid to say, that even our Indian army must not be below your notice and inquiry. The intense heat and the unhealthiness of the climate are much against all military discipline; yet I was astonished at the good appearance of the part of the King's troops which I saw on the coast of Coromandel: the 71st regiment would be esteemed a good one in any part of Europe. I was assured that some of the others were by no means inferior. The East India Company's artillery are very fine, but their European infantry, on whom the defence of these valuable possessions may one day depend, are in a most wretched state.

The Sepoys, or native black troops, are fine men, and would not in size disgrace the Prussian ranks; I have heard undeniable proofs

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of their courage and patience in bearing hunger and fatigue, but from the little I have hitherto seen of them, I have no favourable idea of their discipline.

Your Royal Highness well knows that all troops are good or bad, according to the merit and exertion of their officers. In the Company's service many of these are deserving and well-informed, and perhaps they have been more in the practice of judging and acting for themselves, than officers who have served in a less extensive field. But the mainspring has been always wanting—they have had no head to look up to; the promotion of rank has always gone by seniority; and the lucrative commands have been given to those who have had interest. Consequently there has been no spur to merit.

The Company's officers have no regiments or governments to look forward to: few constitutions can stand this climate many years. If they cannot save some money, they must go home without rank or pay, condemned to disease and beggary. Under these circumstances the most rigid General must relax a little, and suffer practices that are in some degree repugnant to the nice feelings of a soldier. In regard to the general state of our affairs in India, the power given to the Governor-General, however it may now be misplaced, is the only chance of saving this country. Mr. Fox's plan would have ruined all. The state of our finances is alarming, the difficulties are infinite; I feel that the whole may go to ruin in my hands, but I do not despair. I will not fail in my duty; I shall probably commit many errors, but I trust to the candid judgment of my King and country, which I have already so honourably experienced.

I am, Your Royal Highness's
Most faithful and most devoted servant,
CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.

MY DEAR LORD, Calcutta, Nov. 13, 1786.

Having been two months seated in this government, I thought it time to give my account of things, especially as the *late Government* might be suspected of a little delusion. They certainly do not deserve the credit which they have assumed, which you will easily believe, as you know the two who composed the majority of the late Board. I must, however, acknowledge that, although affairs are not quite in so good a state as they have been represented to be, they are by no means desperate; if you have any

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regard for the interests of the Company, you must not oppose any good plan for relieving us from a debt, which bears so heavy and ruinous an interest. My situation would have been easy if the plan of last year had succeeded. You will be glad to hear that I have found no bad effects from the climate, and that on the whole I bear the very disagreeable life that I lead, with as much patience as I could reasonably expect; if I have any merit, I shall leave you to find it out from some other quarter. I have appointed Fombelle my assistant in the Secretary's Office; I have the pleasure of assuring you that he bears a very good character; I shall not neglect proper opportunities hereafter of serving him.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD SYDNEY.

MY DEAR LORD, Calcutta, Nov. 13, 1786.

My letters to the Court of Directors and to the Secret Committee, contain so ample a detail of everything that I have as yet come to the knowledge of in this country, that I cannot give you fuller information. The climate has hitherto agreed with me, and has now become much pleasanter, although what I have as yet seen of the cold season would appear a very hot season in your part of the world. My life is not a very agreeable one, but I have ventured to leave off a good deal of the buckram, which rather improves it. Sloper is much recovered, and will sail next month. My kindest compliments and best wishes to Lady Sydney and all your family.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Lord Cornwallis had a great dislike to form and ceremony, and not only in India, but wherever else he was employed, dispensed with it as much as possible, only appearing in state, when public reasons rendered it necessary for him to do so. His habit and mode of life in India, probably contributed much to preserve his health. He rose very early, and took a long ride before breakfast on a hard trotting horse, attended by one companion (almost always his military secretary, Colonel Ross) and a single groom. He never cared for good living, and with the exception perhaps of one glass of wine, drank nothing but water at dinner. In early life the universal practice of the day had accustomed him to hard drinking, but he had given it up many years before he went to India, where

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(and during the remainder of his life) his daily allowance was a moderate quantity of claret after dinner; and this, according to the custom of the time, was drunk very slowly.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

[Secret and Confidential.]

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Nov. 15, 1786.

You recollect that I am writing confidentially to you and Mr. Pitt, and to nobody else. I depend on your secrecy, and will not conceal from you that the late Government had no authority, and the grossest frauds were daily committed before their faces; their whole conduct, and all their pretensions to economy, except in the reduction of salaries, was a scene of delusion. I suspect even that the opium and other contracts, the terms of which appear so advantageous, are not calculated to promote the real interests of the Company; and I am sure that the contractor for Oude cloths and Oude indigo, was saddled with friends not very distant from the Government House. You will see in the letters from the Board previous to my arrival, a plan for obtaining Illabad[1] from the Vizier, to which he had spirit enough to make a successful resistance. Unless I see some new lights, I shall not revive it; I at present think the advantages of our possessing that post very doubtful, and I am sure it was intended as a scene of gross peculation at the expense of the Vizier and his government. It would be a needless and indeed an endless task, for me to pursue this topic from Lucknow to the coast. It is sufficient that you should know that I have the will as well as the power to correct it.

The abilities of Mr. Shore, and his knowledge in every branch of the business of this country, and the very high character which he holds in the settlement, render his assistance to me invaluable; you will easily conceive that he has helped me much in the papers relative to the French claims and the finances. Stuart[2] is an honourable, good-tempered man, perfectly well disposed to me, and zealous for the public good.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Illabad—more properly Allahabad—was sold by the Indian Government in 1773 to the Nabob of Oude, but continued to be occupied by an English garrison. This seems to have been an attempt to obtain nominal, as well as actual authority in the place. It was finally ceded to the East India Company in 1801.

[2] Hon. Charles Stuart, younger son of Robert, 7th Lord Blantyre; b. 1743, d. May 1, 1821, unmarried.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE HON. COLONEL FOX.

DEAR FOX, Calcutta, Nov. 16, 1786.

You will be glad to hear that on the whole I find my situation here, both public and private, as well as I could reasonably expect. The army in Bengal is in a most wretched state, particularly the Europeans; you can conceive nothing so bad. I saw the 71st at Madras, looking exceedingly well, perfectly fit for service, and, indeed, in every respect above par; I am told some others of the King's regiments were as good; that shows it is possible. The weather was so hot when I was at Madras, and my stay was so short, that I could not visit any of the country cantonments. Sloper has been very ill; he is displeased at his recall, but I think he could not have lived another year. His intentions when he came out, were I believe perfectly upright, but the number of hungry dependents that he brought with him, have forced him into jobs that are totally unwarrantable, that have made him excessively unpopular, and that I am under the disagreeable necessity of undoing before his face. He never took any steps towards disciplining the army. Excuse this hasty scrawl; you shall now and then have a line either from Ross or me, but I expect to hear from you often, as I think you have the most leisure of the two. Remember me to our friend Charles Lennox, and present my best compliments to the Duke.

Yours, my dear Fox,
Very sincerely,
CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Nov. 16, 1786.

. . . The finances will require your primary and most serious attention. You will long since have been informed, that the plan formed last year for inducing the Company's creditors in India to transfer their demands to Europe, has not succeeded to any considerable extent, and the statements which I now transmit, will sufficiently explain to you the necessity of immediately adopting another (if you have not already done it) equally calculated to promote the proposed object, and more likely to be acceptable in this country.

It is needless for me to enlarge upon topics that are obvious to your own discernment, and of which you daily experience the effects; while our unavoidable expensive establishments, the interest due upon our debts, and the demands from the other Presidencies,

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absorb the produce of the revenues, a considerable investment can only be made by fresh issues of paper. By this mode the evil, though protracted, is increased. It exhibits a delusive appearance of wealth, which cannot be supported, and by a temporary accommodation entails permanent distresses. You may depend upon the strictest attention and most rigid economy in all public disbursements, and in obtaining the different articles of supplies wanted for the public service, but I cannot flatter you with any expectations of drawing new resources by the further retrenchment of salaries or establishments. It does not appear to me that your pecuniary embarrassments can be substantially relieved by any means practicable in this country; and convinced as I am of this truth, to conceal it would be criminal. I am far however from deeming the evil insurmountable: on the contrary, I think the means of removing it are in your power.

. . . Many of the principal persons connected with this Government, have anxiously desired leave to visit Calcutta since my arrival. The Vizier proposed to come in person, but pressed in the strongest manner for leave to send his Minister, Hyder Beg Khan;[1] with the latter request I thought proper to comply. This Minister is described to me as a man of uncommon abilities, and he no doubt exercises at present the whole power of the Vizier's Government. The particular object on their part, of his mission has not yet been signified to me, and I will not venture positively to predict what advantages we may derive from it; but I shall be at pains to impress Hyder Beg Khan with a conviction, that we have no design but that of promoting the real interests of the Vizier, which we look upon as inseparable from our own, and that while he conducts his administration upon that principle, he may depend upon the protection and support of this Government. I have had the most unfavourable representations of the management of the finances, and of the state of the Courts of Justice in the country of Oude. It will be a principal object with me to endeavour to obtain a promise from Hyder Beg Khan, to use his utmost exertions to correct the abuses of both.

Mahomet Reza Khan,[2] and Sadut Ali Khan,[3] are here upon

[1] Hyder Beg Khan had been Minister of the Nabob of Oude from the time of Hastings. He died July, 1792. He was a most able and intelligent man.

[2] Mahomed Reza Khan, a nobleman of Moorshedabad, was made by the English in 1765 Naib Nazim of Bengal, and as such discharged the duties of Chief Criminal Judge of the Province. Between 1772 and 1778 he was twice removed and restored to office; and before Lord Cornwallis arrived in India his power had ceased, as Englishmen were employed to discharge his duties. He was however, much respected and often consulted. He finally settled near Calcutta, where his descendants still live, and are called Nabobs of Chitpoor.

[3] Sadut Ali Khan was a brother of Asuf ud

visits merely complimentary, and the Nabob Mobarick ud Dowlah[1] has been so earnest in his solicitations for leave to come to Calcutta for a short time, that I have been forced to consent to receive him, and I expect him here in a few days. But I have been principally embarrassed by the pressing instances of the Shah Zada[2] for a personal interview, which, though in vain, as you will see by our correspondence, I was at pains to decline, and I take for granted that he will be here in the course of next month. I shall certainly receive and treat him with much respect and the greatest kindness; but I have already prepared his mind not to expect many of the outward ceremonials usually paid in this country to the princes of the house of Timur, as they would not only be extremely irksome to me personally, but also, in my opinion, improper to be submitted to by the Governor-General at the seat of your Government. The whole political use that may be derived from this event is at present uncertain, but there may arise some future advantage if we can gain his affection and attachment; in the mean time you need not be afraid of my contracting any inconvenient engagements with him.

I think it also incumbent on me to state to you that the abuses or neglects in recruiting your Europeans, appear to be scandalous, and if not corrected, may endanger the safety of your possessions in this quarter of the globe: the best men being picked from the whole of the recruits for the artillery, that corps both here and at Madras is in a good and serviceable state, but the other European regiments are in very bad condition, incomplete in numbers, and many of those numbers consisting of foreigners, sailors, invalids, or men under the proper size for military services. Even the recruits of last season, though said to be better than usual, have proved to be very insufficient in number for completing the establishment, and the proportion of sailors and vagrants among them was so great, that no less than 62 have deserted from Fort William alone in the course of the last two months. Besides these, another class of recruits has been sent that have been particularly embarrassing to us, and which could only have happened by the most shameful connivance of some of the people employed in your recruiting

Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, at whose death Vizier Ali was made Nabob, but when the latter was dispossessed (Jan. 21, 1798) on his birth being proved to be spurious, Sadut Ali was made Nabob; d. July 11, 1814.

[1] Mobarick ud Dowlah, son of Meer Jaffier, b. 1758; d. Sept. 1793; succeeded his brother Syeff ud Dowlah, March 10, 1770. As he was quite a boy when he ascended the musnud, the English Governor entrusted him to the care of Mani Begum, the second wife of his father, but not his mother.

[2] Shah Zada, literally son of the king. His name was Jivan Bakht Jahandar Shah, son of Shah Alem, b. 1740. Having vainly endeavoured to restore the fallen fortunes of his family, he retired to Benares, where he died May, 1788.

service; I mean gentlemen (among whom there are even some half-pay King's officers) who never meant to serve, and indeed, are unfit for the duties of private soldiers, but who procured themselves to be enrolled as recruits, merely to get a passage on board the chartered ships to India. Upon their arrival here, humanity and necessity force us to accept their offer of a man in their place, but which is no addition to our strength, as in most instances he is either a sailor who deserts, or the same man that would have been otherwise obtained, and the gentlemen when discharged are in general without employment, and soon after in great want and distress. Having been informed that this practice has been too frequent for several years past, I have been unwilling to be harsh with the gentlemen of that description who have come out in the ships of last season, but I have to request that in future, no such fallacious enlistments be suffered at home, and also that it may be notified as publicly as possible, that if any such young men do come out, either by passing themselves for persons of the proper class for recruits or by the collusion of others, I am determined that they shall serve the time for which they are engaged, or, if I should be induced to consent to discharge them, it shall be on the express condition of not only finding a man to replace them, but also of giving security that they shall return to Europe at their own expense by the first ships that sail. I am the more earnest in stating the real condition of your European force, as it is the foundation upon which all your power and dominion in this country must in many possible cases stand or fall.

The native troops have on many occasions evinced great fidelity and attachment to your service; on several others, from want of pay or other causes, they have manifested tokens of dissatisfaction and revolt. When wavering in their allegiance, a respectable body of Europeans would awe them to obedience.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE.

[Secret.]

GENTLEMEN, Fort William, Nov. 16, 1786.

. . . Madajee Scindia has hitherto resisted the solicitations of the Poona administration, to take an active part in the war against Tippoo; and under the shadow of the King's authority, still perseveres in his ambitious schemes on the Upper Provinces.

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His failure in several attempts before the rains, and the general disaffection and even aversion of many of the Mogul Chiefs, who have hitherto acted with him, may probably, without any foreign interference, render those schemes abortive. His real plan of operations for the dry season cannot yet be precisely ascertained. Among other designs, there appeared to Mr. Anderson some reason to suspect that he intended to attack Golam Kadir Khan,[1] whose dominions are contiguous to those of the Vizier in the Doab. His late acquisitions on the borders of the Vizier's country, have I am afraid, sown the seeds of many future disputes; and, exclusive of any consideration on that head, his success against Golam Kadir Khan would give a most dangerous addition to his strength. I therefore, at the suggestion of Mr. Anderson, authorised him at his discretion to deliver a message from me to Scindia, couched in civil terms, but tending to discourage him from any nearer approach in that quarter to the territories of the Vizier.

Hostilities still continue between the Nizam and Mahrattas on one side, and Tippoo Sultaun on the other. Since the rains, Tippoo has crossed the Tungbuddra, and by our last accounts both armies were in its neighbourhood, and at no great distance from each other. Some skirmishes, but no decisive action has been fought, that we have yet heard of. Amid all their own internal dissensions, we have no reason at present to apprehend that any of our neighbours entertain hostile designs against any of your possessions in Hindostan. And upon this political subject I shall only add, that I shall be at great pains, and hope in time to succeed in convincing them all, that it is the earnest desire of this Government to cultivate their friendship, and to refrain from giving them just cause of offence, either by positive injuries or by intrigues; but that on the other hand, it is equally our determined resolution, to suffer no insults or injuries to ourselves or to our allies, to pass unresented.

The multiplicity of other business in which I have been engaged since my arrival here, has hitherto prevented me from making much progress in my inquiries into the conduct of those commercial servants pointed at in your secret letter, dated 12th April last. Although I am already persuaded that there is much ground for believing that your suspicions are too well founded, of

[1] Gholam Kadir Khan, son of Zabita Khan, Nabob of Saharanpur. He was a turbulent soldier of fortune, took possession of Delhi in June, 1788, and made Shah Alem prisoner, whose eyes he himself put out with his dagger. The Maratha forces drove him out of Delhi in the following October, and he was taken and put to death by order of Sindia before the close of the year.

many of them having been guilty of corruption or shameful negligence, I will not yet venture to say that we shall be able to obtain legal proofs of either.

The customs and prejudices of the natives render it difficult in such cases to obtain information from them; and the combination of those servants that have been concerned in such iniquitous transactions may throw insuperable obstacles in the way of investigation into past abuses. I have not yet been able to obtain from the Board of Trade certain lists and papers that I called for, to enable me, by ascertaining the names of contractors and members of the Board of Trade at certain periods, to file bills in equity according to your directions. I trust however that I shall be able to proceed to the execution of your commands on that head, immediately after the despatch of the 'Swallow' packet. . . .

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

[Private.]

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Nov. 30, 1786.

. . . Many things remain still to be done: an investigation of the Moorshedabad Durbar, where I believe a Resident will not be found necessary, and of the Augean stables of Benares and Lucknow. The army is in a most shocking state, and will require my utmost exertions. One example properly chosen may do much good, and save the ruin of many. I wish your countryman —— had not left this country before my arrival, that I might have set a public mark on his infamy. The worst news I have to tell you is that Mr. Shore's health declines very much, and I am really apprehensive that he cannot remain in this country. If this should happen it will be a most serious public loss, and to me a greater disappointment than I can describe. You will hear from me soon again by the 'William Pitt,' by which conveyance you will receive General Sloper, his ——, his secretary, and all his grievances.

Macpherson is much better, but I believe he will go home.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

If the subject is not too *delicate*, I wish you would stir in earnest to relieve us from the heavy and useless expense of the

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German troops. But don't mistake me, and take away a British regiment instead of them. The King's British regiments must not be parted with; we have in reality nothing else, except the corps of artillery, that deserves the name of an European force.

MINUTE OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Dec. 22, 1786.

I should in any case be sorry to have my intentions misconstrued by the Court of Directors, but it would give me particular concern if any part of the conduct of my predecessor in office should be affected by such misconstruction. I cannot therefore have the smallest objection to comply with Mr. Macpherson's wishes, that the explanation which he gives of the line that he pursued in regard to the claims of individuals upon the Vizier, shall be stated in our next general letter in the secret department. A strict adherence to our general resolution against all future interference of that kind, will I am persuaded, be found useful and creditable to this Government; and as the principles upon which that resolution was founded will soon be generally known, I cannot say that I apprehend much inconvenience from private solicitation. I think it very possible that individuals who know that they cannot succeed here, will try the fate of similar applications to the Court of Directors; but as I will freely confess that the reasons which actuated us should in my opinion lose none of their force with the Honourable Court, it would not be justifiable in me to recommend the measure of calling for and stating a list of the private debts of the Nabob Vizier to British subjects. It would most reasonably be construed into an implied intention of giving assistance to recover them, and would directly contradict the declaration that I have given, on the proper line for the future conduct of the Government.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO CHARLES WARRE MALET, ESQ.

SIR, Calcutta, Dec. 24, 1786.

. . . Our information respecting the internal state of the Maratta nation appears to me to be particularly defective. You well know that it has ever been publicly asserted that there is no such person as the Ram Rajah[1] at Sattarah, in existence. But this fact, if not done already, you will be able to ascertain beyond a

[1] Ram Raja died in 1777. See note to p. 227.

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possibility of doubt; and if a Ram Rajah be alive, I trust that you will have it in your power to add some account of the manner in which he is treated, and of the ceremonies observed in any intercourse between him and the Peshwa.

I have not yet been able to procure such elephants as I wished to send to the Peshwa, but I must beg of you to assure him that I have by no means forgot them.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Calcutta, Dec. 27, 1786.

. . . Some vessels have already arrived from China, and I am sorry to say, have brought heavy complaints against the conduct of your supracargoes there, representing them as being engaged under the cover of other names, in private commerce, and oppressing the traders from this country and the two coasts, by a spirit of monopoly and combination amongst themselves. Upon the arrival of the other ships of the season, I shall make further inquiries concerning this important subject, and if those representations appear to be well founded, I shall think it my duty to make very serious remonstrances to the Council of supracargoes, and I have no doubt of my being supported by your Honourable Court. The trade from this country to the eastward is attended with great hazards and most precarious profits. It is at present by no means flourishing; and, if it meets with check instead of encouragement from our own servants at Canton, it will soon be totally lost.

Since my arrival in this country, a great variety of representations and complaints have been made to me against the conduct of some individuals, and the general system of the present mode of managing the Durbar of the Nabob Mobarick ud Dowlah. At this distance, many circumstances concur to render it almost impossible to discover the truth; and, being extremely anxious to treat that family with the utmost delicacy and kindness, I have prevailed upon Mr. Shore, who is so peculiarly qualified for that office, to undertake an excursion to Moorshedabad to make the necessary investigations on the spot. From all that I have already heard, I think it highly probable that it will appear to be decent in this Government to abstain from much of the interference that has hitherto been used in the detail of the business of

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that household, and which has been attended with great expense to the Nabob. But at the same time, humanity and justice will require that we shall take effectual means to secure the regular payment from the Nabob's allowance, of all salaries and pensions that by the customs of people of that rank, are justly due to the relations and descendants of the family.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO VISCOUNT BROME.

MY DEAREST CHARLES, Calcutta, Dec. 28, 1786.

You will have heard that soon after I left England I was elected Knight of the Garter, and very likely laughed at me for wishing to wear a blue riband over my fat belly. I could have excused myself in the following lines:—

> "Behold the child, by nature's kindly law,
> Pleased with a rattle, tickled with a straw;
> Some livelier plaything gives his youth delight,
> A little louder, but as empty quite.
> Scarfs, garters, gold, amuse his riper stage,
> And beads and prayer-books are the toys of age."[1]

But I can assure you, upon my honour, that I neither asked for it nor wished for it. The reasonable object of ambition to a man is to have his name transmitted to posterity for eminent services rendered to his country and to mankind. Nobody asks or cares whether Hampden, Marlborough, Pelham, or Wolfe were Knights of the Garter. Of all things, at present, I am most anxious to hear about you. The packet that was coming to us overland, and that left England in July, was cut off by the wild Arabs between Aleppo and Bussora. Mr. Hayes will explain to you what sort of people the Arabs or Arabians are, as well as what country they inhabit; and you will look in the map for Aleppo and Bussora. We are in daily hope of the arrival of the 'Intelligence' packet. Let me know that you are well and do well, and I shall be happy even at Calcutta.

That God may bless you and preserve you to be my comfort is almost the only prayer of your truly affectionate father,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Pope, 'Essay on Man,' 2nd Epistle.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

[Private.]

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Dec. 28, 1786.

. . . We have been so unfortunate as to lose our overland packet, which was cut off by the wild Arabs; some straggling letters however, written about the middle of July, have found their way to us. In these we read of dissensions between the Board of Control and Court of Directors; the subject of the quarrel is said to be the exclusion of the interference of the latter, in matters relative to the debts of the Nabob of Arcot. I trust you will have approved of my discouraging Campbell's plan of taking that load on the shoulders of the Company, which I think are not able to bear such a weight of iniquity.

I have in the most decided terms declared that this Government will take no concern about the private creditors of the Vizier, and I hope you will be as firm on this subject. I expect Hyder Beg in the course of next month, when I shall have a difficult game to play; but I think fairness, honesty, and firmness, will be a match for cunning, corruption, and timidity.

The war between Tippoo and the Marattas seems to go on without any material advantage on either side.

You will see by my letters to the Court of Directors, that I have undone one of the acts of my military predecessor, by restoring the tent allowance[1] to the army, though on so reduced a plan as to make a very considerable saving. In this instance I have been so peculiarly fortunate as to unite popularity and economy, for the officers are exceedingly well satisfied, and the Company will gain above six thousand pounds a year. Some Lucknow jobs shall soon suffer the same fate; and after my saying this, if you and Mr. Pitt were not frequently in the habit of bestowing panegyrick where it is very ill-deserved, you would be surprised at seeing my name to a flaming paragraph in praise of the General. The worst is, that this will not be the last of that species of composition which I shall be forced to sign this winter, as I understand that the late Governor-General certainly goes home in the 'Berrington,' although he has not yet communicated it to me. After the departures of this

[1] Lord Cornwallis, Dec. 20, gave an allowance to the officers of the six Sepoy brigades, varying, according to rank, from 50 to 150 Sonnaut rupees a-month, for which they were to provide in cantonments, as well as in the field, camp equipage and carriage, as well as certain attendants in camp. The commanding officers of regiments were made responsible for this equipage, &c., being always ready for the field. On the other hand a large number of camp attendants were dismissed, and on the whole there was a balance in favour of Government.

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year, I will move a resolution that we shall leave off this ridiculous practice, and let the public judge of us by our actions.

Mr. Shore is better, and has made up his mind to stay in the country; I have the satisfaction of hearing from Madras that Sir A. Campbell's health is perfectly re-established. I find that it would by no means suit my friend Davies[1] to go upon the bench. I trust you will not send out Sir Elijah Impey.[2] All parties and descriptions of men agree about him.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

P.S. Since writing the above, I have received a letter from Malet, which I transmit to the Secret Committee. Nana seems to have received our declaration as patiently as could be expected.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE.

[Secret.]

GENTLEMEN, Fort William, Dec. 28, 1786.

. . . I have the honour to enclose the copy of a letter from Mr. Malet, giving an account of the conference between him and Nana Furnaveze, upon the communication of the resolution of this Government, to observe a strict neutrality in the present war between Tippoo Sultan and the Maratta State.

It is in substance nearly as I expected, for it would not be supposed that the Minister would acquiesce in a disappointment without some remark and remonstrance. The laws of our country and regard to the faith of treaties demanded this declaration; and every day that it was protracted, could only furnish fresh grounds to support the Minister's charge of duplicity against us.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] He was Advocate-General for several years, and was succeeded by Mr. (afterwards Sir Wm.) Burroughes.

[2] Sir Elijah Impey, b. June 13, 1732, d. Oct. 1, 1809; m. Jan. 18, 1768, Mary, dau. of Sir John Reade, Bart. Appointed Chief Justice in Calcutta, July, 1773, and recalled by a vote of the House of Commons, May, 1782. His connexion with Hastings, and his Indian career, are well known. M.P. for New Romney from Nov. 1790 to May, 1796.

CHAPTER IX.

Corruption among Company's servants — Arrangement with the Nabob of Oude — Communications with Maratha Princes — Jealousies between Company's and King's troops — The Tanjore succession — European Politics — Affairs in England — False economy of Court of Directors — Contrast between Company's Native and European troops.

IN the early part of 1787, the attention of Lord Cornwallis was principally directed to the peculation of which the Company's servants had been guilty, and to the gross corruption which prevailed everywhere, especially at Lucknow and Benares. The frauds were chiefly in the purchase of silk, and it was alleged that the contractors for supplying the Company's investments with that article, were in collusion with some of the members of the Board of Revenue, to which office contractors had in several instances been promoted. On competition being invited, the prices fell nearly 30 per cent.; and the Directors, convinced that extensive guilt existed, ordered prosecutions to be instituted against the seven of their servants who appeared to be the most culpable. It was not till Lord Cornwallis had himself visited the Upper Provinces, that he became thoroughly cognizant of the extent of these delinquencies, and of the excessive corruption prevalent among the Europeans, when removed from the immediate supervision of Government. Some details will be found in the following pages.

The arrangement with the Nabob of Oude was brought to a close in the spring of this year. Lord Cornwallis (April 15, 1787) addressed a letter to him, stating that he was prepared to reduce the tribute from 74 to 50 lacs, provided it was punctually paid; but he would not withdraw the British troops from Futtyghur. He urged, in very peremptory terms, a large reduction of the native troops, and insisted upon the payment of considerable pensions to various persons, relations of the Vizier and others, to whom the Company had extended their protection. If these conditions were faithfully fulfilled, Lord Cornwallis promised that the Resident should not interfere in the internal affairs of the State. Though the nominal reduction was large, the Company in fact lost

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nothing, as the larger sum had never been paid. A similar settlement was made with Mobarick ud Dowlah.

The succession to Tanjore was decided in favour of Ameer Sing then in possession; but upon information subsequently obtained, and strengthened by the strong representations of the celebrated missionary, the Rev. C. F. Schwartz,[1] the decision was reconsidered.[2]

The more the investigation into the conflicting rights of the Government, the Zemindars, and the Ryots was prosecuted, and the advantage of making a permanent land settlement was considered, the greater were the difficulties which presented themselves, and the whole question was therefore postponed for another year. The demand on the Nizam for the cession of the Guntoor Circars, shared the same fate, as it was felt, that if the demand were enforced while the Nizam was engaged in hostilities with Tippoo, it might materially influence the fate of the war.

The amalgamation of the Company's with the King's army, was again discussed. Lord Cornwallis entertained doubts how far this scheme could be advantageously carried out, and ultimately it was abandoned. Several despatches to and from London and Calcutta passed on this subject, as well as with reference to officers, who had had long furloughs in England, returning to India with their old position in the service, to which Lord Cornwallis strongly objected.

Towards the close of the year, great apprehension was entertained that Tippoo intended to make war upon the English, and Lord Cornwallis, in order to be prepared for such an emergency, ordered some troops to be levied, and ships to be fitted up as transports. But Tippoo only attacked a fortress belonging to the Marathas.

These alarms led to communications between the British and the Maratha Princes, especially the Peshwa, with a view of ascertaining how far they were inclined to renew the war with Tippoo, and various inducements were held out, to encourage them to enter into a confederacy for this object, should it become necessary. This proceeding was considered the more advisable, as the Marathas had felt much aggrieved, when Lord Cornwallis, departing from the policy of his predecessor, had declined, while at peace with Tippoo, to afford any aid to his enemies.

[1] Christian Frederick Schwartz, b. Oct. 26, 1726, in Sonnerburgh, in the New Marck, d. Feb. 13, 1798; unmarried. No missionary ever acquired the influence which he did, mainly by the judgment, temper, and moderation he always displayed. He was indefatigable in his endeavours to promote Christianity, but his exertions did not produce much fruit.

[2] See despatch to Mr. Dundas, March 5, 1787, and several to the Governor of Fort St. George, and to the Court of Directors in 1793.

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The ignorance of the Government at Calcutta of the power of the various Maratha States, their connection with each other, and even of the manners and customs of the people, is a striking proof how little general knowledge of Hindustan was then possessed by Europeans. Lord Cornwallis, when directing Mr. Forster[1] to proceed to the Court of Moodajee Bhonsla, especially requests him to obtain information on all such points, as, in regard at least to some of the States, he was in total ignorance about them.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO GEORGE FORSTER, ESQ., LUCKNOW.

SIR, Calcutta, Jan. 5, 1787.

I have received your letters of the 22nd and 27th ultimo, the answers to which are nearly anticipated in my letter of the 29th. I can only add that I am determined to maintain the most pacific system, and that although I shall be extremely desirous to be well informed about everything that passes amongst our neighbours, you must carefully avoid any steps that could occasion a doubt of my sincerity. This will be a rule for your conduct in keeping up a communication with the Seiks; I wish to live on friendly terms with them, but whilst Scindia commits no breach of his treaty with us, they must have no encouragement to hope that we will form any political connexion with them. I am perfectly sensible of the defenceless state of Rohilchund, and I shall soon think of means for its better security. But if in the mean time the Seiks should invade it, I shall be at some pains to make them cautious in future, of giving us that kind of provocative.

You will see from what I have said, how delicate it would be to interfere concerning the Seik vakeel at Lucknow. I have however, desired Colonel Harpur[2] by this post, to recommend him to Rajah Ticket Roy,[3] for the attentions usually paid to persons in his situation.

Whilst I wish on all occasions to avoid needless expense, I have no objection to pay well for information which is really useful; for common purposes therefore I recommend economy, but I have that confidence in your good intentions and honour, to

[1] George Forster, d. Feb. 1791, at Nagpore. He was an admirable Oriental scholar, and travelled, in the disguise of a native, from Bombay to Europe overland, and was never detected but once, and then only when he took off his turban and exposed his shaven head: the formation of the skull excited suspicion.

[2] Colonel Gabriel Harpur, Bengal establishment, resigned the Company's service Feb. 2, 1788.

[3] Raja Ticket Roy, Finance Minister to the Nabob of Oude, under Hyder Beg Khan, at whose death in 1792 he was placed at the head of that department. Removed when Vizier Ally was deposed, and sent to Patna, where he died.

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leave it to your discretion to draw for such sums as you may deem necessary to promote the credit and interest of this Government. You will please to transmit to me monthly an account of the manner in which any money drawn for, has been applied; and it may be most satisfactory to us both, if the exigency of the service will admit of your obtaining my previous consent to the advance of any considerable sum.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO MESSRS. ——, ——, AND ——.

GENTLEMEN, Calcutta, Jan. 15, 1787.

I can assure you with great truth, that under all circumstances, it is painful to me to execute such orders as those from the Secret Committee. But I undertook this Government with a full determination to suffer no private considerations, to interfere with the discharge of what I conceived to be my public duty. The instructions from the Secret Committee are explicit, to order Bills in Equity to be filed against those who were members of the Board of Trade, or contractors to furnish raw silk during a certain period; and pending the several suits against those gentlemen, I hold myself equally bound to comply with the recommendation contained in that letter, to suspend them. I will not conceal from you, that without such recommendation, I should not have thought it justifiable in the Government to have left Company's servants in the exercise of offices of great trust and responsibility, whilst charges of so serious a nature, and so formally brought against them, are under discussion before a court of justice. I shall only add, that it will give me the most sincere satisfaction to see this business end in a complete justification of your conduct.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

THE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Feb. 10, 1787.]

MY LORD, July 21, 1786.

. . . We cannot conclude this subject, without expressing our dissatisfaction at the mode adopted by several of the Princes of India, in corresponding with us in any other way than through the medium of the respective Governments, and employing our servants to be their agents in Great Britain. The Nabob of Oude,

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the Nabob of Bengal, and the Rajah of Tanjore have at this time persons, who call themselves Agents, residents in London, in the persons of three of our own servants; Mr. Halhed[1] for the first, Sir John D'Oyley[2] for the second, and Mr. Ross for the third.

You will take every opportunity of conveying to all the Princes of India the earnest wish we have so often repeated, that their communications to us should be made only through the channel of our regular Governments in India, and that we can pay no regard to communications made in any other way; and we strictly prohibit our servants from accepting any such agency for the Princes of the country; declaring at the same time, that we shall consider it as a forfeiture of all future claims to our favour.

We are, &c.[3]

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Private and Confidential.] Received Feb. 11, 1787.

MY DEAR LORD, Wimbledon, July 20, 1786.

. . . There is a subject of great moment which I can only write to you upon in a private capacity, it being considered as inexpedient to make it the subject of a public despatch—I mean the business of the succession of the Nabob of Arcot. It is more than twelve months since we prepared a despatch to be sent to India, stating the grounds why, upon the death of the old Nabob, we should be obliged to take the part of the eldest[4] son against the pretensions of the second,[5] if he should be called to the succession by any deed of his father's. By many private communications we know well that the second son is the favourite of the father, but we likewise know, that as well by the faith of treaty as by our own interest, we must ultimately thwart the views of the Nabob and his second son in this respect. But notwithstanding, we feel it expedient not to send out any other instructions upon this subject, than the Madras Government are at present possessed of. These

[1] Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, b. 1751, d. Feb. 18, 1830. M.P. for Lymington from May, 1791 to May, 1796. He became a disciple of Brothers the prophet, whose wild views he brought before the House of Commons March 31 and April 21, 1795, but on neither occasion did he find a seconder.

[2] Sir John D'Oyley, Bart., b. Jan. 1754, d. Jan. 5, 1818; m. March, 1780, Diana, dau. of William Rochfort, Esq., brother of Robert, 1st Earl of Belvedere, and widow of William Coats, Esq. M.P. for Ipswich from Nov. 1790 to May, 1796.

[3] It has not been thought necessary to give the names of the Directors, sometimes 12 or 14 in number, who signed the letters from the Court, nor of those who formed the Secret Committee.

[4] The eldest son of Mohamed Ali, had the title of Oomdat ul Omra. He died July 16, 1801.

[5] Ameer ul Omra, d. Dec. 1788. His son, Azeem ud Dowlah, succeeded Oomdat ul Omra as Nabob, and died Aug. 2, 1819.

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instructions could certainly be conveyed through the Secret Committee, but everything relative to the Nabob of Arcot has been so much the subject of party at the India House, we doubt if the secret would be kept. It is however material that it should be kept, because the second son being the real minister of his father with whom we have many material transactions in dependence, it would be impolitic to exasperate him, which a final decision upon his succession would undoubtedly do; our opinion therefore is, to act decisively in favour of the eldest son when the event happens, but to conceal as much as possible that decision at the present moment. Upon that ground we have always kept back the despatch, and shall continue to do so, unless by letters either from your Lordship or Sir Archibald Campbell, you shall assign any reasons why you wish us to act otherwise.

You will not fail to observe that in one of the despatches which have just now gone out, we have laid the foundation of your reporting your sentiments as to the arrangement of the military in India, and in that report you can give us the ground for adopting any system you shall advise. I shall wait with impatience for it; indeed I flatter myself if your Lordship has stopped any time at Madras, we shall at an earlier period receive something from you on this subject, in consequence of you and Sir Archibald having had an opportunity of conferring together.

In all respects of consequence we remain at home pretty much as you left us, only that there will be immediately instituted a Board of Trade, with Mr. Jenkinson, now Lord Hawkesbury, at the head of it. Mr. Grenville[1] leaves the India Board, and goes to it, and Lord Walsingham[2] likewise leaves me and goes ambassador to Spain. Nothing is yet fixed, and will not immediately, but it is probable that my new colleagues will be Mr. Eden[3] and Mr. Orde,

[1] Right Hon. William Wyndham Grenville, 3rd son of the Right Hon. George Grenville, created Lord Grenville Nov. 25, 1790; b. Oct. 25, 1759, d. Jan. 12, 1834; m. July 18, 1792, Anne, dau., and afterwards sole heir, of Thomas, 1st Lord Camelford. M.P. for Buckingham town from Feb. 1782 to 1784, and then for Buckingham county till he was made a peer. He held the various offices of Chief Secretary in Ireland, Paymaster-General, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Secretary of State, almost without intermission from 1782 to March, 1801; from 1784 to 1801 he was an unpaid Commissioner of the Board of Control, though for several of the latter years he took no part in the business; First Lord of the Treasury from Feb. 1806 to March, 1807; Chancellor of the University of Oxford Dec. 14, 1809.

[2] Thomas, 2nd Lord Walsingham, b. July 14, 1748, d. Jan. 16, 1818; m. April 30, 1772, Augusta Georgiana Elizabeth, dau. of William, 1st Lord Boston. M.P. for Tamworth from Nov. 1774 to July, 1780, and then for Lostwithiel till he became a peer, May 9, 1781. He was Groom of the Bedchamber, Lord of Trade, and Under-Secretary to Lord George Germain from 1772 to 1780; Commissioner of the Board of Control from 1784 to 1790, and Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords from 1794 to 1814; Postmaster-General 1787 to 1794. He did not go to Spain, but Mr. Eden did.

[3] Right Hon. William Eden, created Lord Auckland in Ireland, Nov. 18, 1789, and in England May 23, 1793; b. 1745, d. May 28, 1814; m. Sept. 26, 1776, Eleanor, dau. of Sir Gilbert Elliott, 3rd Bart. M.P.

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if his health does not permit him to return to Ireland. From certain circumstances I think it likewise very probable that the constitution of the Board will be so far altered, as to supersede the necessity of either the Secretary of State or Chancellor of the Exchequer being of it, in which case I suppose your humble servant, not only in reality but declaredly, will be understood as the Cabinet Minister for India; but all this cannot take place without an Act of Parliament, and therefore probably not till next winter. Lord Walsingham and Mr. Grenville have already left me, but there is no occasion for any new arrangements to succeed them at present, for the Board will this day adjourn, and I in a few hours set out for Scotland for three months.

Believe me, &c.,

HENRY DUNDAS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

[Private.]

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Feb. 16, 1787.

On the 11th instant the 'Intelligence' packet arrived after a most tedious passage. It gave me the greatest pleasure to find that we have exactly taken up the line you recommend in the French business.[1] It is not extraordinary that we have anticipated your wishes, or coincided with your opinion on most other subjects, as I had the advantage of talking them over so frequently with you in London.

I have had several interviews with Hyder Beg Khan, the Vizier's minister. The total mismanagement of Oude, the confused manner of stating accounts between the Vizier and the Company, and the constant practice on one part of trumping-up charges to extort every rupee that it was possible to get, and on the other of making use of every art and evasion to defer payment, have rendered it very difficult to establish a fair open line between us. The orders from home about the Futty Ghur detachment, and the letters from Mr. Halhed, add not a little to our obstacles.

for Woodstock from Nov. 1774 to March, 1784, and then for Heytesbury till he was made a peer; a Lord of Trade, Chief Secretary in Ireland, and Vice-Treasurer there between March, 1776, and March, 1784; Postmaster-General and President of the Board of Trade from Aug. 1786 to July, 1804. He negotiated the Commercial Treaty with France in 1785, and was Ambassador in Spain and Holland from Aug. 1787 to April, 1790. His secession from the Whigs in 1785 excited great anger in that party, and the 'Rolliad' teems with attacks upon him. One begins:—

"There lived a man at Beckenham in Kent, Sir,
Who wanted a place to make him content, Sir;
Long had he sighed for Billy Pitt's protection,
When thus he gently courted his affection:
Will you give me a place, my dearest Billy Pitt, oh!
If I cannot have a whole one, give me a little bit, oh!"

[1] The Convention already mentioned.

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However interference might have been disclaimed in the last Administration, it still existed to a great extent; we cannot therefore expect to be believed when we declare that we mean to put an end to it. Hyder Beg constantly repeats a proverb of theirs—"Whoever has been stung by a snake, is frightened when he sees a rope." I have been greatly embarrassed to determine in my own mind what would be a fair bargain between the two Governments, but it has been a much more arduous task to endeavour to make the minister believe what I said, or indeed understand the language I talked: I might almost as well have expected him to understand English.

The basis for an agreement appeared to me to be, that we should disclaim all manner of interference in the revenues, collections, commerce, and internal management of the country, and that on the other hand we should have the entire direction of political matters; and as no dependence can be placed on their own contemptible rabble, that it should be clearly admitted that they looked to us solely for defence, and were to enjoy the blessings of peace under the protection of the most formidable power in Hindostan.

The words "Cawnpore Brigade" and "Futty Ghur detachment," have been long in use. By Mr. Hastings' treaty and by the orders from the Court of Directors, the Futty Ghur detachment was positively to be recalled, and the Vizier was to pay only the Cawnpore Brigade. Brigade is an indefinite term. At the time the treaty was made, the army was divided into three brigades; it now, by the Orders of September, 1785, is formed into six. On my arrival I found a complete brigade at Cawnpore, and another at Futty Ghur; and on account of the strength of Scindia and the growing power of the Seiks in that quarter, it is really my opinion that we cannot with safety keep a less force in Oude. The two brigades, by the fairest calculation, cost the Company, including all extraordinaries, about forty-six lacs. Saadut Ally's and the Rohilla pensions amount to near three lacs. The Resident, if he is not to trade and distress the country, must have a handsome salary; the Accountant must be well paid, and they must have assistants and clerks. The collections of Oude are settled at about two crore and forty lacs, and I am informed they realize above two crore. After most maturely, and I trust most impartially, weighing the interests and rights of both parties, I thought it reasonable to propose, that in future the Vizier should pay annually to the Company fifty lacs in full of all demands, proportionable deductions to be made, if any of the troops should be withdrawn.

Hyder Beg, who will not speak out or make any proposition himself, and only waits for our proposals in order to object to them, appeared much alarmed at the mention of this sum, and said that he had no powers to make such an agreement, but must refer it to the Vizier. This is only acting a part, for I know that he thinks the demand not only reasonable, but advantageous to the Vizier, and I am equally certain that it can be paid with the utmost facility.

From the best information I have been able to get concerning Oude, I hear that the Vizier extorts every rupee he can from his ministers, to squander in debaucheries, cockfighting, elephants, and horses; he is said to have a thousand of the latter in his stables, although he never uses them. The ministers on their part are full as rapacious as their master; their object is to cheat him and plunder the country. They charge him seventy lacs for the maintenance of troops to enforce the collections, the greater part of which do not exist, and the money supposed to pay them goes into the pocket of Almas Ally[1] Khan and Hyder Beg.

The principal object of the plan which I gave to you in London was, that the Company's troops should be better recruited: this is so essential a point, that without it we can have only the name of an European army. I can assure you that the Bengal part of it does not deserve that name. It is likewise very desirable that the officers serving in India, should all rank alike according to the dates of their commissions. But I am at the same time perfectly convinced that it would be very dangerous to take from this Government the power of dismissing the officers of the army. How far that power may be endangered by their having King's commissions, is for you to consider. Several objections have occurred to me upon more mature deliberation, against declaring all the forces in this country *King's troops*. If an Act of Parliament could be obtained permitting the Company to beat up for recruits, and to keep them under martial law till their embarkation, and if some means could be adopted to establish equality of rank among King's and Company's officers, I believe I should be satisfied.

It was not without some force on my conscience, that I signed the letter containing that fulsome and unmerited panegyric on Sloper. I was too much moved by the ill state of his health, the depression of his spirits, and his severe mortification; but if I had

[1] Almas Ali Khan was a favourite eunuch, and Minister of Soojah ud Dowlah, in whose reign and that of his son, he held in farm nearly one-third of their territories, and kept up a formidable army, holding himself nearly independent. He died Oct. 1808.

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then completely known the transaction about ——'s regiment at ——, for which —— received about £8000, and without appointing a single officer, or raising or attempting to raise a man, nothing should have induced me to do it. If the Dukes of Richmond or Rutland, or Lord Sydney, should attack you and Mr. Pitt with that paragraph in their hands, you may make that apology for my signing it.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO VISCOUNT BROME.

MY DEAREST CHARLES, Calcutta, Feb. 17, 1787.

The 'Intelligence' packet arrived here on the 11th of this month, and to my great joy brought me your letter of the 14th of June. I was most exceedingly shocked at seeing an account of my poor friend Dr. Young's[1] death in the newspapers. It was put in so circumstantially in several papers, that I cannot doubt the truth of it. I suppose you have mentioned it in some letter which I have not yet received; I am sure you must have been very sorry for him. I am a Knight and no Knight, for my stars, garters, and ribbons are all lost in Arabia, and some wild Arab is now making a figure with *Honi soit qui mal y pense* round his knee. I hope you have got French enough to construe that, but I own it is not a very easy sentence. If I continue to hear good accounts of you, I shall not cry after my stars and garters. You will probably get this letter just before you set out to spend the election holidays at Eccleshall.[2] I am sure I need not tell you that you should pay every attention to the Bishop of Lichfield, and consider everything he says as coming from me. I think upon the whole, as you intend your bay horse for a hunter, you was in the right to cut off his tail. I am very glad to hear that going into the water agrees with you, and that you can swim. God bless you, my dearest Charles, may health and every happiness attend you.

Your most affectionate father,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Rev. John Young, D.D., Fellow of Eton, a brother of the well-known agricultural writer, Arthur Young, b. 1716, killed May 20, 1786, by a fall from his horse while hunting with George III. He had been tutor to the Duke of Grafton, and was often offered, but always declined, great church preferment.

[2] The residence of the Bishop of Lichfield.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Calcutta, Feb. 17, 1787.

. . . A firm persuasion of its being necessary for the true interests of the Company, could only have induced me to postpone to next year the execution of the orders to make a revenue settlement for ten years. Mr. Stables,[1] who presided at the Committee of Revenue, being on the eve of departure, could not with propriety embark in so important an undertaking; and the time between the succession of Mr. Shore to that office, and the commencement of the Bengal year, is, notwithstanding the uncommon abilities and experience of that gentleman, too short for making the inquiries, and taking those measures that will enable Government to make an arrangement of that magnitude, with a due regard to the cases of individuals, and to the just rights of the Company as holding the Dewannee of these provinces.

The reference made by your Honourable Court for my opinion on the best mode of obviating the jealousies and disagreements that have sometimes happened between His Majesty's and the Company's troops in this country, shall engage my early and serious attention. It will be impossible to obtain the communication of Sir Archibald Campbell's opinion, recommended in the general letter, previous to the departure of the last ship of this season; but I shall transmit my sentiments fully on that subject by the 'Ravensworth,' which we hope to despatch in August next.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE HON. COLONEL FOX.

DEAR FOX, Calcutta, March 3, 1787.

You will receive this letter by the hands of poor ——, who is perfectly convinced of the impossibility of my serving him here; his distress would only have increased by his staying longer, and it would have been every day more difficult for him to get away. I beg you will believe, and trust you will assure the rest of his friends, that we have been on the best terms, and that I would have served him, if I could have done it without a job that would have ruined all the future hopes of my government. He is really a good creature, and he has borne his misfortunes and his disap-

[1] John Stables, b. 1750, d. Nov. 8, 1835; m. Jan. 1773, Miss Papley, of Red Lion Square. He was originally in the army, and commanded a battalion at the battle of Buxar. He had been an East India Director, but resigned Sept. 1781, when he was nominated Member of Council.

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pointments with a fortitude which is astonishing. I hope you will receive him kindly, although I know you all think that every man who comes rich from India is a rogue, and every man that comes poor is a fool. I forget whether I told you that I had taken the liberty of altering all Fawcett's book, the meaning of which was so obscured by the unintelligible pen of Dundas, that I could make nobody understand it. Ross will, I believe, write to you by this ship.

Yours ever, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE.

[Secret.]

GENTLEMEN, Fort William, March 4, 1787.

. . . It gave me great pleasure to find by your despatches dated the 22nd of September last, that in the measures proposed by me about the same time to this Board, there had been an entire coincidence with your sentiments concerning the negotiations of the late Government with the Marattas, and that your wishes and orders upon that important subject had been completely anticipated. However disappointed the Peshwa's ministers may have been at our declaration of neutrality, there is no appearance from Mr. Malet's correspondence, or any other circumstances, of an intention on the part of those ministers to interrupt the former friendly intercourse between the two Governments.

From my letter to Captain Kirkpatrick,[1] dated the 1st instant, you will observe that of late he has met with some slights and inattentions from Scindia, to which, as appearing to him to be an intended disrespect to the Government, he thought it improper to submit without some remonstrance; but I am in hopes that those grounds of complaint will soon be removed; and as I am determined on our side to act with fairness and moderation by Scindia, as well as all the rest of the neighbouring States, I see no reason to apprehend that such altercation will essentially disturb our present tranquillity in that quarter.

I have not yet been able to bring the negotiation with the Vizier to a final conclusion, but I have every reason to believe that Hyder Beg is perfectly satisfied, and will in general acquiesce, on the part of his master, in the plan that I have proposed to him. . . . And to put an end to all further disputes about balances

[1] Captain, afterwards Major-General William Kirkpatrick, b. 1754, d. Aug. 22, 1812. He was a very distinguished officer, and was one of the first Europeans who entered the territory of Nepaul, of which country he wrote an account.

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of settlements and accounts, I have agreed to relinquish all other claims upon these heads, when the arrears of pensions and of the pay of the troops are completely paid up to a certain day, which also shall be the date of the commencement of the annual subsidy. . . . I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

Fort William, March 4, 1787.—*See* Appendix, No. 15.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

[Private.]

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, March 5, 1787.

. . . I am busily employed in trying to correct the numerous abuses in my own profession, and am preparing a plan to regulate the military bazaars. The outlines of it are, to prevent too heavy impositions on provisions and merchandise; to take the management of the bazaar out of the hands of the Commanding Officer, and to place it under the Deputy Paymaster or some civil servant; and to make a yearly dividend of the gross amount amongst the Commanders of Brigades and Stations.

I am perfectly sensible of the importance of Tellicherry in case of a war with Tippoo, but the stationing a large force there, and the erecting considerable new works, would be necessary to give it security and importance. In the present state of our finances, nothing but the appearance of an emergency could induce me to think of either; for the constant drain of pay for the troops, and particularly the engineers' bills for the works, would totally demolish the effects of all my labours and economy in this country.

You will, I trust, approve of our decision about the Tanjore[1] succession, which was referred to us by the Government of Madras. Campbell has sent me a draft of his treaty with the Nabob; if he can carry it completely into execution, he will soon put the affairs on the coast upon a very different footing, and will greatly relieve the Government from the heavy and constant calls for supplies. I

[1] The succession to the dignity of Raja of Tanjore was a very complicated question, depending entirely on Hindoo laws and usages. Tooljajee, the late Raja, had, previous to his death, adopted Sertojee, but Ameer Sing, Tooljajee's brother, claimed the succession, and though doubts were entertained as to his legitimacy, Lord Cornwallis, acting upon the best Hindoo advice he could obtain, decided in his favour. Subsequently it appeared that many of the statements made on his behalf were false, and his conduct, both public and private, was shown to be most disgraceful. The question was reconsidered by Lord Cornwallis, mainly owing to the interference of Mr. Schwartz, the previous decision reversed, and Sertojee declared the lawful heir. But the arrangements were not completed till 1798, when Lord Wellesley, in a minute dated May 31, issued the final orders.

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must once more remind you to bring home the Hanoverian regiments if you can.

The business of the Guntoor Circars is a very delicate one, and requires the most mature reflection. There are several reasons which make it very doubtful whether this would be a proper time for us to call on the Nizam to settle accounts and deliver it up. I am by no means clear that upon a fair investigation, setting the revenues of the Guntoor Circars received by the Nizam, against the peshcush due to him from us, there would not still be a considerable balance against us, which we could not easily make good. Our demand of the Circars from the Nizam in the hour of his distress, would not only appear ungenerous, but would undoubtedly hurt him in the negociations for a peace with Tippoo. We have refused him assistance, although we can hardly say with fairness, that the situation of our affairs will not allow of the march of two battalions of sepoys and two pieces of artillery manned by Europeans, into the Deccan, which is the only salvo against a positive engagement in the sixth article of the treaty of 1768. It certainly would be inconvenient to us now, and indeed it would very seldom be convenient. The provocation given to the Marattas and Scindia by the weak measure of the late Government, is certainly an additional reason. When I talked with Sir A. Campbell on this subject at Madras, he was of opinion that it should be delayed. We will take it into our serious consideration as soon as this ship is despatched, and enter into correspondence with Sir Arch. Campbell upon it. I must observe that I think the order of the Secret Committee in the despatch received by the 'Intelligence,' to repel any force that may invade the Guntoor Circar, cannot be obeyed with any regard to policy or justice. So long as the Nizam receives the revenues of the Circar, and it is garrisoned by his troops, Tippoo, who is at war with him, has a just right to invade it, and the Nizam would not give us credit for our inability to send a detachment into the Deccan to assist him according to treaty, when he saw us so ready to move upon a prospect of getting something for ourselves. On the event of Tippoo's invading the Guntoor Circar, which in my opinion is not probable, I think it would be advisable that we should send a declaration to him, admitting his right to attack any troops belonging to the Nizam which may be stationed in that country, but warning him not to think of establishing himself in it, and informing him that the property of the Circar was in fact vested in us; that the Nizam was bound by treaty to deliver it up to us on certain stipulations; and that we should have been already in possession of it, if we had not thought

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it improper to urge the Nizam's attention to the final settlement of this business, at a time when he was so much engaged in the occupations of war. I give you roughly my present ideas; I may perhaps see cause to alter them. . . .

Benares on its present system must be a scene of the grossest corruption and mismanagement. There could be no reason for not placing it under the Board of Revenue like other zemindaries, except the consideration of the Governor-General losing so much patronage. It would be better for the zemindar, the inhabitants, and the country, and will probably soon take place. I am not enough versed in all the secrets of Benares, to enter into a minute detail of them at present. I propose, if no untoward circumstances happen to prevent it, to visit the upper stations this year, and to set out at the end of July for that purpose. It will be material that I should get all possible information the first year.

. . . I have been alarmed at a report that —— is to return; by all accounts he is a worthless and an incapable man. For God's sake let us keep Davies; he is the best advocate that has ever been in this country. I beg to be understood to make a most serious point of this. As to the rest in the law line, judges, advocates, attorneys, &c., you may order as many of them home as you please, provided you will send none in their room. . . .

I write to you freely everything that occurs to me, and which is not set forth in our letters to the Directors, in order to make you master as far as I am able, of the most minute detail, that you may know how to prevent and correct mischief in case I should not live to set matters to rights. I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Private.] Received March 11, 1787.

MY DEAR LORD, London, Sept. 21, 1786.

. . . I shall be impatient to receive your Lordship's first despatches after your arrival. Everything at home is as prosperous as we could wish—the Stocks rising, money plenty, advantageous commercial treaties, and every appearance of a disposition on the part of France, at least of M. de Vergennes, to continue in peace.

. . . The extract of the private letter I convey to you is from Mr. Baring,[1] and will furnish you with some arguments to

[1] Mr., afterwards Sir Francis Baring, Bart., so created May 29, 1793; b. April 18, 1740, d. Sept. 12, 1810; m. May 12, 1767, Harriet, dau. of William Herring, Esq., and niece of Thomas Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury. M.P. for Grampound from

convince the creditors in India, of the wisdom of accepting the propositions which have been made to them. . . . I shall return to Scotland to-morrow, and with best wishes for everything good to you,

I remain, &c.,

HENRY DUNDAS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO COLONEL ——.

SIR, Calcutta, May 2, 1787.

I have this day received your letter of the 27th ultimo, with the inclosures, as well as an address from the members of the Cantonment Court-Martial; and before I declare my public opinion, I have thought it right to give you my private sentiments on the subject.

I am perfectly convinced of your good will to me, and of your zeal and earnest desire to contribute to the discipline of the Bengal army; but the warmth of your temper must inevitably defeat your purpose, and, if not restrained, put it absolutely out of my power to support you.

It cost me some pains in the public order to avoid putting you in the wrong in the late dispute with Colonel ——, to whom I must own your conduct was extremely blameable.

The present case is of a much more serious nature, involving in it not only the characters of the officers concerned, but the principles on which courts-martial ought to be conducted. If members of a court-martial persevere in giving a sentence contrary to evidence and to the Articles of War, they ought to be called to a public account for their conduct; but no prudent officer will bring a matter of this sort to issue, unless the point be clear. Without going so far, occasions may also occur in which a commanding-officer may differ in opinion with the members of a court-martial. But it is contrary to law to order more than one revisal of the sentence; and harsh and insulting terms in declaring a public disapprobation of such sentence, could only be justified by aggravating circumstances, that would have rendered the members subject to be tried by a court-martial themselves.

I am forced to say that the present is no such case as I have supposed; and I think that no court-martial in similar circumstances, ought to have submitted to such treatment with more patience than this has done.

May, 1784, to June, 1790, and Wycombe, or Calne, from Jan. 1794 to Oct. 1806. He founded the great mercantile house of Baring Brothers, the only one in the City, not a banking firm, which has lasted through three generations.

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Your earnestness to put a stop to the prevailing vice of drunkenness amongst the troops, is highly commendable; and I cannot see any appearance of a disposition in the court-martial to screen it. For I will fairly own that in the instances where the men were charged with no aggravations, the sentences, in my opinion, would in any country have been adequate to the crimes, and in such a climate as this, they are to the full extent of what ought to be inflicted.

I had entertained hopes from what I had heard of your prudence and good sense, that you would have given me essential assistance in our military department. A conciliatory disposition, with a style of moderation and steadiness in exercising your authority over the officers under your command, joined to an example of good discipline in the —— regiment, would have had the happiest effects.

As I am persuaded of your good intentions and zeal to promote the public prosperity, I cannot express how much I lament the probability of very different consequences, if your temper and passions cannot be brought under the direction of your judgment.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

I observe it mentioned in the letter from the members of the court-martial, that you were at ——. I trust that a place so distant from the cantonments, is not your usual place of residence.

H. R. H. THE DUKE OF YORK TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received June, 1787.]

MY DEAR LORD, Hanover, Oct. 7, 1786.

Since you left Europe you will probably have heard that the great event which has been so long expected has at last taken place: I mean the death of the King of Prussia. It is not necessary to say anything on this subject, as I have no doubt that your Lordship will agree with me, that He was the greatest man of His age, and one may add of many ages antecedent to this. The manner in which His successor has begun His reign certainly does Him the very greatest honour, and gives one every reason to expect, what I have always thought, that He will not allow the credit or the weight in the scale of Europe which His predecessor had given to the kingdom of Prussia, to be in the least diminished; at the same time He has shown, upon every occasion, the very strongest and marked predilection for England; and there is every reason to hope that

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our Ministry will not let this opportunity slip of forming so useful and so respectable a connexion upon the Continent, for I am sure the last unfortunate war was a severe lesson to us, what bad policy it is in us to have no allies.

Dutch affairs go on every day worse and worse, and appear now to be drawing to a crisis. How it will turn out it is at present difficult to judge. The King of Prussia, who, as your Lordship must remember, was last year already exceedingly irritated on account of His sister, is doing everything in His power to support the Prince of Orange, while France is playing her old game, making fine protestations, and doing everything underhand to encourage the Patriots, and to destroy the Stadtholder. There is every reason to fear that France and the Emperor are agreed together, and that they will soon pull off the mask and strike the blow which has been so long dreaded: the one taking possession of Bavaria, while the other seizes upon the Barrier towns, and what is called the Generalité! It is impossible to suppose that the other great Powers of Europe can allow these two Sovereigns quietly to augment their dominions so very considerably; and therefore should this event take place there can be but little doubt that a general war must ensue. As an individual it is natural for me most ardently to wish for it, as it would give me an opportunity of learning my profession. At the same time it would be a fresh reason for me to regret your Lordship's absence, as certainly your abilities and your knowledge of your profession would be of the very greatest assistance and advantage to me upon such an occasion.

I shall now close my letter by wishing your Lordship all health and success, and subscribe myself with great truth,

Ever yours most sincerely,

FREDERICK.

LORD SYDNEY TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Private.] Received June, 1787.

MY DEAR LORD, Whitehall, Jan. 6, 1787.

. . . I hope this will find you settled in your government. All those who come from that part of the world agree that your appointment will give the satisfaction which it was natural to expect.

I have little news to send you. Lord Mansfield[1] has outlived

[1] William Lord Mansfield, so created Nov. 8, 1756, and promoted to the Earldom Oct. 31, 1776, son of David, 5th Viscount Stormont; b. March 2, 1705, d. March 20, 1793; m. Sept. 20, 1738, Elizabeth, dau. of Daniel, 5th Earl of Winchelsea. Solicitor-General,

his abilities, and has expressed a desire of resigning, but his relations (or relation) have made him retract. He is totally incapable of doing his duty, and is in great bodily pain. His present anxiety is for fear he should die for want. That trait gives a pretty full idea of the state of his mind.

Our parliamentary campaign will open the 23rd. I hope our session will be shorter than the two last, but never venture to promise myself a short one.[1] The Commercial Treaty[2] is to be the cheval de bataille, but as yet all endeavours to render it unpopular have failed. . . . Believe me, &c.,

SYDNEY.

LIEUT.-GENERAL GRANT TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received June, 1787.]

MY DEAR LORD, Sackville Street, Jan. 10, 1787.

We have heard nothing of you or your packet since you left us. The sea people say so much the better; but your friends are now wishing for a ship or a land express. I find by a letter which has been received from Macpherson, that you was expected in India; how the intelligence of your appointment reached him I know not: you know the man, and from what I heard of him from his Macpherson connections in the country, I think you will find that the character Hastings gave of him to you was well founded; I flatter myself that I need not add that the circumstance has never been mentioned by me to any mortal. A trait which I heard of a Highlander, struck me exceedingly. Macpherson offered to take him by the hand, which the other declined, telling him in the height of his power as Governor-General, that it was not to be depended upon. He flatters the Duchess of Gordon[3] by obeying all

Nov. 27, 1742; Attorney-General from April 9, 1754, till made, Nov. 8, 1756, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, which office he retained till June 9, 1788, having thus held these high appointments in succession for 46 years; M.P. for Boroughbridge from Nov. 1742 till he was created a peer. When raised to the Earldom, it was given in remainder, not to his nephew David, 7th Viscount Stormont, but to his wife, Louisa Viscountess Stormont; for, as in the case of James 4th Duke of Hamilton, 1711, the House of Lords had decided, that no Scotch peer could be created an English peer, it was held that it would be equally illegal to give a remainder to a Scotch peer in an English patent. This doctrine was overruled in 1781, on the petition of James, 6th Duke of Hamilton, and Lord Mansfield then obtained a fresh patent with the remainder to his nephew. He died very wealthy.

[1] The session closed May 30. In 1785 Parliament sat from Jan. 25 to Aug. 2, and in 1786 from Jan. 24 to July 11.

[2] The Commercial Treaty with France, which had been negotiated the previous year by Mr. Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland. The resolutions necessary to carry it into effect met with strong but unavailing opposition. A motion of Lord George Cavendish to postpone the consideration of them from Feb. 5 to Feb. 20, was negatived by 213 to 89.

[3] Jane Duchess of Gordon, dau. of Sir William Maxwell, Bart., of Monreith; b. Jan. 24, 1749, d. April 11, 1812; m. Oct. 23, 1767, Alexander, 4th Duke of Gordon.

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her commands, and telling her that she may consider herself as Governor-General while he remains in office, and begging to have the honour of attending the Marquis of Huntley[1] upon his travels, when he returns to Europe, which is no bad line of paying court to our friend Dundas.

Parliament does not meet till the 23rd, and the great subjects of conversation at present are about the Commercial Treaty with France, and Law arrangements. Lord Mansfield, poor man! has lived too long, and just exists—impatient, desponding, and in pains; he in a manner resigned some time ago, but not in so explicit a manner as to be considered final, and now talks of his resignation every day, but does not come to the point, as he expresses great apprehension about the conduct which he looks for in his successor[2]—to be Sir Lloyd Kenyon, who without doubt will go to the King's Bench, though the world believe that Mr. Pitt has a partiality for Buller,[3] and I have heard it whispered that it is possible that the Attorney-General[4] may be appointed Master of the Rolls in room of Kenyon, though the Chancellor[5] is adverse to him. The Chancellor was very ill last summer, and his illness was imputed very improperly to a Langley[6] party, where I happened to be; and in the account which was spread all round that neighbourhood my name was not forgot; but I dined in company with him lately, and he is in good health and spirits. He was asked some time ago for

[1] George Marquis of Huntly, afterwards 5th and last Duke of Gordon, G.C.B., a General and Colonel Scotch Fusilier Guards; b. Feb. 2, 1770, d. May 28, 1836; m. Dec. 11, 1813, Eliza, dau. of Alexander Brodie, Esq., of Arnhall. He saw much service in Egypt, Holland, and Walcheren, and was wounded several times.

[2] Sic in orig.

[3] Lord Mansfield wished Sir Francis Buller to succeed him, but Mr. Pitt preferred Sir Lloyd Kenyon. Sir Francis was b. March 17, 1746, d. June 3, 1800, having fixed upon the Friday subsequent to his death, as the day on which he should resign his seat on the Bench; m. Dec. 5, 1763, at the early age of 17, Susannah, dau. and sole heir of Francis Yarde, Esq., of Ottery St. Mary. Appointed a Welsh Judge, Nov. 27, 1777, and a Puisne Judge of the King's Bench, May 6, 1778, which in 1794 he exchanged for the Common Pleas. Created a Baronet Jan. 13, 1790. He obtained the nickname of Judge Thumb, from having incautiously given an opinion that a husband might lawfully beat his wife, provided the stick used were no thicker than his thumb.

[4] Richard Pepper Arden, 1st Lord Alvanley, so created May 22, 1801; b. 1745, d. March 19, 1804; m. Sept. 9, 1784, Anne Dorothea, dau. of Richard Wilbraham, Esq., and sister of Edward, 1st Lord Skelmersdale. Solicitor-General Nov. 7, 1782, to April 15, 1783; again Dec. 26, 1783, to April 8, 1784; Attorney-General to June 4, 1788; Master of the Rolls to May 27, 1801, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas till his death. He had also been Chief Justice of Chester from March, 1784, to June, 1788. M.P. for Newtown (Isle of Wight), Aldborough (York), Hastings, and Bath, in the successive Parliaments from Dec. 1782 till he was made a peer.

[5] Edward Thurlow, 1st Lord Thurlow, so created June 3, 1778; b. 1732, d. unmarried, Sept. 12, 1806. Solicitor-General, March 30, 1770, to Jan. 23, 1771; Attorney-General to June, 1778; Chancellor to April 9, 1783; reappointed Dec. 23, 1783, and removed by Mr. Pitt June 15, 1792. M.P. for Tamworth from May, 1768, till he was made Chancellor. The anecdote mentioned in the text is very characteristic of his language and frequent acts of kindness.

[6] Langley, near Windsor, then the residence of Henry Drummond, Esq., which he sold when he purchased the Grange.

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a living for a poor curate of the name of Thurlow, and was told at the same time that the curate did not claim being his relation. He said it would be no great honour to him if he was, for that he was the son of a poor attorney, and that it was quite an equal chance whether the curate or he was to be Chancellor; and then made the man with a wife and four children happy, by taking him from a curacy of thirty pounds a year to a living of three hundred. If Macdonald[1] is not provided for, he will probably be Attorney-General—being a Judge would not do, as he is Solicitor-General and a Welsh judge; but neither he nor the present Attorney have any private business, and if they are disposed of, Bearcroft[2] will be the Attorney, and Scott[3] the Solicitor; but all these law promotions are at a stand, as Lord Mansfield holds fast. Lord Stormont[4] prevents the resignation, as he is in hopes that to get rid of the uncle, they will agree to his succeeding to the Earldom, which I am told is not likely to happen; and the law people are of opinion that Lord Mansfield cannot with any degree of decency avoid giving in his resignation before the first day of term. Buller, though he has been disappointed in his application to be Chief Justice, will accept of nothing else, and he is to remain in that Court; he has done almost all the business for many months. Chief Baron Skynner[5] has resigned on account of an increasing deafness and a failure of sight; he made no agreement or specula-

[1] Right Hon. Sir Archibald Macdonald, Bart., so created Nov. 6, 1813, brother of Alexander, 9th Baronet, and 1st Lord Macdonald; b. 1746, d. May 18, 1826; m. Dec. 25, 1777, Louisa, dau. of Granville, 1st Marquis of Stafford. A Puisne Welsh Judge, 1780; Solicitor-General, April 8, 1784; Attorney-General, June 28, 1788, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Feb. 12, 1793, which office he resigned Nov. 1813; M.P. for Hindon from Feb. 1777 to 1780, and then for Newcastle-under-Line till he was raised to the Bench.

[2] Edward Bearcroft, d. Nov. 20, 1796; m. Dec. 1778, Miss Wilson of Mortlake. Chief Justice of Chester, July, 1788, to 1797; M.P. for Hindon from May, 1784, to June, 1790, and then for Saltash till his death.

[3] John Scott, created Lord Eldon July 18, 1799, raised to an Earldom July 6, 1821; b. June 4, 1751, d. Jan. 13, 1838; m. Nov. 19, 1772, Elizabeth, dau. of Aubone Surtees, Esq., of Newcastle-on-Tyne. He filled in succession the offices of Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Chancellor, from June 28, 1788, to Feb. 7, 1806; again Chancellor from April 1, 1807, to May 2, 1827. M.P. for Weobley from Jan. 1783 to May, 1796, and then for Boroughbridge (with Sir Francis Burdett as his colleague) till he was raised to the Bench.

[4] David, 7th Viscount Stormont, K.T., afterwards 2nd Earl of Mansfield; b. Oct. 9, 1727, d. Sept. 1, 1796; m. 1st, Aug. 16, 1759, Henrietta Frederica, dau. of Henry Comte Bunau, the Saxon Minister in England; and, 2nd, May 5, 1776, Louisa, dau. of Charles, 9th Lord Cathcart. From 1755 to 1762 Lord Stormont was Minister in Poland and Saxony, both countries being then under one sovereign; Ambassador to the Emperor of Germany from May, 1763, till he went, Aug. 1772, to Paris, where he remained till the war broke out; Secretary of State from Oct. 1779 to March, 1782; President of the Council from April to Dec. 1783, and again from Dec. 1794 till his death.

[5] Right Hon. Sir John Skynner, b. Oct. 31, 1723, d. Nov. 26, 1805; m. March 6, 1778, Frederica Martha, dau. of —— Burn, Esq. Made Chief Baron Dec. 17, 1777, he resigned Jan. 26, 1787, and on the 21st of March obtained a pension of 2000*l.*

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tion upon retiring; but there will be a handsome settlement made upon him and Lady Skynner—the point at present is, whether the quantum is to be fixed by Mr. Pitt or the Chancellor. The Minister wishes the Chancellor to do it. Baron Eyre[1] having refused the Rolls is to succeed Skynner. So much for law: a good story but rather long. However when I write to you at so great a distance, I shall always give you the talk of the day.

Opinions vary much about the Commercial Treaty, exclusive of politics; which is not extraordinary, for the best-informed men in Britain or France cannot form an idea with any certainty, of what effect it may have in either country; but if seven millions of people in Britain agree with twenty millions of people in France, to take reciprocally what they want from one another, the smaller storehouse should ultimately reap an advantage from the agreement. But the French Minister, Vergennes, is bent upon carrying it through; he is fond of peace, and particularly of peace with England, which in him is not a new idea, for when he was Ambassador at Constantinople he used to say that the jealousy which subsisted between France and England was absurd; that from the proximity of their situation they should live in the greatest harmony, and have the most open and liberal communication of trade with one another; and in place of quarrelling together, give law to the rest of the world. He is at present confirmed in that opinion, being hampered by his commercial agreements and treaties with the other powers of Europe, which upon trial are found to clash with one another in particular points. Vergennes, to extricate himself out of these difficulties, and to avoid a war with any other power, thinks it advisable to be at peace and upon good terms with Britain. Carleton is gone to Quebec, and Haldimand[2] has pay as Lieutenant-General till he is otherwise provided for; Carleton, before he took his departure, got a pension for three lives to his wife and two sons of a thousand pounds a-year, and was created a Peer of Great Britain as Lord Dorchester. That Peerage and your Garter made the Knight of the Bath[3] quite frantic, as I have been told, for I never see him, and he is very seldom mentioned by any mortal.

[1] Right Hon. Sir James Eyre, b. 1724, d. July 6, 1799; m. April 16, 1791, Miss Southwell. Recorder of London, 1762; Baron of the Exchequer, Nov. 6, 1772; Chief Baron, Jan. 26, 1787, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Feb. 11, 1793. He held the latter office till his death.

[2] Lieut.-General Sir Frederick Haldimand, K.B., Colonel-Commandant 60th Regiment; b. Oct. 1718, d. June 5, 1791, at Yverdun, unmarried. He was a native of the Canton of Neuchâtel, and entered the Prussian service early, from whence he was transferred to the English, and commanded for some time at New York, and afterwards in Canada, but he never learnt to write or speak English with ease.

[3] Sir Henry Clinton.

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Tarleton[1] has advertised a History of the two last campaigns to the southward, to be immediately published; as far as I can learn he does not mean—or rather the author to whom he lends his name does not mean—to compliment; nothing is to be imputed to you directly, but reflections by implication; whatever they may be, I am sure they cannot affect you, but they must fall heavy upon himself, and I shall have a very bad opinion of our profession, if any man of character and rank ever takes any notice of him afterwards: but I only mention the tale of the day, and do not give it you from any authority, but your friends wait for the publication with impatience.

Sir William Howe is astonished at the intention, and thinks just as I do about it. Sir William Howe, Balfour, and some other of your friends, were a week at my house in the country last summer, and killed plenty of moor-game, but were not successful in fishing; they saw the fish in the rivers, saw other people kill them, and had plenty of fish at dinner, but somehow or other they did not contrive to catch themselves, which I was most heartily sorry for. Do you think we shall ever meet in those northern regions? though the object is distant, I indulge myself at times with building a castle about it.

I have not seen Lord Brome since I came to town; he is at Culford, but Phillipson tells me he is in perfect good health. I carried him from Eton to Langley soon after you left us; he liked the place very much, and the Drummonds were happy to see him; he shall pay them another visit this spring, with his tutor's permission, who seems to be a decent discreet sort of man.

You did not seem to pay so much attention to my Florida[2] misfortunes as I did; but Balfour, and Spranger[3] a lawyer, have been appointed by Parliament commissioners to examine into our losses, and they are in the actual execution of that office; and as I certainly had the best income from the Province, I expect to be allowed handsomely, which will enable me to extend my improvements about Ballindalloch, which Ross, though he was there, can give you no account of, as his time was taken up with chess and piquet even in the forenoon.

As it was not found expedient to pay the Prince's debts, he has sold his horses, put a stop to building, and has reduced his house-

[1] In this book, published in the course of this year, he endeavoured to throw on Lord Cornwallis the whole blame of his defeat at Cowpens.

[2] General Grant had been Governor of East Florida, and therefore laid claim to a share of the compensation granted to the Florida loyalists.

[3] John Spranger, entered of the Middle Temple July 25, 1761; afterwards a Master in Chancery; d. July 14, 1804; Sir Samuel Romilly was one of his pupils.

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hold[1] to Lake,[2] Hulse,[3] and Lyte;[4] Hotham[5] was continued till very lately, till as we are told, some difference arose, upon the Prince taking his money from Coutts[6] the banker's and lodging it at Hammersley's,[7] in Pall Mall; the story is told differently, but Hotham no longer belongs to the Prince's family, whether by resignation or otherwise I know not.

His Grace of Bedford[8] has been at home for some months; he has not been at Court, but declares he is of no party, though he has a regard for Charles Fox.

The Duke of York has purchased Lord Galway's[9] estate in Yorkshire; and I have heard that he may reside there sometimes after he comes to England, to counteract the independence of some of the great Lords of the North, and to show that there is a degree

[1] The income of the Prince of Wales, exclusive of the revenue of the Duchy of Cornwall, was 50,000*l.*, but his extravagance had plunged him into pecuniary difficulties. In April, 1786, on the vote for advancing 210,000*l.* to defray the debts of the Civil List, the subject of the Prince's debts was mooted by Alderman Newnham, M.P. for the City. Mr. Fox and the leaders of the Opposition supported the claim, but no vote was taken. The King refused any assistance, and the Prince therefore took, in the following year, the step above mentioned.

[2] Gerard Lake, b. July 27, 1744, d. Feb. 20, 1808, m. July 3, 1770, Elizabeth, dau. of Edward Barker, Esq., of St. Julians. In consequence of his distinguished services in India, especially at the battles of Delhi and Laswaree, he was created Baron Lake Sept. 1, 1804, and raised to the Viscounty Oct. 31, 1807. A General and Colonel of the 80th Regt. He was for many years equerry to the Prince of Wales, of whose household he continued a member until his death. He served in the Seven Years' War, in America, where he was captured at York Town, in the Low Countries in 1793, and in India. M.P. for Aylesbury from Nov. 1790 to June, 1802, and in Ireland for the City of Armagh from 1799 to the Union.

[3] Colonel Hulse, afterwards Field-Marshal the Right Hon. Sir Samuel Hulse, Governor of Chelsea Hospital, and Colonel 62nd Regiment; b. 1747, d. unmarried, Jan. 1, 1837. When the establishment of the Prince of Wales was formed in 1780, he was placed in it as Equerry, and afterwards held the offices of Groom and Treasurer for upwards of 25 years. On the accession of George IV. he was made Treasurer of the Household, and Vice-Chamberlain May 15, 1827. He served in the Low Countries in 1792–4, in Ireland 1798, and in Holland in 1799.

[4] Henry Lyte, d. Nov. 21, 1791. He was appointed Master of the Robes and Privy Purse to the Prince of Wales in 1780, and he held those offices till his death.

[5] Lieut.-Colonel, afterwards General George Hotham, Colonel 14th Regiment, son of Sir Beaumont Hotham, 7th Baronet, and brother of William and Beaumont, 1st and 2nd Lords Hotham; b. Jan. 18, 1741, d. Feb. 7, 1806; m. Dec. 16, 1769, Diana, dau. of Sir Warton Pennyman Warton, Bart., of Beverley. June 8, 1776, appointed Sub-Governor to the Prince of Wales and Prince Frederick (Duke of York); made Treasurer and Secretary to the Prince of Wales, 1780, and Aide-de-Camp to the King, 1797.

[6] Messrs. Coutts were during many years bankers to George III., George IV., and almost all the Royal Family. The Duke of York, dining in company with Mr. Coutts, gave the health of the latter, as "my banker for upwards of thirty years." "I beg your Royal Highness's pardon," said Mr. Coutts, "it is your Royal Highness who has done me the honour to keep my money for thirty years."

[7] This firm no longer exists.

[8] Francis, 5th Duke of Bedford, b. July 22, 1765, d. unmarried, March 2, 1802; succeeded his grandfather, Jan. 14, 1771.

[9] Robert, 4th Viscount Galway, b. July 4, 1752, d. July 23, 1810; m. 1st, March 1, 1779, Elizabeth, dau. of Daniel Mathew, Esq., of Felixhall; 2nd, May 24, 1803, Bridget, dau. of Pemberton Milnes, Esq., and widow of P. A. Drummond, Esq., of Bawtry. M.P. for York city, 1783; again, in 1784, when he stood against Lord J. Cavendish and Sir W. Milner, the poll was, Galway, 1083; Milnes, 1024; Cavendish, 913; Milner, 812. M.P. for Pontefract in the preceding Parliament, and again from 1796 to 1802.

of magnificence superior to theirs; in short to eclipse them in everything; but this is speculative. Lord Carmarthen has been ill, but is recovered; he succeeds to a large fortune by the death of Lord Godolphin,[1] and wished to retire, but a successor it seems cannot be found. Mr. Jenkinson, now Lord Hawkesbury, was mentioned; but Lord Camden, report says, has declared that he will resign if Lord Hawkesbury is brought into the Cabinet, where he must have a seat if he is made Secretary of State, and there the business stands.

It was reported that your cousin[2] was to be removed to the Post Office, a good three thousand a-year; but I did not hear that he wished for the change. Lord Stormont was talked of to be the successor, but that was certainly without foundation, for he has been so violent, and gone such lengths in Opposition, that the world believe the door is bolted against him.

Lord Clarendon[3] gave up the Duchy of Lancaster to accommodate Lord Hawkesbury, and accepted of the Post Office; he is since dead, and from a deficiency of people to accept office, Lord Carteret[4] now enjoys the whole emolument, not less than six thousand a-year, which he could find use for, but it is too good a thing to last.

General Mackay[5] has sent his nephew, a Lord, to be an ensign, to India; he complained to me at Edinburgh that he had not received answers to letters which he wrote to Ross and you before you left London.

The 55th[6] is stationed at Deal and Dover, having been completed nearly within the year, upon which I have had many civil

[1] Francis, 2nd and last Earl Godolphin, son of Lord Treasurer Godolphin; b. 1678, d. Jan. 17, 1766; m. April 27, 1696, Henrietta, dau. of John, 1st Duke of Marlborough, who, on her father's death, became Duchess of Marlborough in her own right. Lord Godolphin's sister and sole heir Mary m. June 26, 1740, Thomas, 4th Duke of Leeds.

[2] Lord Sydney. He did not give up his then office of Secretary of State.

[3] Thomas, son of William, 2nd Earl of Jersey, created Lord Hyde, June 1, 1756, and made Earl of Clarendon, June 14, 1776; b. 1709, d. Dec. 10, 1786; m. March 30, 1752, Charlotte, dau. of William, 3rd Earl of Essex. Lord of the Admiralty from Dec. 1748 to June, 1756; Postmaster-General, Sept. 23, 1763, to July 19, 1765; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster from June 14, 1771, to March 27, 1782; again from Dec. 31, 1783 to Sept. 9, 1786; Postmaster-General a second time, Sept. 19 to his death. M.P. for Tamworth from Nov. 1747 till he was made a peer.

[4] Henry Frederick, 1st Lord Carteret, so created Jan. 29, 1784, son of Thomas, 2nd Viscount Weymouth; b. Nov. 17, 1753, d. June 17, 1826, unmarried. Clerk Comptroller of the Board of Green Cloth, Dec. 1762; Master of the Household, 1768, and Postmaster-General, Dec. 6, 1770. Dismissed from the latter office on the King's recovery in 1789, he having been one of the very few persons who quitted Mr. Pitt during the debates on the Regency Bill. M.P. for Staffordshire from Dec. 1756 to March, 1761, and then for Weobley till he was made Postmaster-General, which office he held as a commoner—a most unusual event—for 13 years, and during about 8 months sole Postmaster.

[5] See antè, Nov. 13, 1783, and June 21, 1784.

[6] General Grant, then Colonel of the 55th, was desirous of obtaining a better regiment. He got the 11th, Nov. 9, 1791.

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things said to me, and have no ground of complaint at present, as no vacancy has happened since we parted. And so, my good Lord, having said everything I can think of at present, I wish you health and happiness, and am, &c.,

JAMES GRANT.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO H. R. H. THE DUKE OF YORK.

SIR, Calcutta, July 20, 1787.

Few things could have given me greater satisfaction than my being honoured with your Royal Highness's kind letter of the 7th of October, and being assured that in this distant quarter of the globe, I still hold a favourable place in your esteem and remembrance.

I think your Royal Highness's sentiments are perfectly just on the necessity of our having connexions on the Continent. I always maintained that opinion when it was most unpopular, and reprobated that narrow system of politics which divested us of all alliances. The late unhappy war has, I believe, opened the eyes of many people; but it is not easy to retrieve the consequences of our former mismanagement, and it will require great courage in any minister to take a decided part against the powerful combination of France, Austria, and Russia. I trust however, that we shall take such steps as will ensure the continuance of the King of Prussia's predilection for England, and act with as much spirit as our situation will admit of.

For your Royal Highness, war cannot come too soon; and if the affairs of Holland or Bavaria should produce hostilities on the Continent, I most earnestly hope that you will have an opportunity of serving, although I should sincerely lament that there is no possibility of my attending you.

The finances of Britain however, require a few years of peace, if it can be maintained without absolute dishonour; I must therefore wish for the safety of our affairs at home and in India—and, perhaps this wish is strengthened by many selfish motives—that no war may break out till the year 1791. I am not desirous of military laurels in Hindostan, and the climate has hitherto agreed so well with me, that I have a prospect of carrying back some remains of constitution.

The appearance of things here is much improved since I had the honour of writing to your Royal Highness in November. Although Bengal has paid between the 30th of April, 1786, and the 1st of May, 1787, for the other British settlements in India above

two millions sterling, our public credit is greatly risen, and the discount on our certificates is now only 7 per cent. instead of 14 or 15. I have been a rigid, but I flatter myself not an unpopular economist; I have not cut off two or three hundred pounds from the salaries of persons who were already underpaid, but I have been watchful to prevent and correct abuses, and I have in spite of all recommendations, made it a constant rule to employ the ablest and honestest men.

I have as yet made little progress in the improvement of the discipline of the army; but in a few days I shall set out to visit all the principal stations, the farthest of which is a thousand miles distant; the miserable subjects that I have to work upon in the European part, discourage me from any sanguine expectations. Some of these regiments of sepoys which I have had frequent opportunities of seeing are much changed for the better. . . .

I will not tire your Royal Highness with any more details of this kind. I am now going to see an army not only without discipline, but without subordination—very different from the tour of 1785; when I return to this place, I will take the liberty of transmitting some account of my expedition.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Private.] Received July 21, 1787.

MY DEAR LORD, London, Jan. 29, 1787.

. . . I shall now have time to turn my thoughts a little to the great lines of the Indian system, and I will in private letters to yourself, have probably occasion often to write to you my sentiments upon every subject as it may occur to me. I take it for granted I shall often hear from you on many subjects which you may wish me to attend to, although they are not made part of your public letters. . . .

Our domestic politics are just as you left them—Government as strong, and Opposition no stronger. The Commercial Treaty which has lately been concluded, and which is a great measure, will be the leading business of the session, and, so far as I can judge at present, it will be ratified by Parliament with great eclat. . . .

I trust to hear that your health remains perfectly entire, and I make no doubt that a very short time indeed will make a wonderful change in our Indian affairs. From the inclosed

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state of the Indian Stock and Bonds at the present period, and at the time of Fox's Bill, you will believe I am under no apprehensions for any discussions on that subject in Parliament. I shall not court any debate, but still less will I avoid it.

Believe me, &c.,

HENRY DUNDAS.

MEMORANDUM ENCLOSED.

India Stock, at the time Mr. Fox brought in his Bill in November and December, 1783, and at the beginning of 1787:—

December, 1783 ..	India Stock	120
January, 1787 ..	„	163

though capital increased 800,000*l.*;

December, 1783 ..	India Bonds, bearing 5 per cent. interest	80*s.* discount.
January, 1787 ..	„ „ „	63*s.* premium.

though interest to be reduced to 4 per cent. in March next.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, July 26, 1787.

I return you the courts-martial, the sentences of which I have approved, except those parts which direct the loss of teeth and ears.

I must beg that you will make the best apology you can for me to the Ameer.[1] You will explain to him that the native courts-martial have always been required to act according to the English martial law, and not according to the Mahommedan law, and that I am confident he would not ask me to do anything which I thought inconsistent with the duty of my station. As the Judge Advocate has been the cause of this absurdity, I must desire that you will signify to him how much I disapprove of his conduct.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

HONOURABLE SIRS, July 31, 1787.

. . . In the 70th paragraph of your General Instructions of the 12th April, 1786, you were pleased to approve the idea

[1] The second son of the Nabob of Arcot.

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generally suggested, of paying the servants employed in the collection of the revenues, partly by a salary and partly by commission, but that the latter should form the greater part of their allowances; you also left it to us to determine whether these allowances should be proportioned according to the rank of the servants.

In carrying these instructions into execution, we have not strictly conformed to the letter of them for reasons which we doubt not you will approve, and which we have now the honour to explain.

The responsibility appeared to us as the fairest and most eligible principle for fixing the commission. We considered the salaries of the collectors as the means of their subsistence, and the commission in the nature of a reward. If the principle of seniority of service only had been adopted for regulating the latter, a servant who had charge of the collection of ten lacs of rupees, would often be entitled to receive more than another collector, superintending revenues to three times this amount. To remedy this inequality, and adhere to the principle suggested by you, as far as regards the commission, it would have been necessary to appoint invariably the oldest servant to the greatest charge, a rule, which from the disparity of abilities, knowledge, and application, in the servants employed in the collections, must have been attended with great detriment to your interests, and would have occasioned the removal of all the officers employed in the collections.

With respect to the allowances of the collectors, it is to be observed that the expenses of a collector, as far as may be deemed necessary, rather depend upon their situation as more or less exposed to the intercourse of a large society, than on any other cause; and, notwithstanding the liberality of the allowances granted, there are situations which will require both care and economy to render them sufficient for the expenses of the collectors, although in others they ought to supply an excess beyond what they may be entitled to, from their comparative claims in the service. Upon the whole we deemed it best to fix them at one general rate; the duties of a collector in the most confined situation will require his whole time and attention; in some perhaps, will be more than he can accurately perform.

The rates of the commission are particularly detailed in the proceedings referred to. You will observe that the whole will fall rather short of 1 per cent. on the actual collections, and we estimate the amount of it at about 2,44,000 rupees per annum, to be divided in different proportions amongst the several officers employed in the collections. The largest possible amount receivable

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by any collector will not exceed the sum of 27,500 rupees per annum. We advert particularly to Burdwan, the collections of which, estimated at 45 lacs, will yield the commission above specified.

When you consider the situations of your servants in this country, the very high responsibility now more particularly annexed to the office of a collector, the temptations of the situation, the incessant labours of his office, and the zeal which must be exerted to promote the prosperity of the revenues and country at large,—when on the other hand, you advert to the solemn restrictions imposed upon him by the Legislature, as well as those in the Public Regulations, and the separate orders already noticed absolutely precluding him from any emolument whatever, excepting such as are publicly allowed,—and when you are further pleased to consider, that excepting instances of extraordinary merit, your servants cannot in future expect to obtain the office of a collector under a period of twelve years spent in your service,—we trust that we shall be found to have consulted your true interests with every compatible attention to economy, and that you will approve the allowances and commission fixed by us for your servants in the revenue department.

We have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.[1]

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR W. FAWCETT.

DEAR FAWCETT, Bengal, Aug. 12, 1787.

Since I wrote last I have had the pleasure of hearing of your marriage, and of your having received the Red Ribband, on both which events I most heartily wish you joy.

I hear in general a good account of the recruits that are come out for the King's regiments on the coast, in the ships of this season.

The recruits that came from Bengal for the 73rd regiment, were I am sorry to say, very indifferent; those that were brought by Major Skelly[2] were much better, except the fifteen felons and deserters who were put on board in their fetters at Gravesend.

Nothing can be more prejudicial to our interests and safety,

[1] All letters from the Governor-General in Council are signed by the Governor-General, and by one, generally by two, members of Council. It has not been thought necessary to give the latter names.

[2] Major, afterwards Lieut.-Colonel Francis Skelly, 74th Regiment, D.Q.M.G. in India; d. 1794 at Bombay. He had served under Lord Cornwallis in America, and was one of his aides-de-camp in his Indian campaigns.

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than to degrade the character of Europeans, in a country where a handful of them are to hold millions in subjection. The contemptible trash of which the Company's European force is composed, makes me shudder: I must therefore beseech you not to follow their example.

I understood before I left England, that the King had refused to Lord Dorchester the power of granting commissions, and that it would probably be embarrassing if I was then to ask it.

I can most truly declare that I have no wish for patronage, but the circumstances of Lord Dorchester's command and mine are very different, and I submit to the candour of any military man, whether it is not a great inconvenience and discouragement to the service, that every commission should be vacant from fifteen to twenty months; you are best judge of the propriety of submitting this to His Majesty's consideration. I know he does not like to hear the discussion of military patronage through a ministerial channel.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.

MY DEAR LORD, On the Ganges, Aug. 13, 1787.

You have so much opportunity of hearing what is going on in this country, that I will not attempt to enter into the voluminous account of our proceedings. But, as I must lay my coming to India to your door, and as you are consequently in a great degree responsible for my conduct, I think it fair to tell you that I flatter myself I have not yet disgraced you. I can safely say that I have not been idle, I have selected the ablest and honestest men in the different departments for my advisers, and I am not conscious that I have, in any one instance, sacrificed the public good to any private consideration. Sir Archibald Campbell has done his part very handsomely, and, although our debt is still great, I trust that every year will make a very sensible alteration for the better in our finances.

Of the persons whom you mentioned to me, I have already told you that I had patronised Fombelle; I have likewise brought forward the two Kennaways, who are both very deserving men; the soldier is my Aide-de-Camp, the other I have put into the Board of Trade, where he is rendering most essential services. I am now going to visit the Upper Provinces and the stations of

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the army, which is, I am sorry to say, still in a most wretched condition, almost indeed without subordination.

I am, &c.,
CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE HON. COLONEL FOX.

DEAR FOX, On the Ganges, Aug. 13, 1787.

I heard of your marriage with great satisfaction, and sincerely wish you and Mrs. Fox all possible happiness. If her temper at all resembles yours, I am sure there can be no doubt of your being happy. I am now going up the river to visit the military stations. The Company's Europeans are not exactly like what we saw two years ago.[1] On the whole everything goes on in this country as well as I could reasonably expect. I have made great and essential reforms, and I think, without unpopularity. Bad as the Civil was, I think the abuses in the army were the greatest, not one of which Sloper had attempted to correct.

You will be glad to hear the climate has agreed perfectly well with me and all my family, although I cannot say that it is a pleasant country to live in. Pray let me hear from you often, and

Believe me, &c.,
CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

[Private.]

DEAR SIR, On the Ganges, near Patna, Aug. 14, 1787.

Our correspondence with Sir A. Campbell, and our acquiescence in his opinion against taking any immediate steps in the business of the Guntoor Circar, will probably be one of the first points that will engage your attention in our letter to the Secret Committee.

I hope you will not attribute our agreeing so readily with him on this subject, to idleness and a desire to put off a troublesome task. Sir Archibald's letters of June and July contain, not only his sentiments on the expediency of deferring our claim, but much material intelligence relative to the French and Tippoo, and a positive declaration that if we determined on making it, the army on the coast must be immediately augmented. Besides the present pecuniary inconvenience which would attend the requisition of the

[1] When they attended the Prussian reviews.

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Guntoor Circar, provided we dealt fairly by the Nizam, you must see how ruinous a war with the French and Tippoo (which Sir Archibald seems to apprehend as the probable consequence of our demand) would be, even if successful, to our affairs and finances in this country, where we have everything to lose and nothing to gain. It will likewise be necessary to recollect, that so far from relying on any assistance from the Marattas, we cannot be assured that they would not take part in a general confederacy against us, either from a jealousy of our requiring more dominion, from a desire to support the Nizam, or from a wish to revenge our not giving them the aid which we were so inconsiderate as to offer. A little time may perhaps make us more distinctly acquainted with the views of the principal powers in Hindostan; but I must observe that, although I approve of the principle of the restrictions laid on this Government in its political negotiations, yet that it is a system more calculated to prevent our making enemies than to promote the acquisition of friends.

Ill as I thought of the late system of Benares, I found it on inquiry much worse than I could have conceived. The Resident, although not regularly vested with any power, enjoyed the almost absolute government of the country without control. His emoluments, besides the thousand rupees per month allowed him by the Company, certainly amounted to little less than four lacs a year, exclusive of the complete monopoly of the whole commerce of the country, with the power of granting perwannahs, &c. It has been generally supposed that in return for all these good things, the Residents at Benares have not been ungrateful to the friends of the Governor-General. I have no reason to suppose that Mr. —— *took* more than his predecessors—God knows what he *gave;* but as he was on bad terms with the Rajah and his servants, and as new measures are more likely to succeed with new men, I thought it better to remove him. Although many persons were desirous, nay, even importunate, to show their zeal for the Company's service by undertaking this office, it was not very easy for me to find a successor to my mind. For I could not venture to lower the authority of the Resident too abruptly, from apprehension of losing our revenue; and, as the Rajah is a fool, his servants rogues, every native of Hindostan (I really believe) corrupt, and Benares 600 miles from Calcutta, there was a danger, unless it was put into good hands, of the old system being in some degree continued. As I had the prosperity of Benares most exceedingly at heart, and as I felt that nothing could tend so much as a good management of that province to raise our character and reputation in the remotest parts of Hin-

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dostan, I determined on this occasion to make a very great sacrifice, and, much against his own will, appointed Mr. Jonathan Duncan,[1] the Secretary of the Public and Revenue Department, to that office. Perhaps you are not acquainted with Mr. Duncan's character; he is held in the highest estimation by every man, both European and native, in Bengal, and, next to Mr. Shore, was more capable of assisting me, particularly in revenue matters, than any man in this country.

I am sorry to say that I have every reason to believe, that at present almost all the collectors are under the name of some relation or friend deeply engaged in commerce, and, by their influence as collectors and Judges of Adaulet, they become the most dangerous enemies to the Company's interest, and the greatest oppressors of the manufacturers. I hope you will approve of the additional allowances, and the commission that we have given to the collectors, for without them it was absolutely impossible that an honest man could acquire the most moderate competency. After this liberality, I made no scruple in issuing the Revenue Regulations and orders against engaging in trade, which you will read, and I promise you that I will make an example of the first offender that I can catch.

Mr. Shore is rather better than he has been, but his health is still very precarious, and he frets lest he should not be able to make the ten years' settlement to his mind by next April. Unless his health entirely fails, I have hopes of his accomplishing it. But if you agree with me in thinking that it had better be postponed than indifferently done, I wish you would write to him to that effect; it will help his spirits, and perhaps induce him to remain longer in this country. It will be late before he can get your letter, but if he has not made the settlement, it will do much good for the ensuing year.

I shall hope to hear by the 'Minerva' that you have made some progress in your negotiation with France about this country; in the mean time I thought it most advisable not to meddle with their ships. The violence of M. de Souillac's[2] letter to us about the

[1] Jonathan Duncan, b. May 15, 1756, d. Aug. 11, 1811. Governor of Bombay from 1795 till his death. He had spent uninterruptedly 39 years in India in the Company's service.

[2] This letter cannot be found either among the papers of Lord Cornwallis, or in the records of the India House. The French had for some time been making claims, which had been considered inadmissible by the English authorities. They had demanded the cession of certain portions of territory in the vicinity of the settlements which had been restored to them at the peace, and to which they could prove no sufficient title, and above all, they insisted upon being allowed to hoist the French Flag wherever any French factory existed. The whole question was brought under the notice of Lord Cornwallis immediately on his arrival, and he wrote home, Nov. 17, 1786, to say, that he would not consent to their demands, and would allow the French Flag to be hoisted only at the five old settlements. M. de Souillac, who had

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flags, gives us every reason to suppose that he will lay the strictest injunctions on the commanders of the ships not to submit to the search, and if we should attempt to enforce it without success, which cannot be insured but by a determination to proceed to the last extremities, we should expose our Government to the most mortifying degradation.

The case of the flags was different; they tended to disturb our internal government, and in taking them down there was not a possibility of any serious incident.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD SYDNEY.

[Private.]

MY DEAR LORD, On the Ganges, Aug. 15, 1787.

After regulating all the principal departments at the Presidency, I am now going up the river to visit the Upper Provinces, to find out if I can, the reasons of the decline of Bahar and Benares, and to review the stations of the army, which is in so wretched a state that it will require infinite pains to make anything of it.

I flatter myself that when you read the despatches, you will think I have done a great deal, and that I have been an economist in the true sense of the word. In the salt I think I have made a capital stroke; the country will be supplied in a much fairer manner, and the Company will have a clear gain of seven lacs of rupees, which used to be most unworthily bestowed. I don't believe that Whitwell[1] and Mr. Knowler would have approved of my plan. I have the satisfaction to think, that in spite of our reforms, this Government is not unpopular. It has to be sure the advantage of succeeding to one that was universally hated and despised.

I must do Sir A. Campbell the justice to say, that he seconds me nobly. By his good management and economy, we shall now be relieved from the heavy burden of paying the King's troops on the coast, and I have no doubt that his conduct will be as universally approved of in England, as it is on this side of the Cape of Good Hope. . . .

previously been Governor of the Isle de France, was Governor-General of the French possessions in India, and arrived at Pondicherry May 21, 1785.

[1] Whitwell, or rather Whitewell, had been Chief Secretary to Sir Thomas Rumbold, and disposed of every place of emolument, not a little to his own profit. He was Acting-Governor from Aug. 1777 for a short time, and again on the recall of Sir Thomas Rumbold from Madras, March 25, 1780; but was almost immediately superseded. Soon after his return to England, he fled to Paris to avoid prosecution for malversation. He died there in great poverty.

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Lord Ailesbury[1] has greatly distressed me by sending out a Mr. Ritso, recommended by the Queen, but I have too much at stake. I cannot desert the only system that can save this country, even for sacred Majesty.

My kindest and best wishes attend Lady Sydney and all your family.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

On the Ganges, Aug. 18, 1787.—*See* Appendix, No. 16.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

HONOURABLE SIRS, On the Ganges, Aug. 18, 1787.

. . . The mode in which the Company's salt[2] has hitherto been disposed of, appearing to me for a variety of reasons to be extremely exceptionable, I determined to alter it; and I directed that this season the salt should be put up to public auction, and sold without partiality or favour, to the fairest bidder. By exposing it in small lots, natives of the most moderate fortunes have had it in their power to become purchasers, and I have the satisfaction to inform you, that between what has hitherto been called the Company's price, and the price for which it was actually sold, the public, upon the quantity already disposed of, has gained upwards of five lacs of rupees. This mode of disposing of the salt appears to me so evidently proper and advantageous, that I think no person will venture to change it; and I have no doubt of its proving annually a source of great additional profit to the Company.

I am clearly of opinion that in such a country as this, where

[1] Thomas, 2nd Lord Bruce, made Earl of Ailesbury June 8, 1776; b. 1730, d. April 19, 1814; m. 1st, Feb. 17, 1761, Susanna, dau. of Henry Hoare, Esq., of Stourhead, and widow of Charles Lord Dungarvan, son of John, 5th Earl of Cork; 2nd, Feb. 14, 1788, Anne, dau. of John, 1st Earl of Moira. Chamberlain to the Queen, Jan. 1781 to Feb. 1792.

[2] Salt had always produced a large revenue, but the mode of collection varied at different epochs. At one time there was the Kholara rent—an excise license to manufacture—to which was added a transit duty of 30 rupees per 100 maunds (about 8000 lbs.). Other modes were subsequently tried. In 1772 the Company re-established a monopoly; all salt manufactured was bought by their agents at a price settled by them, and then resold at a fixed, but higher, rate to the wholesale dealers. In this manner 32 lacs were realised in 1776. But the profit upon retail transactions was still so large, that it became a favour to be allowed to purchase wholesale. Of this Lord Cornwallis was made practically aware, by receiving a request from Judge Chambers to be allowed to purchase largely, and in consequence, he determined that instead of selling unlimited quantities at a fixed price, limited quantities should be sold by auction to the highest bidder. This order was coupled with regulations to protect the natives from oppression. In 1794, 34,00,000 maunds were sold, with a profit of about 1,02,00,000. The former system was reverted to in Feb. 1856.

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the servants who hold the principal offices are surrounded with temptations, it will ever be found, that the only mode that can be successful to prevent peculation and other abuses, will be by annexing liberal allowances to those offices, and giving gentlemen a prospect of acquiring by economy, a moderate fortune from the savings of their salaries. It is unnecessary for me to remark that the late allowances to the collectors of 1200 rupees per month, were by no means calculated upon the above principle. By the late revenue arrangements therefore, the allowances of those gentlemen have been considerably increased by an addition to their salaries, and by granting them a certain commission upon their net collections. This measure, so highly, in my opinion, conducive to the interest of the Company, was adopted with the less apprehension of your disapproval, as after executing the whole of the plan, we were considerably within the sum allowed by you for the expenses of the revenue department. And after having on the part of Government acted in so liberal a manner, I have thought myself entitled to give public warning, that I shall consider myself as peculiarly called upon to be watchful of their conduct, and to treat most rigorously, every deviation that I discover from their duty to the Company. . . .

I shall not enter into the particulars of the late arrangements in the Nizamut, as they will be very fully contained in the public despatch. Notwithstanding the great advantages that the Nabob Mobarrick-ul-Dowlah has obtained, by our withdrawing the British officers from his body-guard, as well as relieving him from the heavy expense of a Resident, officious or interested people had contrived to infuse so extravagant ideas into his mind, that I am afraid those favours fell greatly short of his expectations. It appeared also that he had been taught to consider several of the measures that justice as well as your instructions required, for securing reasonable pensions to certain relations and dependents, and for discharging by instalments the old debts of the family, as in some degree infringing upon his dignity and personal privileges. In passing Moorshedabad, I was at some pains, I believe not entirely without success, to remove those impressions, and I left him in a disposition to give a good-humoured acquiescence to the greatest part of the judicious plan which had been framed by Mr. Ives,[1] for establishing order and regularity in his finances. The Nabob continued to express the most extreme unwillingness to part with his unworthy Dewan, Rajah Soonder Sing; but on my acqui-

[1] Edward Otto Ives, many years resident at Lucknow. On his return to England he entered into large building speculations at Brighton.

escing in his earnest entreaties that he might be permitted to remain in office until the 1st of October, he gave me a positive promise to conform to our wishes without further remonstrance.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE HON. CHARLES STUART.

DEAR STUART, Near Bar, 15 coss from Patna, Sunday, Aug. 19, 1787.

. . . Lord Macartney[1] could never have had a right to any pay as Governor-General, as he never accepted the office. He got however, a pension of 1500*l.* a year, on pretence of some claim that I could not understand. Larkins[2] will not I hope, stop Mr. M.'s[3] pay until his resignation arrives.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

GENTLEMEN, On the Ganges, Aug. 19, 1787.

. . . With your explicit instructions before us, we could be at no loss respecting our conduct in any disputes that could arise with the French Government in India. The intemperate stile of M. de Souillac's letter, appeared to me extremely improper for our imitation, but I trust that you will approve of our answer to it. I wish earnestly however to avoid, if possible, all further altercations with the subjects of that nation; and it will give me particular pleasure if the points upon which they have hitherto arisen can be finally adjusted in Europe. In that hope, and in the conviction that the dignity of this Government will not in the mean time suffer, I was induced to propose some delay in the execution of your order to resume the exercise of our right to search the French ships, and it will give me great satisfaction to know that it is not considered by you, as an act of too much forbearance.

The result of my conferences with Hyder Beg Khan is fully stated

[1] George, only Earl Macartney, K.B., created Baron, June 10, 1776, Earl, June 28, 1792 (Irish honours), and an English Baron, June 8, 1796; b. May 14, 1737, d. March 31, 1806; m. Feb. 1, 1768, Jane, dau. of John, 3rd Earl of Bute. Minister in Prussia, and afterwards in Russia, from Aug. 1764 to 1768; then Chief Secretary in Ireland under Lord Townshend to 1772; Governor of Grenada, 1775 to 1779; Governor of Madras from June, 1781, to Feb. 1785, when he was nominated Governor-General. In 1792 he went to China, and from 1797 to 1798 he was Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. M.P. for Cockermouth from April, 1767, to March, 1769; for the Ayr Boroughs from Nov. 1774 for about a year, and for Beeralston from Sept. 1780 to March, 1781. While in Ireland he sat for Armagh.

[2] William Larkins was Accountant-General under Mr. Hastings and Lord Cornwallis for many years, and was much esteemed by both.

[3] Sir John Macpherson.

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in my letter to the Vizier, and by his Excellency's answer, it is now rendered a final agreement between the two Governments. If I have deviated in any point from the letter of such of your instructions as apply to this negotiation, I trust it will appear that I have paid strict attention to their spirit and substance.

In adjusting the public account we have only given up a part of a large balance of difficult, if not impossible recovery, and principally composed of articles to which our claims were neither sanctioned by your authority, nor ever admitted by him to be just; and by formally relinquishing all interference in the internal affairs and management of his Government, our connexion is reduced to plain and simple principles. We undertake the defence of his dominions against all foreign enemies, upon receiving a subsidy equal to all the civil and military expenses that will be incurred by an engagement of so much value to him. Our commerce with Oude, but particularly the maintenance of a large body of troops in peace, which according to contingent events, may be usefully employed in time of war, are the great advantages that will result to us from those stipulations.

The orders to recall the Futtyghur brigade, with which Hyder Beg was well acquainted, occasioned some embarrassment. It was not easy to make him comprehend, that by the late alterations in our Military establishment, so small a force for the defence of Oude, as one of our present brigades, would greatly fall short of the intentions at home when those orders were given. I was however obliged by a sense of public duty, to state to him my clear opinion that two brigades in Oude, would be indispensably necessary for the mutual interest and safety of both Governments.

The loss of Colonel Baillie's,[1] and of several other detachments during the late war, has removed some part of that awe in which the Natives formerly stood at the name of British Troops. It will therefore in future, be a prudent maxim, never to hazard, if it can be avoided, so small a body as a Brigade of Sepoys with a weak European Regiment, at so great a distance from our other stations as the Dooab; and from the confused state of the Upper Provinces, it would be highly unadvisable in us to attempt the defence of the Vizier's extensive frontier without a respectable force. The principle being admitted to retain two brigades, there was no difficulty in arranging the extent of the subsidy.

[1] Hyder with his whole army attacked this detachment near Perambaucum, Sept. 10, 1780. Colonel Baillie, of Dunain, was killed, and nearly his whole corps—about 3700 Europeans and natives—was destroyed. Among the few survivors who were made prisoners, was Sir David Baird, not above three or four wounded sepoys escaping. Colonel Baillie, the head of the family, b. 1750, and d. unm.

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I had no hesitation in adopting the plan that has been settled concerning Furruckabad. Our interference in that district has ever been highly offensive to the Vizier, it has in no degree promoted the interest or the satisfaction of Mozuffer Jung, and while it had produced no sort of advantage to the Company, I am afraid it has not much contributed to the credit of this Government in Hindostan. Upon resolving to withdraw our Resident, I considered it as highly proper to demand some stipulations in favour of Mozuffer Jung himself, and particularly to secure decent pensions for his mother, brother,[1] and late Dewan,[2] who had in several instances shown an attachment to our interests; and I have the pleasure to say that the Vizier has very readily acquiesced to all my propositions on these heads.

Our own communication with the Peshwa's ministers, though not approaching the nature of a close connexion or friendship, continues to be on the most civil footing; but whilst they were still chagrined at the disappointment of our promised assistance in the war with Tippoo, I thought it best to be cautious of making new offers which might hazard the dignity of this Government. By my letter to Mr. Malet dated 20th June, you will see that I have authorised him to give Nana an opening to propose some provisional engagements, to counteract such treaties and designs as have been said to subsist with the French and Tippoo; and our future steps will be regulated by the manner in which this advance has been received by Nana.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO MR. ——.

SIR, Dinapore, Aug. 23, 1787.

I am most exceedingly surprised at your coming to India, but still more so at hearing, that you say it was with my approbation that you came hither. After having refused the earnest entreaties of many of my nearest relations and best friends, it is not probable, even if I had lately had any intercourse with you, that I should have given you such a preference.

If I was inclined to serve you, it is wholly out of my power to do it without a breach of my duty. I most earnestly advise you to think of returning to England as soon as possible. After the 1st of January next, I shall be under the necessity of sending you thither.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Dildeleer Khan, afterwards Regent.

[2] Deep Chund, his Dewan or Minister.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

[Private.]

DEAR SIR, Benares District, Aug. 26, 1787.

There is nothing in the secret letter material, or that can alter the line of conduct which we have adopted; but I think the letter from the Court of Directors contains much false economy, and a great want of confidence in the Government here.

If the essence of the spirit of economy of the whole Court of Directors could be collected, I am sure it would fall very short of my earnest anxiety on that subject. But I never can or shall think that it is good economy to put men into places of the greatest confidence, where they have it in their power to make their fortune in a few months, without giving them any salaries.

If it is a maxim that no Government can command honest services, and that pay our servants as we please they will equally cheat, the sooner we leave this country the better. I am sure under that supposition I can be of no use, and my salary is so much thrown away: nothing will be so easy as to find a Governor-General of Bengal who will serve without a salary.

From the spirit of this letter I conclude that the commission given to the Collectors, the allowances to the Residents at Oude and Benares, &c., will be all disapproved of. I see the pay of the Sub-Treasurer, which was given by Macpherson, is objected to. When I came I found the Sub-Treasurer playing with the deposits amounting to three or four lacs. I fancy of the two he had rather I had taken his salary from him.

I have saved since I came, upon the salt, upon the various contracts, upon remittances, balances and jobs of different kinds, ten times, I may say fifty times, the amount of the salaries that are retrenched. I am doing everything I can to reform the Company's servants, to teach them to be more economical in their mode of living, and to look forward to a moderate competency; and I flatter myself I have not hitherto laboured in vain. But if all chance of saving any money and returning to England, without acting dishonestly, is removed, there will be an end of my reformation.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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COLONEL THOMAS DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Aug. 26, 1787.]

City of St. John, Province of New Brunswick,
Dec. 28, 1786.

MY LORD,

Although at a great distance from this part of the globe, with your attention fully occupied with other matters, I hope a few lines will not be unacceptable from one, who has so often experienced your friendship.

My colleague and I, after having finished the business of our commission[1] at Halifax, visited all the different settlements in Nova Scotia, which surpass anything I could expect to have seen in a climate which has seven months' winter. The new settlements made by the loyalists are in a thriving way, although rum and idle habits contracted during the war, are much against them. They have experienced every possible injury from the old inhabitants of Nova Scotia, who are even now more disaffected towards the British Government than any of the new states ever were. This makes me much doubt their remaining long dependent. In the month of October we came to this province, where we found very different principles. Mr. Carleton,[2] by his own attention and firmness, assisted by a well-chosen council, has established good government. The province contains all that part of Nova Scotia which lies to the westward of the Bay of Fundy. It contains good lands; the farmers who have fled from the States, are well pleased with the soil. The number of loyalists is 12,000. The old inhabitants are not 3000, and these are a despicable race, ready to sell their improvements, as the loyalists are enabled to purchase from them. To all appearance this country will be able to furnish corn, vegetables, and cattle to the West India Islands. Lumber, in the quantity required, they must look for elsewhere. I cannot say much for the industry of the disbanded soldiers; indeed I cannot say that I ever saw the policy of bribing soldiers from the line, to leave their regiments—it has by no means answered. All the tradesmen who would be valuable at home, are starving here or gone to the States. The half-pay provincial officers are valuable settlers, as they are enabled to live well and to improve their lands. Every day brings us a new account of the distracted state of

[1] They were employed, as members of the Board of Commissioners for deciding upon the claims of the American loyalists, to investigate some of the details on the spot.

[2] Colonel, afterwards General Thomas Carleton, and Colonel-commandant 60th Regiment, a brother of Guy, 1st Lord Dorchester; b. 1732, d. Feb. 2, 1817; m., May 2, 1783, Harriet, dau. of —— Van Horn, Esq., and widow of Capt. Foy, R.A.

America. Some accounts say that the present wish of the majority, is to return to the situation they were in before the war. This I by no means think, but I can say that the friendly disposition of the people towards Great Britain is most wonderfully restored, considering that in 1783 we were inveterate enemies. The Americans are at present an unhappy people, without any government. In Massachusetts the mob have required that the courts of justice should be shut, and their requisition has been acceded to. Having had the misfortune to lose my father last summer, Lady Eleanor,[1] finding her attention to my parents no longer necessary, volunteered an expedition across the Atlantic with only her maid and an old servant. She is now with me, and desires me to offer her best compliments. She rode your old horse from Halifax to Annapolis, and thinks she has seen more of America than some of our generals of last war.

I expect to have finished the business in this province by the month of May next, when we shall go to Canada, and we hope to return to Great Britain by summer, 1788, when it will give most sincere pleasure both to Lady Eleanor and me, to hear of your good health, and that your situation is comfortable.

Pray remember me to Ross and Haldane.

Be assured, &c.,

THOMAS DUNDAS.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Private and Confidential.] Received Aug. 26, 1787.

MY DEAR LORD, India Board, March 21, 1787.

The 'Ranger' sloop brought the agreeable news to this country, of the safe and prosperous voyage you had made to India; the news was attended with a satisfaction equal to the importance of it. In truth, although your exertions were not then begun, we all feel ourselves safe in India, and if your Lordship and Sir Archibald Campbell shall continue a few years in your present situations, I rest in the most perfect confidence in the complete restoration of our prosperity in India. We never before had a Government of India, both at home and abroad, acting in perfect unison together, upon principles of perfect purity and integrity; these ingredients cannot fail to produce their consequent effects. You may depend

[1] Lady Eleanor Dundas, dau. of Alexander, 9th Earl of Home; b. Dec. 1759, d. April 10, 1837; m. Jan. 8, 1784.

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upon my giving the most exact attention to every suggestion you communicate to me, not only in your publick despatches, but in your private letters; and indeed there are many things which you cannot with propriety communicate to me otherwise. It will readily occur to you how important it is for me to be privately informed by you of the characters of the servants in the different situations at Calcutta, who may have to aspire to the situations of seats in the Supreme Council and other important situations; for in so far as any appointments are to be made at home, you may believe I wish to be guided in any interference I may take in them, by your opinions. I am much pleased to observe by your letter, that Mr. Shore has so completely answered your expectations of him. His situation is a most important one, from his knowledge of the revenues. Our publick situation remains as you left it, strong and successful, perhaps more so; for all the unpopular topics we had to bring forward are now over, and the great business of this session has been the Commercial Treaty with France, and the consolidation of the Customs—the first a great boon to the manufacturers, and the second a great boon to the merchants, of the kingdom; so that the session has proceeded with uninterrupted triumph.

The only unpleasant circumstance, is the impeachment of Mr. Hastings. Mr. Pitt and I have got great credit from the undeviating fairness and candour with which we have proceeded in it, but the proceeding is not pleasant to many of our friends; and of course from that and many other circumstances, not pleasing to us; but the truth is, when we examined the various articles of charges against him with his defences, they were so strong, and the defences so perfectly unsupported, it was impossible not to concur; and some of the charges will unquestionably go to the House of Lords. Mr. Eden's negociations in our treaty, respecting India, are begun at Paris, but no material progress made since I last wrote to you. The death of M. de Vergennes made some retardment in the progress of the treaty, but I hope it will soon proceed to a happy conclusion: you are perfectly possessed of the grounds upon which we mean to continue it. Remember me to Ross, and believe me, with the most sincere regard, &c.,

HENRY DUNDAS.

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FROM THE SECRET COMMITTEE TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL.

[Secret.] Received Aug. 26, 1787.

MY LORD, East India House, March 27, 1787.

. . . In our letter of the 28th of July, 1786, before we had seen the Convention concluded between M. de Souillac and Lieut.-Colonel Cathcart[1] at Mauritius, we conveyed to you our general sentiments on the disputes between the Court of France and us, relative to our affairs in India. In our letter of the 22nd of September, 1786, after we were in possession of the said Convention, we stated to you what further occurred to us as material for the regulation of your conduct during the dependence of our negociation with the Court of France. In that letter we informed you, that we did not consider the Articles which had been agreed upon at Mauritius as in any respect binding, except as far as they may be admitted into a new Treaty with the Court of France by negociation in Europe. No such intimation however, was made to the Court of France, for immediately after the despatch to you had sailed, we were induced to alter that intention, from a consideration that till the commercial negociation then depending in France was brought to a conclusion, it would be improper to mix it with another subject, likely to produce matter of altercation between the two Courts. . . .

As upon an examination of the different particulars of the Convention, it does not occur to us that any material mischief to our interests can arise, from making the Provisional Convention the rule of your intermediate conduct till the final arrangement by the negociation at home takes place, we authorise you to exercise your discretion in that respect, regulated by the existing circumstances at the time you receive this; and we confide in your prudence, that no ground will be gained on the part of France during the dependence of the Treaty, to render the attainment of our wishes impracticable, or more difficult than they already are, by any arrangements which have taken place prior to the receipt of this letter.

We are, &c.

[1] Hon. Charles Cathcart, younger son of Charles 9th Lord Cathcart, b. Dec. 28, 1759, d. June 10, 1788, unm. M.P. for Clackmannan from May, 1784, till his death.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO EDWARD HAY, ESQ.,[1] SECRETARY TO THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

SIR, Benares, Sept. 3, 1787.

You will be pleased to communicate the contents of this letter to the Honourable Board.

I had yesterday a very long, and to me, a very painful conversation with the Prince,[2] in which I was obliged in the most explicit terms to put an end to the sanguine hopes which he had formed of receiving assistance either in troops or money from our Government and from the Vizier, to pursue the vain attempt of establishing his father's power and authority.

After having refused many pressing demands and earnest entreaties, I could not withstand one personal request which he urged in the most anxious and even pathetic manner, which was, that I would give a promise under my hand, that if ever his fortune should again force him to seek an asylum in the Company's territories, he should be protected. I thought that justice as well as humanity exacted my acquiescence in this instance; and indeed, I felt myself authorised in going so far, by the sentiments which the Court of Directors expressed in regard to that unfortunate Prince on a former occasion.

Upon reflection however, I have signified to him that it would be more regular, and that the promise would in all events be more binding on the Government of this country, if I obtained the sanction of the Board for signing the paper which he desired.

Sir Archibald Campbell's letters have occupied my most serious thoughts. I at first wished that I was again at the Presidency; yet if the event of Tippoo's invasion should take place, I am not sure that I could not for a time be more useful in the upper country.

Ruinous as the measure would be to our finances, we must if possible provide a corps of cavalry; although I would leave no means untried to enable us to comply with the wishes of Sir Archibald Campbell, of procuring from the Marattas a body of eight or ten thousand horse to act with him in the Carnatic, yet I own I do not see any prospect of succeeding in this attempt; it is much more probable that I could in the Vizier's territories form a corps of 2500 or 3000 men, which would, in proportion to their numbers, be much more useful and less expensive than any auxiliaries that

[1] Edward Hay, many years secretary to the Council; made President of the Board of Trade, Feb. 18, 1796, and then member of the Supreme Council. He died at the Cape of Good Hope, Jan. 1799.

[2] Shah Zada.

we could hope for. I will hasten Major Palmer's[1] junction with Scindia, and instruct him, as soon as he is informed with certainty of Tippoo's having commenced hostilities, to urge him to give up any attempt of re-establishing his affairs in the North, which are absolutely desperate, but to endeavour to regain his own military character and the reputation of the Maratta arms, by persuading the Minister to place him at the head of an army to attack Tippoo's territories; and to hold out to him the certainty of obtaining from us the most advantageous engagements both for himself and his country.

No reinforcement of infantry could possibly arrive at Madras time enough to be of any service before the rains, unless in the event of such a misfortune as happened at the commencement of the late war; in which case, some Europeans could be embarked on two or three of the Indiamen at the shortest notice. I see no difficulty in having a body of Native infantry in readiness to move, as soon as the season will permit; and the cavalry must follow as expeditiously as it can.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE HON. CHARLES STUART.

DEAR STUART, Near Chunar, Sept. 5, 1787.

Your friend —— seems to me to have lost his own senses, or to suppose that I have completely lost the use of mine. For after I had written to you the day before yesterday, and whilst the Rajah was in the act of pressing me with a minute repetition of the complaints and charges that have been made by his vakeel at Calcutta, and even producing another article for monopolising the chunam of the province, I received a letter from —— soliciting my recommendation of him, to fill the vacant seat at the Board of Trade.

You are perfectly well acquainted with my general sentiments on the nature of all those charges. Although it is my opinion that in taking money from the Rajah in any form, he acted contrary to law, yet I was ready to make great allowances for him as far as he could quote the example of his predecessors in office; and after his removal I should have been very unwilling, on that account or for monopolising the opium, to have given him any serious trouble or uneasiness.

But there are other points of a very different stamp with

[1] Major, afterwards Lieut.-General William Palmer; b. 1740, d. May 20, 1816.

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which he is charged, and which can only be ascribed to very improper motives. I mean particularly his having abandoned the letting of several districts of the country to the rapacity of Sheer Jung,[1] and his having seized by perwannah upon the monopolies of the sugar and the chunam of the province, to the essential injury of those branches of commerce.

I have not seen what —— calls his defence. But if he has been so rash as to offer it in the form of denial, I take for granted that you will order the investigation to proceed.

He must be sensible that it is consistent with my own knowledge, that part of the charges are true: and the Rajah has requested in a formal manner, that I will consider him as pledged to produce complete proof of all the charges that have been made by his vakeel or by himself. Should it appear incumbent upon us to state any of the material points to be proved, and especially if they have been denied, I should be less surprised at the Court of Directors dismissing —— from the service and ordering him to be prosecuted, than at their recommending him as a proper person for the Residency of ——.

I had heard once or twice, that at the time of his appointment, he had agreed to give Mr. *** a certain proportion of his emoluments, and I found that it was not treated as a secret at ——. We could easily give a proper name to such a bargain, and to the conduct of those who were concerned in making it. I should not like however, and I do not think myself called upon, to take notice of it, and only mention it with other circumstances to you for your private use, to put you upon your guard against confident assertions of innocence, &c. I shall conclude this disagreeable subject, with requesting that you will communicate as much of it as you think proper to Shore, as I have touched upon it but very slightly to him. I have desired Mr. —— to show you my letter to him.

I wish with all my soul that my apprehensions could be quiet respecting the Carnatic. Should the worst happen, and Tippoo actually break with us, I think it may prove ultimately fortunate that I am at present in this part of the country. I can take immediate measures to endeavour to form a close connexion with the different chiefs of the Marattas, and to incite them to attack Tippoo on their side, to recover the territories that he and his father had wrested from them during their internal dissensions.

Every other means must likewise be taken to carry on the war

[1] Probably a native agent.

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against him with the utmost vigour, and to provide against any *foreign* interference. I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

On the following day Lord Cornwallis writes again to Mr. Stuart to express his astonishment, at —— denying the charges brought against him and insinuating that the Raja was not ill-disposed towards him. Lord Cornwallis "thinks it now necessary to say, that I believe —— to be guilty of the greatest part, if not of all the charges; and that the subject must be investigated in the most serious manner." He leaves it to Mr. Stuart to decide, whether —— should be allowed the option of sending the papers home at once in an incomplete state, or of awaiting another opportunity, when more information should have been obtained. "I am not sure," Lord Cornwallis concludes, "that ——'s effrontery deserves this indulgence."

LIEUT.-GENERAL GRANT TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Sept. 1787.]

MY DEAR LORD, Sackville Street, April 16, 1787.

The election of the six Directors being over, and Parliament being to meet to-day after the Easter recess, your fortunate and expeditious packet will sail, as Mr. Dundas tells me, in a few days; and so I take up the pen to tell you everything I hear in return. I only desire such a note as I received from you to say you are well, and have got my letter.

Your friends were happy to hear of your good health,—that to them you may believe is the first object, and we liberally contribute to the continuance of it in a bumper at the Wednesday's Club;[1] and I hear everywhere of the universal satisfaction which all your measures have given in India, and of their astonishment at Calcutta to find you, a stranger just upon your arrival, so perfectly well-informed about the situation of the Company's affairs, their interest and connections, both political and commercial, &c. The Directors were much pleased with your despatches, and Dundas told me that it must give you—as it did them—great satisfaction to find that you had taken almost every step which was pointed out to you in their letters before you received them. Macpherson was

[1] One of the numerous dinner clubs of the day. This one met at first in Dover-Street, and afterwards at the Thatched-House, once a week during the season. It existed till about 1820.

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gone up the Ganges for the recovery of his health, and therefore does not sign the letters. A voyage home is not impossible I should think, as you have made some alterations both in Macpherson's and Hastings' arrangements; the last has but few friends who now appear for him in the House of Commons. I don't know what number may come down to support him when the mode of impeachment is brought forward, as there are a great many members who have never attended or taken part; but as the Ministers and Opposition appear to us bystanders to be united, there can be little doubt of the impeachment being carried to the Lords; but though many people are sanguine about it, I fancy the tryal can hardly come on this Session; and Erskine,[1] who returned his retaining fee to Mr. Hastings because it would interfere with his other business, says a lawyer must be a fool who cannot contrive to protract Hastings' business before the House of Lords for three years.[2] Jack Lee[3] has been upon the circuit, did business, and is recovered. Lord Mansfield is at Bath, sleeps everywhere but in bed, receives his quarter's salary, and does not resign. Lord Stormont during the recess went down to pay him a visit, and to prevent a resignation,—at least so it is said. When they were talking of law promotions, Bearcroft said Lord Mansfield's carriage stops the way; the bishoprick of Durham put the Tyger[4] in good humour, and will make Pepper Arden Master of the Rolls; I said in my last that I thought it would happen, though the former dislike prevents Pepper from getting a guinea.

Sir George Elliot[5] comes home for a time at his own desire,

[1] Hon. Henry Erskine, son of Henry David, 5th Earl of Buchan; created Lord Erskine April 8, 1806, K.T.; b. Jan. 21, 1750, d. Nov. 17, 1823; m. 1st, May 29, 1770, Frances, dau. of Daniel Moore, Esq., M.P. for Great Marlow. His second marriage with a Miss Sarah Buck, Dec. 1818, took place when he was far advanced in years, under very discreditable circumstances at Gretna Green, where he appeared in disguise, wearing a woman's bonnet. Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales from 1782 to 1792, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall, 1802; Chancellor of England from Feb. 5, 1806, to April 1, 1807; M.P. for Portsmouth from 1783 till he was made a peer, except in the Parliament of 1784, when he was defeated by Admiral Cornwallis.

[2] The first formal attack was made before Lord Cornwallis went to India, by Burke, when he opened the first charge, Feb. 17, 1786. The impeachment was voted May 10, 1787. After his return to England Lord Cornwallis was, April 9, 1794, called as a witness for the defence, and the House of Lords gave the final decision, April 23, 1795, when the actual trial had lasted 7 years, 2 months, and 11 days!

[3] John Lee, b. 1732, d. Aug. 5, 1793. Solicitor-General from April 18 to Nov. 7, 1782, and again from April 15 to Nov. 22, 1783, when he was made Attorney-General, an office he held only for 34 days. M.P. for Clithero from April, 1782, to June, 1790, and then for Higham Ferrers till his death. It is considered contrary to professional etiquette for an Attorney or Solicitor General to return to his circuit, but in this instance the rule seems to have been broken through.

[4] The Tyger, a name given to Lord Thurlow. His brother Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln, was translated to Durham, June 27, 1787.

[5] Sir George Augustus Elliot, K.B., a General and Colonel 15th Light Dragoons, son of Sir John Elliot, Bart., of Stobs; created Lord Heathfield July 6, 1787; b.

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which the world says is to clear up some complaints which have been made and raised against him by mercantile people. I rather believe that he thinks he was neglected and overlooked when Carleton was made a Lord; that he is silently dissatisfied upon that account; and though he does not, and probably will not state it as a grievance, but knowing that he is in favour, he flatters himself that it may still be made up to him when he is upon the spot. I write this partly from information and partly from conjecture, as I know the man intimately.

Lord Rawdon 'tis said had an idea of being Secretary of State,[1] and being disappointed, has gone into opposition. Lords Say and Sele,[2] and Hawke,[3] have joined him, at least the three are thought to go together.

The Northington estate is to be sold in lots. My friend Harry Drummond,[4] has bought the Grange[5] for five and forty thousand: a fine place it is they say. I shall be a better judge of that soon, as I am to pass the Whitsun holydays there. The daughters, or rather the sisters of the late Lord will get twenty-five thousand apiece,—that would have been a good windfall for the conspicuous Dick Crewe,[6] if he had not broke faith with Lady Bridget;[7] but circum-

Dec. 25, 1717, d. July 6, 1790, at his château near Aix-la-Chapelle; m. June 8, 1748, Anne Pollexfen, dau. of Sir Francis Drake, 5th Baronet. Lord Heathfield was wounded at Dettingen, and served with distinction at various times, especially during the Seven Years' War, but he is best known for his celebrated defence of Gibraltar. If he had been annoyed at Sir Guy Carleton's peerage, the ground of complaint was soon removed, as his own peerage was the first granted after Lord Dorchester's.

[1] Lord Rawdon about this period began to attach himself to the Prince of Wales; he had been for some time on bad terms with Mr. Pitt. In the following year he took a strong part on the Regency question.

[2] Thomas, 10th Lord Saye and Sele, a Major-General and Colonel of the 9th Regiment; b. 1735, d. July 1, 1788; m. Dec. 12, 1767, Elizabeth, dau. of Sir Edward Turner, Bart.

[3] Martin Bladen, 2nd Lord Hawke (son of the Admiral), b. April 29, 1744, d. March 27, 1805; m. Feb. 6, 1771, Cassandra, dau. of Sir Edward Turner, Bart., a sister of Lady Saye and Sele. M.P. for Saltash, May, 1768, to June, 1774.

[4] Henry Drummond, son of William, 4th Viscount Strathallan, who was killed at Culloden. His eldest son was attainted, but the title was restored June 17, 1824, by Act of Parliament, and was then assumed by James Andrew, 8th Viscount. Mr. Drummond was b. 1731, d. June 24, 1795; m. March 21, 1761, Elizabeth, dau. of the Hon. Charles Compton, and sister of Charles and Spencer, the 7th and 8th Earls of Northampton. M.P. for Wendover from Dec. 1774 to July, 1780, and then for Midhurst till June, 1790.

[5] Near Alresford in Hampshire, now the property of Lord Ashburton, whose father bought it from Mr. Drummond's son. The house was built by Inigo Jones, much altered both by Mr. Drummond and the late Lord Ashburton, and, including what the 1st Lord Northington spent upon it, is reckoned to have cost upwards of 100,000*l*.

[6] Richard Crewe, afterwards a Major-General, younger brother of the 1st Lord Crewe; b. Sept. 17, 1749, d. June 17, 1814; m. 1780, Milborough, dau. of Samuel Allpress, Esq.

[7] Lady Bridget Henley, b. Oct. 2, 1744, d. March 13, 1796; m. 1st, July 29, 1761, Hon. Robert Lane, only son of Lord Bingley, and, 2nd, Dec. 4, 1773, Hon. John Tollemache, Captain R.N., son of Lionel, 3rd Earl of Dysart, killed in a duel at New York Sept. 25, 1777, by Captain Pennington of the Guards, afterwards Lowther, 2nd Lord Muncaster. Her four sisters were—Jane, b. July 12, 1750; m. Dec. 16, 1772, Sir Willoughby Aston. Catherine, b. Nov. 11, 1757; m. March 17, 1777, George Lord

stanced as he is at present, he has found it necessary to move to the Continent for a change of air with his Jamaica lady.

You will hear a great deal about a motion which was made in the House of Commons for the payment of the Prince's debts;[1] it was not a favourite measure of Opposition, though they all agreed to support it, except the Duke of Portland and the Cavendishes, who absolutely refused. The Prince's friends at first were sanguine about numbers, and members on both sides were summoned from the country; those in town were warmly canvassed, and messages were sent to solicit individuals to vote, and if not, to stay away. The number of members supposed to be in town at one time was 170 for the motion, 300 against; but when the motion was withdrawn, the numbers who would have attended and voted, after the strictest scrutiny, stood upon the Treasury list—140 for the motion, 270 against; and after all that has been said and wrote upon the subject, which has been variously and ignorantly stated by some, and warmly and industriously misrepresented by others, the proposition of this year does not vary the least in the world from that of last year, except that the business now rests with the Minister, who will pay the debt, build the house, and even increase the income from 5000*l.* to 10,000*l.* a-year, upon certain conditions required and demanded by his Master; in short everything to make the Prince easy, but nothing to put it in his power to give trouble. The Minister sent a message to the Prince by Lord Southampton, assuring him that what he said in the House was with regard to the King and his Royal Highness only, and did not extend to any other subject, which, though not mentioned, evidently applied to Mrs. Fitzherbert.[2] A warm answer was given, that he did not receive verbal messages, and that if the Minister had any business with him he should come himself; this was afterwards softened by a letter by the Prince's command from the Duke of Cumberland[3] to Dundas, desiring him to wait on the

Deerhurst. Mary, b. Sept. 20, 1751; m. Dec. 23, 1772, Edward, last Earl Ligonier. Elizabeth, b. June 10, 1759; m. Aug. 7, 1783, Morton Eden, Esq., 1st Lord Henley.

[1] Alderman Newnham, on April 20, asked Mr. Pitt if he intended to propose any vote for relieving the Prince of Wales from his debts; and being answered in the negative, gave notice of a motion on the subject. On the 27th Mr., afterwards Lord Rolle, adverted to Mrs. Fitzherbert, which gave rise to much angry discussion on that day, on the 30th, and on May 2, when the notice was withdrawn. After much negotiation Mr. Pitt, on May 24, proposed a vote of 161,000*l.* to pay the debts, 20,000*l.* for completing Carlton House, and an increase of 10,000*l.* to the Prince's annual income.

[2] Maria Anne, dau. of Walter Smythe, Esq., of Bambridge; b. July 26, 1756, d. March 27, 1837; m. 1st, July, 1775, Edward Weld, Esq., of Lulworth; 2nd, 1778, Thomas Fitzherbert, Esq., of Swinnerton, who died May 7, 1781. About three years after, she became acquainted with the Prince of Wales. The certificate of her marriage with him is dated Dec. 21, 1785.

[3] Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland, brother to George III.; b. Nov. 7, 1745,

Prince at Cumberland House at a certain hour, which he did after consulting the Minister and the Chancellor; he was very explicit in a conversation of two hours, gave his opinion freely, and told him that whatever he might have heard to the contrary from designing people, he might trust and depend upon the Minister as a man of honour. In consequence of that conversation, the Prince desired to see Mr. Pitt, who waited upon his Royal Highness after receiving the King's commands, and both Dundas and he have seen the Prince since that time, and the Prince has a letter written by Mr. Pitt by the King's commands. I know no more of this affair, but that the business is not settled at this hour. If I hear of other circumstances before a vessel sails I shall add the account, for I go on as things occur. The first part of this letter was wrote in April, and this on the 10th of May, which enables me to tell you that the impeachment of Mr. Hastings was carried last night by a majority of 85.[1] I saw Mr. Pitt and Dundas come into White's at eleven at night to dinner, when I was coming away without my supper, having had the day before the Marquis of Stafford,[2] Rigby, Dundas, the Drummonds, &c., at my house, from dinner till two in the morning,—as hard a day as we had once when you were of the party, and I would venture upon such another to have you again safe and well, with a hundred thousand good things, in Sackville-street. Many of the articles of impeachment will be rejected by the House of Lords; the tryal will not come on this Session. Westminster Hall must be fitted up, for the Lords will not agree to hear it in their House; they wish, at least many of them, to make the tryal as troublesome and expensive as possible; for they say if that is not the case, the Commons will send them up Bills of Impeachment with as much ease as they send up a Turnpike or Road Bill.

Sir Charles Grey's son, who comes in for Northumberland, in

d. Sept. 18, 1790; m. Oct. 2, 1771, Anne, dau. of Simon, 1st Lord Irnham, and widow of Christopher Horton, Esq. Lord Irnham was created Earl of Carhampton July 1, 1785.

[1] The numbers were, ayes, 175; noes, 89.

[2] George Granville, 1st Marquis of Stafford, K.G., b. Aug. 14, 1721, d. Oct. 26, 1803; m. 1st, Dec. 23, 1744, Elizabeth, dau. of Nicholas Fazerkerly, Esq.; 2nd, March 28, 1748, Louisa, dau. of Scroope, 1st Duke of Bridgewater; 3rd, May 23, 1768, Susanna, dau. of Alexander, 7th Earl of Galloway. A Lord of the Admiralty, Nov. 1749, and from that time up to Nov. 1779, he, with short intervals, held the various offices of Privy Seal, Master of the Horse, Keeper of the Wardrobe, Lord Chamberlain, and President of the Council. On Mr. Pitt's accession to power, Dec. 1783, he was re-appointed Lord President, which office, and afterwards that of Privy Seal, he held till July, 1794. M.P. for Bishop's Castle, Nov. 1744 to June, 1747, then for Westminster to 1754, and, lastly, for Lichfield, till he succeeded to the peerage, Dec. 25, 1754. Having vacated his seat for Westminster in 1749, on accepting office, his re-election brought on the celebrated contest of Trentham and Vandeput, in which, after 15 days' polling, he succeeded by a majority of 4811 to 4654.

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his first speech made a violent attack upon the Minister,[1] who in reply said many civil things, complimented him upon his abilities, and took no notice of the abuse. Mr. Fox said nothing could be handsomer or better judged than Mr. Pitt's conduct upon the occasion; but Grey has returned to the charge, and upon making a motion to appoint a Committee to inquire into the state of the Post Office, he made use of stronger language than ever was heard in the House of Commons, and was not approved of by either party; the Minister was firm, and without losing temper treated his violence and threats with contempt; he was attacked at the same time by Fox and Sheridan, and in short with all the abilities of Opposition; and Rigby, who was in the House and attended that day out of friendship to Lord Carteret, told me, "You know," says he, "that I am not partial to Pitt, and yet I must own that he is infinitely superior to anything I ever saw in that House, and I declare that Fox and Sheridan, and all of them put together, are nothing to him; he, without support or assistance, answers them all with ease to himself, and they are just chaff before the wind to him." The history of the Post Office business is an intention to hurt Lord Carteret, and to bring the Minister into a scrape if possible. Lord Clarendon, as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, gave way to Jenkinson, and Lord Tankerville[2] was turned out of the Post Office to make room for Clarendon and to accommodate Lord Carteret, who said he could not remain in office with Tankerville. The Committee is sitting, and it will appear that Lord Carteret provided for some of his friends by quartering them upon officers who did the business, but without any pecuniary consideration to himself; in short, different things which have been the constant practice, without being inquired into, in all the departments of the State, and which do well enough in conversation at the brown table, but are very disagreeable when they come to be investigated before the House of Commons. There are many things of the same kind to be laid to the charge of Tankerville, which will be brought forward in the Committee, by Lord Maitland,[3]

[1] The speech in question was at the time considered by all parties an intemperate effusion. Mr. Grey (afterwards Charles, 2nd Earl Grey, K.G.) was born March 13, 1764, d. July 17, 1845; m. Nov. 18, 1794, Mary Elizabeth, dau. of William, 1st Lord Ponsonby. First Lord of the Admiralty from Feb. to Sept. 1806, and then Secretary of State to March 25, 1807; First Lord of the Treasury from Nov. 24, 1830, to July 18, 1834; M.P. for Northumberland from June, 1786, to April, 1807, and then for Appleby till he succeeded to the peerage, Nov. 14, 1807.

[2] Charles, 4th Earl of Tankerville, b. Nov. 15, 1743, d. Dec. 10, 1822; m. Oct. 7, 1771, Emma, dau. and coheir of Sir James Colebrooke, Bart. Joint Postmaster-General from April 25, 1782, to May 1, 1783, and from Jan. 7, 1784, to Sept. 19, 1786.

[3] James Viscount Maitland, afterwards 8th Earl of Lauderdale, K.T.; b. Jan. 26, 1759, d. Sept. 15, 1839; m. Aug. 15, 1782, Eleanor, only dau. and heir of Antony Todd,

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Todd's[1] son-in-law; but Tankerville says he is not in office, and does not care one farthing what appears against him, provided he can hurt the Minister and Lord Carteret. One of the members said humorously enough to a friend in the House: "Tankerville beats Carteret in coals, the reforming Lord's expenditure was a chaldron a-day; but," says he, "Carteret has the pull upon him in wax candles and oil; but that is fair, as he sits up later." I do not know how the affair will end, probably in nothing of consequence, but in preventing some future abuses, and in reducing the income and profit of the Postmasters. The Committee is to report facts to the House, but has not the power to form resolutions; if they had, it might be a serious business, for they are all violent Opposition, except Lord Maitland, who is violently with them in everything but this Post-Office business, and in that he is as hot and violent against them as he can be; but I am told that neither Fox nor Sheridan approves of the attack, they think it is an invidious business. You will see nothing against Carteret in any of the newspapers; but they are all ready to receive information and abuse against Tankerville.[2]

Sloper and Dalling are arrived. I am glad to find by your letter to Phillipson, and Ross's to Fawcett, that you are in good health; but Aberdeen,[3] who I have seen, tells me that you expose yourself too much to the sun, which he says at times in your eastern world is hurtful.

The Ton at present is to give balls; no woman can exist without having fiddles two or three times at her house in the course of the winter; Lady Hopetoun[4] three in a month. The Duke of

Esq.; created Lord Lauderdale in England, Feb. 15, 1806. M.P. for Newport (Cornwall), and then for Malmesbury, from Oct. 1780, till he succeeded to the peerage, Aug. 17, 1789, after which he was a representative peer from 1782 to 1784, and from June, 1790, to 1796. He was employed in 1806 by Mr. Fox, to negotiate a peace with Bonaparte, in which he totally failed. In early life he was a violent democrat, and under an old Scotch precedent he endeavoured to divest himself of his peerage. In 1787 he became a member of the Needlemakers' Company, to enable him to stand for sheriff, which he did, with Samuel Fearon Waddington, a notorious democrat, as his colleague: they were beaten by a large majority. In later years Lord Lauderdale's political opinions were completely changed.

[1] Antony Todd, b. 1716, d. June 8, 1798. He entered the Post-Office in 1732, and was made Secretary, 1762.

[2] The origin of the whole business was a personal quarrel between Lords Tankerville and Carteret. The former was a friend and distant connexion of Mr. Grey's, who brought forward this motion partly to please his relation, but principally to annoy the Government. The investigation before the Committee brought to light some irregularities, but so trivial, that when on May 23, 1787, it was moved to print the report, Opposition could only muster 16 votes against 120, and on May 28 Mr. Grey's resolutions condemning the Post-Office and the Ministry were so feebly supported, even by Mr. Fox, that he would not divide the House.

[3] George, 3rd Earl of Aberdeen, b. June 19, 1722, d. Aug. 13, 1801; m. Catherine, dau. of Oswald Hanson, Esq., of Wakefield.

[4] Elizabeth Countess of Hopetoun, wife of James, 3rd Earl, dau. of George, 6th Earl of Northesk; d. Aug. 19, 1793; m. Aug. 16, 1766.

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Gordon's[1] house was not convenient for a ball till the Duke went abroad with his son, the Marquis of Huntley; the Duchess now finds out that the house will do very well, and so she exhibits before she retires to Scotland.

I am, &c.,

JAMES GRANT.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO ALEXANDER MACAULEY,[2] ESQ.

DEAR SIR, Allahabad, Sept. 14, 1787.

I did not know of the resolution of the Board relative to the witholding Sir John Macpherson's salary, until it had passed. But I will fairly own to you that I was always of opinion, in which I had no doubt that every man in the settlement concurred, that the Supreme Council could not be justified in paying allowances to any person who had passed the Cape of Good Hope in his way to Europe; nor did I conceive that the Members of Council or Judges, stood in a different predicament from any others.

I can have no objection to your entering a protest on this subject, or taking any measures you may think incumbent upon you as Sir John Macpherson's attorney; but it would be indelicate in me, even if my sentiments had been altered on this subject, to interfere with the act of the Board.

This case after all must be decided by the Court of Directors; and the only difference that the measure of the Council can make to Sir John Macpherson, will be 4 per cent. on the half of his salary; for if the decision of the Court of Directors should be favourable to Sir John, they will order him the pay that has been stopped, with interest of 8 per cent.

I will put a case that militates against your interpretation of the Act of Parliament. You know when the Council is reduced to two by death, removal, or resignation, the Governor-General is directed by the Act to call in a third; now if Mr. Stuart or Mr. Shore were to go to Europe in the same manner as Sir John Macpherson, the Governor-General could not call in another member, because by your construction, there would be no vacancy.

I beg leave to assure you that I have every good disposition towards Sir John Macpherson, that I am sensible of the obliging manner in which he received me, and of his endeavours to make my situation as agreeable as possible. And if he should return to

[1] The Duchess of Gordon then resided in Upper Grosvenor Street, No. 10.

[2] Alexander Macauley was afterwards Secretary to the Government of Malta, in which island he died Jan. 18, 1805.

this country, I am convinced that the most friendly co-operation and intercourse would subsist between us.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE HON. LOCKHART GORDON,[1] JUDGE-ADVOCATE-GENERAL.

[Private.]

DEAR SIR, On the Ganges, Oct. 9, 1787.

I have read over and confirmed the voluminous Court Martial, which has cost you so much pains, and in which you have shown so much ability and attention. But I must observe to you, that you have not kept clear of the erroneous practice which has crept into the proceedings of General Courts Martial in this service. I had intended to have taken public notice of it on the first repetition; but as this has been your first essay, and as you have been only actuated by the best intentions, and by an overflowing zeal for justice, I shall content myself with giving you my private sentiments.

The duty of a Judge Advocate, after the Court has assembled, is to administer the oaths to the members, to take down the proceedings distinctly, and to collect the opinions when sentence is to be passed. It is also expected that he will be able to point out to the Court the forms of procedure, and particularly the regular mode of examining witnesses. But after stating his opinion once upon these points, it rests entirely with the Court to adopt or reject it.

It is likewise proper in him to put such questions to the witnesses as he thinks will tend to discover the truth, and which do not appear to have occurred to any of the members; and if contradictory evidence has been given by different witnesses, it is right in him to state it in plain terms as a simple fact, if it appears to have escaped the attention of the Court when they proceed to give sentence. But as the Judge Advocate does not sit in a judicial capacity, and has no share of responsibility in the sentence of the Court, he has a very delicate part to act, and ought not upon any account to declare his opinion on the credibility of the evidence, or on the guilt or innocence of the accused; but should leave it en-

[1] Hon. Lockhart Gordon, son of John, 3rd Earl of Aboyne; b. 1732, d. March 24, 1788; m. 1st, Isabella, dau. of Elias Levi, Esq.; 2nd, Oct. 3, 1770, Catherine, dau. of John Viscount Lymington, and sister of John, 2nd Earl of Portsmouth. He was originally a barrister, then entered the army, served in the same regiment with Lord Cornwallis, and rose to the rank of Lieut.-Colonel. He was appointed Judge Advocate in 1787.

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tirely with the members who are alone accountable for the consequences, to pass sentence according to the dictates of their own conscience and judgment. The members of a Court Martial sit as judges, as well as jury. I am sure you will be obliged to me for telling you that your attack on Captain —— was highly improper, and I am persuaded that nothing of that kind will ever happen again.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO JOHN SHORE, ESQ.

DEAR SIR, . . . On the Ganges, Oct. 10, 1787.

. . . I have received several melancholy shukhas from the King,[1] calling on me in the most pressing terms for assistance and support. This morning I wrote him a letter perfectly civil and respectful, but without all that jargon of allegiance and obedience, in which I stated most explicitly the impossibility of our interference.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO JOHN SHORE, ESQ.

DEAR SIR, Futty Ghur, Oct. 15, 1787.

I received last night your letters of the 3rd and 4th instant, with the enclosures from Sir A. Campbell, &c.

I lose no time in assuring you and Mr. Stuart, that I most perfectly approve of your having resolved to support the declaration of the Madras Government, and of its being our determination to protect the Rajah of Travancore as one of our allies. If it will give you the smallest satisfaction, you may put my concurrence upon record. We must no doubt make every preparation in our power to furnish supplies of men, money, &c., for carrying on the war (if we should be forced into it) with the greatest vigour; in the mean time we can only give Sir Archibald the strongest assurances of the utmost exertion of our power to assist him. It is impossible to enter into particulars, until we are acquainted with the manner in which Tippoo means to carry his designs into execution. But in a few days I will send down to be recorded, some ideas of the outlines that would be proper for our conduct.

I shall only say at present, that as soon as war is commenced, so far from confining ourselves to defensive measures, I think every

[1] Shah Alem.

engine should be moved to carry it on in such a manner as to secure the honour of the nation, and to be the most likely to bring it to a speedy conclusion.

In regard to horses, I fear we have no means which would enable us to send any considerable number by water. Those belonging to the body-guard may be sent if practicable—I am sure I make very little use of them, but those of the two Rissalas are too old for so distant a service. Without waiting for further information, I shall immediately order a small augmentation, principally to enable me to judge with certainty whether we shall find the cavalry people in this country ready to engage with us. Perhaps it may be proper that you should send me a regular authority for this measure from the Board.

It will give me great pleasure to hear a better account of yours and Mr. Stuart's health. We must not allow this business to affect our spirits, but whatever turn it takes, we must trust that it will ultimately be for the best. I feel much bolder since I have seen this brigade of sepoys.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO EDWARD HAY, ESQ.

SIR, On the Ganges, Oct. 18, 1787.

. . . The wants of the Company at home render it absolutely necessary to despatch the investment to Europe.[1] But after the allotment of ships is made for that purpose, I would recommend it to the Board to ascertain with as much precision as possible, the quantity of tonnage on which we might depend in the course of next winter, for transporting stores or troops to the Coromandel or Malabar coasts.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO GEORGE FORSTER, ESQ.

SIR, Cawnpore, Oct. 23, 1787.

You are already acquainted with my principal reasons for employing you in your present mission to Moodajee Boosla, the

[1] From this and other letters, it is evident that the idea of suspending the investments to Europe, in case the necessities of the war rendered it necessary to divert the ships or the money usually employed for that purpose to another object, had already occurred to Lord Cornwallis. He was afterwards compelled to do it, without waiting for orders from home.

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acting chief of the Berar Government. Should Tippoo abstain from hostilities against our territories or those of our allies, you will content yourself with declaring that you were despatched by me, to assure Moodajee of my esteem and friendship for him, and of the concern that I take in the honour and prosperity of his Government. You will also inform him, that as his servant Beneram Pundit,[1] on account of his great age and infirmities could not undertake so long a journey, you were selected by me as a person on whom I have entire confidence, to receive those unreserved and important communications to which he alluded in his letter to Beneram Pundit, which was shown to me. You will also, during your residence with Moodajee, in the case that has been supposed, take every means that may be in your power, consistent with the utmost attention to avoid every step that might excite jealousy or suspicion of an unfriendly or indiscreet curiosity, to obtain a knowledge of the extent, revenues, and forces of the Berar Government, and of the real character and disposition of Moodajee, as well as of the other members of his family, and of the persons who are principally employed in the management of the public affairs. It will also be of great importance to ascertain the particular relation or connexion of that Court with the other Maratta Chiefs, and the heads under which the principal parties of that State are at present ranged; and also the nature of the connexion between Moodajee and the Nizam, and of any correspondence that may have passed between him and Tippoo. For the above purposes, it will be sufficient to deliver the General Credential letter No. 1. with which you are furnished.

Should you receive certain information of Tippoo's having actually commenced hostilities against us or any of our allies that were included in the late peace, you will deliver to Moodajee the letter No. 2, with which you have been charged with a view to the possibility of that event.

We are so little acquainted with the real disposition, the political views, and several other circumstances of the present situation of the principal Maratta Chiefs, that it is not in my power to give you detailed instructions for your conduct. If the Marattas have engaged or resolved to keep peace with Tippoo, it is not probable that our solicitations would induce them to depart immediately from that plan; and the more earnestly that we pressed such solicitations, the chance would be the less for their being successful.

[1] Beneram Pundit had been sent many years before as envoy from the Raja to Calcutta. He accompanied Hastings to Benares, and gallantly stood by him in all his danger. He was afterwards Dewan, or Minister to the Raja.

Even should their public measures be in some degree undetermined, much appearance of anxiety on our part would be construed by them to proceed from conscious weakness, or they would endeavour to take an unfair advantage of it in settling the terms of any connexion which might be proposed to be formed. You will therefore, after delivering the letter and professing an inclination to form a close connexion and alliance against Tippoo as a common enemy, go no further than requesting that Moodajee will give immediate orders for a free passage through Cuttack, for such troops as this Government may think proper to despatch at any time by that route for carrying on the war, unless your advances are received with an apparent cordiality. In that case a negotiation may be commenced, and you will consider, as the most important object of it, to obtain the influence of Moodajee to induce the Poonah Government to take that lead in a General Confederacy of the Marattas for renewing the war against Tippoo. Should that object not appear to be attainable, and Moodajee should profess an inclination to form a separate alliance with our Government, it must be encouraged, though, before a final agreement, it will be proper to submit the proposed terms to the consideration of the Board. For unless he is able to make a powerful diversion, or to furnish a large body of good cavalry to act with our army in the Carnatic, it is not clear that we could derive any material advantage from it. If you have reason to believe that his cavalry is of good quality and would prove useful to us, you are, in the event of a connexion of any sort, to look upon it as a desirable object to obtain a body of ten or twelve thousand horse, to join Sir Archibald Campbell by the most convenient and expeditious route; and should all other objects fail, I should think it of consequence if you could obtain for a reasonable price, from one to two thousand good horses to mount cavalry of our own.

In return for the stipulations which we would wish from the Marattas, I shall now mention the outline of those to which we would agree, in return for those that would be most favourable for us. We would agree, not to make peace with Tippoo without mutual concert, nor before they had recovered the countries that have been conquered from them between the Kristna and Tumbuddra; we would engage to furnish some battalions of infantry and a train of field artillery, to act with their army in that quarter; and we would pay any body of their cavalry, that might join and co-operate with our army in the Carnatic.

I have no doubt of your zeal and activity to do everything in your power to promote the national honour and interest, and when

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you have entered upon this business, and can point out proper objects more clearly than they appear from our present information, I shall be ready to give you as explicit instructions as may be practicable, for your guidance and conduct.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

[Private.]

DEAR SIR, Near Mongheer, Nov. 16, 1787.

I have been most agreeably surprised at the good condition of the native troops. A spirit of exertion and emulation prevailed throughout the whole, and I have no doubt that they will soon arrive at a very high pitch of discipline. The 73rd regiment is in excellent order, and does great credit to the pains which Colonel Macleod[1] and Major Macdowal[2] have taken with it, but what shall I say of the Company's Europeans? I did not think Britain could have furnished such a set of wretched objects. I would infinitely rather take the 73rd regiment upon service with me, than the whole six Company's battalions. Indeed, I have great doubts whether by drafting the whole six, I could complete one serviceable battalion to the present establishment.

For God's sake lose no time in taking up this business in the most serious manner. If the British possessions in India are worth preserving, do not let us sacrifice them to the jobs of crimps, or to trifling jealousies and punctilios about King's and Company's troops; call them what you will, they are troops destined to render essential service to their country. The Company must have permission to raise recruits publickly; these recruits must be properly examined and be subjected to martial law, and placed under the command of their own officers until the time of their embarkation.

I know the army at home will oppose this, but I trust, if it is properly represented to His Majesty, he will not countenance their opposition; if he should, we must revert to the plan of the officers having King's commissions, or send out King's regiments. But I

[1] Colonel Norman Macleod (20th Chief of Macleod), 73rd Regiment, afterwards Lieut.-General; b. March 4, 1754, d. Aug. 1801; m. 1st, Mary, dau. of — Mackensie, Esq.; 2nd, Sarah, dau. of N. Stackhouse, Esq. M.P. Inverness county from Nov. 1790 to May, 1796.

[2] Major Hay Macdowal of Garthland, 73rd Regiment, afterwards Major-General. Commander-in-Chief at Madras from 1807 to Jan. 29, 1809, when he embarked for Europe. The vessel is supposed to have foundered at sea, as she was never heard of. His conduct when Commander-in-Chief produced the Madras mutiny.

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have no difficulty in declaring, and give you leave to quote my declaration where you please, that the present plan cannot be continued without exposing our Asiatic dominions to the most imminent danger.

There appears such a jealousy and coldness in the disposition of the Marattas towards us, that I do not flatter myself in the event of a breach with Tippoo, that we could derive any immediate assistance from them. The timidity of the Nizam, and the wretched state of his army and his country, do not render his intrigues with the French and Tippoo very formidable, and I think they may alarm the jealousy of the Poonah ministry, and incline them more readily to take part with us.

You will have read in a letter from Mr. Malet to the Bombay Government, the proposal which Nana made about Salsette, and the sentiments which the Governor and Council expressed to Mr. Malet on the subject. I should like to know your sentiments about Salsette, and in what sort of estimation you hold it, in case it should on a future day become a question of serious consideration. I have understood that it is of very little use to Bombay, but am not sure that this may not be occasioned by their bad management of it.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

HONOURABLE SIRS, On the Ganges, Nov. 16, 1787.

. . . I was received at Allahabad and attended to Lucknow by the Vizier and his ministers, with every mark of friendship and respect. I cannot however express, how much I was concerned during my short residence at his capital, and my progress through his dominions, to be witness of the disordered state of his finances and government, and of the desolated appearance of the country. The evils were too alarming to admit of palliation, and I thought it my duty to exhort him in the most friendly manner to endeavour to apply effectual remedies to them. He began with urging as apologies, that, whilst he was not certain of the extent of our demands upon him, he had no real interest in being economical in his expenses; and that while we interfered in the internal management of his affairs, his own authority and that of his ministers were despised by his own subjects. It would have been useless to discuss these topics with him; but, while I repeated my former declarations of being determined to give no grounds in future for similar com-

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plaints, he gave me the strongest assurances of being resolved to apply himself earnestly to the encouragement of agriculture, and to endeavour to revive the commerce of his country. And in order to enable him to be punctual in his pecuniary engagements with us, and otherwise to give ease to his finances, he likewise promised not only to disband a large number of his own useless rabble of troops, but also to retrench a great many of his other superfluous articles of expenditure. I think it proper to say, that my principal dependence for the performance of these promises, rests upon similar assurances from the efficient minister Hyder Beg Khan, who is undoubtedly the ablest man employed by the Vizier, and who, there is reason to expect, will from considerations of personal interest and safety, be at great pains to avoid giving just cause of complaint to this Government. He knows in particular that it is to him that I look for the punctual discharge of our annual subsidy of 50 lacs; and though I am sensible that for some time to come there may frequently be difficulties, I trust that they will never more fall considerably into balance, as I am persuaded of their anxiety to avoid it.

I have had peculiar satisfaction in disengaging this Government in an honourable manner, from all charge and responsibility in the management of the country of Furruckabad.

I shall avoid making any remarks upon the original grounds or supposed right, which induced us to interfere in the detail of the affairs of that unfortunate country, and shall only say that I am afraid it has not only done us no credit in Hindostan, but that the imperfect manner in which we did or could interfere, could hardly fail of being attended with the consequences that have been experienced,—that of giving constant disgust and dissatisfaction to the Vizier and to Mozuffer Jung, without producing a shadow of benefit or relief to the body of the inhabitants. It gave me great pleasure to receive assurances, both verbally and in writing from Mozuffer Jung, that he is perfectly satisfied with the settlement of the tribute and with the treatment that he has met with from the Vizier. Pensions are secured, and to be paid through us, to those who had any particular claim to our protection; I mean the Begum[1] (who by her own choice remains at Furruckabad), Dildileer Khan, and the Dewan Deep Chund; and as in my opinion there is hardly a possibility of any good arising from our future interference, and almost a certainty of much discredit, I confess I am happy that now we are not called upon to take any further concern

[1] The Begum, the mother of Mozuffer Jung.

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about that country, than about any other ill-governed district of his Excellency's dominions.

Upon my return, I saw with singular pleasure that many great benefits had already arisen from the alteration in the system of the management of Benares; and the disinterested and judicious conduct of Mr. Duncan, the Resident, claimed my warmest approbation. From the short trial that has been made of the Rajah, there seems to be great reason to believe, that under a proper inspection, he will prove sufficiently qualified to conduct his part of the business of the Zemindarry without the assistance of a Naib; and he has already adopted or acquiesced with great cheerfulness in several measures, that cannot fail of promoting the happiness of his people and the general prosperity of the country. Under a persuasion that it will tend ultimately to his advantage, he readily agreed to the abolition of the Rhadary and other duties, which were represented to him as obstructions to commerce, even without requiring any deduction, though the temporary diminution of his revenue will be considerable. He has also agreed that it shall be an established rule in the management of his country, to let it at a moderate rent to men of character and substance, and in portions not exceeding, if possible, an annual rent of two or three lacs of rupees, which, with more attention than has been generally paid to the regular administration of justice, will relieve the body of the inhabitants from many cruel oppressions, to which they have been frequently subject under a different system. Mr. Duncan is, from his disposition and abilities, eminently qualified both to methodize and to superintend the execution of this plan, and I have not the smallest doubt of the regular payment of the Company's revenues, or of the ease and prosperity of the country under the operation of it.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Some time previous to the arrival of Lord Cornwallis in India, Sir Robert Sloper had authorized Captain —— and Captain —— to raise two corps, to be employed in the service of the Vizier. Lord Cornwallis, considering that arrangement to be improper, ordered them to be disbanded. Some correspondence ensued, with reference to pay and allowances alleged to be due. When appealed to, Hyder Beg denied that any such claim existed, as he declared the corps had never been raised, or that at the utmost, a few men to act as orderlies had been enrolled, and two or three commissions only had been given. This statement was communicated

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by Lord Cornwallis to Captain ——, May 14, 1787. A renewed application received the following reply:—

EARL CORNWALLIS TO CAPTAIN ——.

SIR, Near Plassy, Nov. 22, 1787.

I am sorry to say that on my arrival at Lucknow, I could not meet with any person, either European or native, that knew anything of your battalion, or had seen any part of it. Although I could not help placing proper confidence in your assurances of its being perfectly complete, both in officers and men, yet as there was not a trace of it existing at the head-quarters where it was raised and had been so lately disbanded, and you had been so improvident as to keep no voucher for any of your disbursements, you did not put it in my power to say to the Vizier or his ministers, that part of the large sum of money which you received was not issued to discharge your personal pay and allowances. Circumstanced therefore as your claim is, I do not think that my interference would be warranted by the order of the Board, relative to the reduction of your corps and Captain ——'s.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY.

DEAR JAMES, Calcutta, Dec. 12, 1787.

. . . Although this country has suffered much this year by inundations and a dreadful hurricane on the 2nd of last month, yet things still bear a prosperous aspect. Our credit has not suffered in the least; the discount on our paper has not risen; and I have the vanity to believe that the Government is both esteemed and respected. I reminded Mr. Pitt of our conversation about you, and have sent duplicates by the 'Busbridge' and 'Princess Royal.' I flatter myself that my measures in this country will speak more forcibly to him than any other argument. We have received no letters since the arrival of the 'Minerva,' but some English newspapers of April have come from Bombay, and we have got Leyden Gazettes up to the middle of June, which tell us of the reconciliation between the K. and the P. of W., the latter's illness, &c. &c.

Tarleton's is a most malicious and false attack; he knew and approved the reasons for several of the measures which he now

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blames. My not sending relief to Colonel Ferguson, although he was positively ordered to retire, was entirely owing to Tarleton himself; he pleaded weakness from the remains of a fever, and refused to make the attempt, although I used the most earnest intreaties. I mention this as a proof, amongst many others, of his candour. I know it is very foolish to be vexed about these things, but yet it touches me in a tender point. It is now near nine months since I have had any accounts from England; you will easily believe that I am impatient for a packet. You have made me pretty easy about Brome; after his getting so well through the first year, I cannot have much apprehension about him.

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK.

SIR, Calcutta, Dec. 10, 1787.

I was so fortunate in wind and weather that I completed my expedition, during which by land and water I travelled above two-and-twenty hundred miles, in less than four months, without omitting any material object of my tour, either civil or military.

I shall not attempt to describe particularly to your Royal Highness the troubles which distract the northern parts of Hindostan, where Shah Allum, the wretched representative of the house of Tamerlane, although nominally possessed of the imperial dignity, and although his image[1] is stamped on all the coin of the country, is really reduced to beggary; and where many inferior princes and chiefs are contending for power, until their armies, which they cannot pay, forsake them and leave them in as forlorn and contemptible a situation as the poor emperor, of whose shadow of authority they are endeavouring to avail themselves. In this quarter, inaccessible from its distance to all Europeans but ourselves, our force is so superior that we have nothing to apprehend, and I had only to give civil negatives to the various applications for assistance of men and money. A brigade of our sepoys would easily make anybody Emperor of Hindostan.

The accounts however which I received from the Carnatic, did not suffer me to enjoy perfect tranquillity of mind. The great warlike preparations of Tippoo, and the reports transmitted to me by Sir Arch. Campbell that he meditated an attack upon us, and that

[1] A mistake. The name and titles, but not the image of Mohammedan princes, are struck on the coin.

he would be assisted by the French, made me tremble for my plans of economy and reform. The storm is however blown over. General Conway,[1] the Governor of Pondicherry, has given the most unequivocal assurances of his pacific intentions, and the furious Tippoo not only denies any hostile designs against us, but appears to have turned his arms again towards the Maratta frontier.

In my military inspection, the appearance of the native troops gave me the greatest satisfaction; some of the battalions were perfectly well-trained, and there was a spirit of emulation amongst the officers and an attention in the men, which leaves me but little room to doubt that they will soon be brought to a high pitch of discipline.

I have abolished their dancing about in various forms to jig-tunes, and have substituted marching to time, and such evolutions as would best prepare them for the great manœuvres, of which they did not entertain the most distant idea. The 73rd regiment, commanded by Colonel Macleod, is in very good order, but the Company's European troops are such miserable wretches that I am ashamed to acknowledge them for countrymen; out of the six battalions, I do not think that I could complete one that would be fit for service.

I know it will be unpopular with my brother officers at home, but it is my duty to state, that if these dominions are worth preserving, it is absolutely necessary that the East India Company should be permitted to beat up publicly for recruits, and to keep them under martial law until the time of their embarkation.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO JOHN MOTTEUX,[2] ESQ.

[Private.]

SIR, Calcutta, Dec. 16, 1787.

I was favoured with your letter of the 28th of March, whilst I was on my expedition to the upper country, the objects of which,

[1] Comte Thomas de Conway (of an Irish family), Governor of Pondicherry and of all the French settlements east of the Cape of Good Hope, b. Feb. 27, 1733; m. a dau. of the Baron de Copley, Maréchal-de-Camp. He was in the French service, and in 1777 accepted a commission in the American army, and while in that service fought a duel with General Cadwallader. Maréchal-de-Camp in France in 1784. In 1788 he was desirous of assisting the Republican party in the Dutch settlements in India, but was baffled by the precautions taken by Lord Cornwallis. When the French Revolution broke out he was obliged to fly from his Government, and his life was saved only by the energetic exertions of the British authorities.

[2] John Motteux, b. 1736; d. April 30, 1793. He was Chairman of the East India Company in this year.

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both civil and military, I have detailed very fully in my letters to the Court of Directors.

I can most truly say, that ever since I landed in Bengal, I have paid the most unremitted attention to every part of the Company's interests in this country. I have been a most rigid economist, in all cases where I thought rigid economy was true economy. I abolished sinecure places, put a stop to jobbing agencies and contracts, prevented large sums from being voted away in Council for trumped-up charges; and have been unwearied in hunting out fraud and abuse in every department. As a proof that I have succeeded, you will see this year what never happened before—that our expenses have fallen short of our estimates. But I shall never think it a wise measure in this country, to place men in great and responsible situations, where the prosperity of our affairs must depend on their exertions as well as integrity, without giving them the means, in a certain number of years, of acquiring honestly and openly a moderate fortune. The Company has many valuable servants; the temper of the times is changing. Men are beginning to contract their present expenses and future views.

The splendid and corrupting objects of Lucknow and Benares are removed; and here I must look back to the conduct of former Directors, who knew that these shocking evils existed, but instead of attempting to suppress them, were quarrelling whether their friends, or those of Mr. Hastings, should enjoy the plunder.

I refer you to a letter which I transmit by this ship to the Court of Directors relative to the prosecutions. I have there stated my sentiments so fully, that I have scarcely anything to add. In the list which I have desired you to reconsider, there are some as honourable men as ever lived; they have committed no fault but that of submitting to the extortion of their superiors; they had no other means of getting their bread, and they had no reason to expect support if they had complained. I sincerely believe that, excepting Mr. Charles Grant,[1] there is not one person in the list who would escape prosecution. You will find that we have rather extended our plan of agencies; under a good Government it is certainly the safest and the best. We are sure that neither the manufacture will be debased, nor the manufacturer oppressed—two very important points to us as sovereigns of the country. It is not for the real interest of the Company that the manufactures should be very cheap, provided it pays no more than other purchasers.

[1] Charles Grant, b. Feb. 1746, d. Oct. 31, 1823; m. Feb. 23, 1770, Jane, dau. of Thomas Fraser, Esq., of Balnain. M.P. for the county of Inverness from 1802 to 1818, and a Director of the East India Company from May, 1794, till his death.

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I am sorry to hear that there has been some little unkindness in the Court of Directors towards Sir Archibald Campbell. He is a man of great worth and ability, and has served the Company with a zeal and assiduity which they must not often expect to meet with. It would give me the greatest concern to be deprived of his assistance, and I think in the present situation of our affairs on the coast, his retiring from the government might be attended with the most fatal consequences.

Notwithstanding Tippoo's warlike preparations, and the rumours of war in Europe, the discount on our paper does not rise, and you will see that we shall supply most of the funds for our investment in ready money. I cannot sufficiently express my obligations to Mr. Larkins for his earnest zeal in the public service. I wish those who attacked him in the House of Commons had half his patriotism.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

Dec. 19, 1787.—*See* Appendix, No. 17.

CHAPTER X.

Financial arrangements — Alliance with Maratha princes — Improper decision of a court-martial — Mission to China — European politics — Conduct of Sir J. Macpherson — Convention with France — Creditors of the Nabob of the Carnatic — The Guntoor Circars — Negociation with Marathas — Affairs of Holland — Shah Alem and his family — Company's Recruiting Service — Changes in Supreme Council — Debts of the Vizier — Influence of Europeans at Native Courts.

THE political state of Europe occasioned considerable alarm in Calcutta at the commencement of this year. It was feared that if France and England were at war, Tippoo, encouraged by the former power, would immediately invade the Company's territories. Fortunately, the discomfiture of the democratic party in Holland put an end to these apprehensions, and enabled Lord Cornwallis to reiterate his injunctions to the various Residents, not to allow the native powers to entertain any hope of forming offensive or defensive alliances with the Company.

There were two points on which Lord Cornwallis had received very specific instructions before he left England. The one—with reference to the amalgamation of the Company's European troops with the King's army, about which some details will hereafter be given. The other—of much more importance—related to the cession of the Guntoor Circars. The claim to this territory had arisen about six years before. It had been stipulated with the Nizam, that these Circars should be given up to the English on the death of his brother, Bazalet Jung;[1] but although this event had occurred in 1782, the Nizam had evaded compliance with the arrangement, which Lord Cornwallis was therefore desired to enforce. For reasons already stated, he had thought it advisable to postpone executing these orders, but he conceived the time had now arrived when further delay was inexpedient, and he effected his object without any serious opposition. The pecuniary claims of the Nizam for the Peshkush due by the Company, and their counter claim for the revenue which had been collected since 1782, were also satisfactorily adjusted.

[1] Bazalet Jung, d. 1782; next brother to Salabat Jung, Subahdar of the Deccan, and had been Governor of Adoni in 1758. Nizam Ali, the youngest brother, who had been Governor of Berar, dethroned Salabat in July, 1761, and assigned the Guntoor Circars as a jaghir to Bazalet, to be held so long as he was faithful to Nizam Ali.

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Among matters of less importance, may be mentioned the completion of the treaty with France, setting aside the Mauritius Convention, and the passing of the Declaratory Act, which materially increased the powers of the Board of Control. The inquiry into the system of peculation previously existing was carried on, and means were adopted, if not to eradicate, at least greatly to diminish the evils of which complaint had so justly been made.

As a question of economy, Lord Cornwallis suggested the almost total abolition of the Bombay establishment, and he was not indisposed, if a due equivalent could be found, which he rather doubted, to restore the island of Salsette to the Marathas. But the authorities at home did not concur in these views.

The alarm of war having subsided, Lord Cornwallis had leisure to turn his attention to financial subjects. On these he wrote two despatches to the Court of Directors, dated November 1 and November 3, the second of which will be found in the Appendix. The first is devoted to revenue questions, and lays down principles of political economy far in advance of the times in which he lived. The second discusses the state of the Zemindarry of Benares, the abolition of internal customs' duties, the payment of the Company's servants by fixed and liberal salaries, instead of by almost unlimited perquisites, and the compilation of the Hindoo and Mahometan laws, a task which Sir William Jones [1] undertook to execute. Both these papers, though very long, deserve attentive perusal. The views they propound are thoroughly just, and are explained with great clearness; nor is the advice tendered to the Directors less sound in principle, than it must have been novel to their minds.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD SYDNEY.

[Private.]

MY DEAR LORD, Calcutta, Jan. 7, 1788.

Our alarm from Tippoo's preparations has ceased, and there is no reason to believe from General Conway's conduct, that he has any desire to foment disturbances or to promote a war in this country. We are not however without some apprehensions that your prospects in Europe are not so pacific, and of course most impatiently expect the arrival of a packet, which the newspapers inform us was to sail from Falmouth early in August.

No man can be more seriously interested in the continuance of peace than myself; we have everything to lose and nothing to gain

[1] Sir William Jones, b. Sept. 28, 1746, d. April 27, 1794; m. April 8, 1783, Anna Maria, dau. of Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph. A Judge in India from 1783 till his death.

by war, and a peace for these next three years will enable me to put this country into such a state, that it will be a difficult task even for a bad successor to hurt it materially.

I am astonished to hear that the Court of Directors seize every opportunity of attacking Sir A. Campbell. Nothing could give me personally greater concern, and nothing in my opinion could be more fatal to the British interest in India, than his removal. He has shown great ability and the most perfect uprightness and integrity, and possesses the esteem and confidence of the civil, as well as military part of the settlement.

I have represented in the strongest terms the necessity of adopting some other mode of recruiting the Company's European troops. I know my brother officers at home will not approve of my proposals, but I likewise know that unless the system is altered, it would be much wiser not to send out any recruits. Without entering into the merits of the case, I am very sorry that things have gone so much against poor Hastings, for he certainly has many amiable qualities. If you are in the hanging mood, you may tuck up Sir Elijah Impey, without giving anybody the smallest concern. I think I told you how much Lord Ailesbury had distressed me by sending out Mr. Ritso. He is now writing in the Secretary's office for 200 or 250 rupees per month, and I do not see the probability of my being able to give him anything better, without deserving to be impeached.

I am still persecuted every day by people coming out with letters to me, who either get into jail, or starve in the foreign settlements. For God's sake do all in your power to stop this madness.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO MAJOR PALMER.

SIR, Calcutta, Jan. 11, 1788.

I have received your letters dated 29th and 31st ultimo, and I am very much satisfied both with the general tenor of the information which they contain, and with the manner in which you have conducted your conversations with Madajee Scindia.

It will be difficult to add any new explanations to Scindia, of the insurmountable reasons which prohibit this Government from interfering in the affairs of the Upper Provinces, and, in its present general political situation, from contracting an alliance offensive and defensive against Tippoo with the Maratta State; but a calm and uniform repetition of what you have already said of the prin-

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ciples upon which we are determined to act, may at last induce him to desist from pressing such propositions upon you. Although we have many reasons to believe that Tippoo would gladly seize a good opportunity to attack us, yet from the style of his late correspondence with Sir Archibald Campbell, as well as from other circumstances, it does not appear to be a measure which he designs for immediate execution. If however the politics of Europe should embroil us with the French, I lay my account that Tippoo will be ready at the shortest notice to act in concert with them against the Carnatic.

In that event it would no doubt be of great importance to our interests, to obtain a vigorous assistance and co-operation from the Marattas; and we should not hesitate to enter into engagements, which to them might prove at least equally advantageous.

Nana has already made propositions to Mr. Malet, similar to those which Scindia has thrown out to you, and I have directed him to reply to them in the most friendly style of language, but in the manner which is rendered incumbent upon us by our instructions, as well as the Act of Parliament.

It is highly probable that Nana and Scindia may have communicated with one another on this plan of an offensive and defensive alliance, and it is therefore of consequence that your language upon it and Mr. Malet's, should be the same. We are at present entirely precluded from proposing any agreements but such as are merely conditional.

You judged perfectly right however in holding up to Scindia the chance of our hands being set at liberty, by the violence of Tippoo or the ambition of the French.

You will continue to encourage that hope, which has also been recommended to the attention of Mr. Malet in his transactions at Poonah; and you may assure Scindia, that it will at all times give great pleasure to this Government, to mark our consideration for him by making use of his assistance and friendship, in arranging any new engagements which it may be found proper for us to contract with the state to which he belongs.

It would give me great pleasure to hear that he had brought his mind to relinquish all further views upon Indostan. His affairs there seem to be totally irrecoverable; and by turning his thoughts to act in conjunction with his countrymen against Tippoo, he may greatly add to the strength of their confederacy.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Jan. 27, 1788.

. . . I have just been informed by Sir Archibald Campbell, that he is ordered to send one of the King's regiments immediately to Bombay. This looks I think, a little like a war in Europe; and if there is an appearance of a war with France, the order is certainly a wise one. But I give you still more credit for the appointment of Medows; that measure may defy the voice of faction.

If proper military men can be found, which God knows is not very easy, the Governors of Madras and Bombay should always be soldiers. I am sure at present the army at the latter place is in great want of a commander.

If we must have a war, it is some satisfaction at least that I have two such supporters as Campbell and Medows, and that we are at present so conveniently circumstanced in regard to the Marattas, who as you see, eagerly court our alliance. Scindia is full as desirous of connecting himself with us as Nana; but from Major Palmer's last letter, I can entertain no hopes of prevailing upon him to abandon his vain pursuits to the northward, so that his friendship can be but of little value. I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL, BOMBAY.

SIR, Jan. 30, 1788.

I have been honoured with your letter dated the 27th of October last, inclosing copies of the proceedings of a General Court Martial held in Surat Castle for the trial of ——— on the 16th of the preceding month of July, and of the Minutes of your Board, and General Orders that were published in consequence of the decision of that General Court Martial.

Whilst the temper and good sense of the Board upon this occasion is deserving of great commendation, I cannot but observe that in a case where doctrines of so dangerous a tendency were broached and avowed by military men, you would have been well warranted if you had thought proper to go beyond those bounds, which you seem to have prescribed to yourselves, of forbearance and moderation.

I have perused the proceedings of that General Court Martial with astonishment and indignation; for in my opinion they contain maxims, as incompatible with the true principles of military discipline, as they are with those of morality and justice.

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Although it may not be regular that Ensign —— should undergo another trial before a General Court Martial, yet the spirit of licentiousness which appears in his daring avowal, of having upon so slight provocation struck the native and his son in the streets of Surat, and the insulting manner in which he presumed to behave to his own commanding officer, render him highly deserving of exemplary punishment. The degree of his punishment may be determined by the accounts that you may be able to obtain of his general character. Should it appear that he has upon other occasions manifested a similar propensity to violence, and the same disregard of subordination which he avowed at the General Court Martial, I consider him as an improper man to remain in this country; and my opinion is that he ought to be dismissed the Company's service, and sent home by the first opportunity. On the other hand, if his former general conduct should appear in so favourable a light as to induce you to abstain from proceeding to that extremity, I recommend that he shall neither be promoted, nor suffered to remain at any of your detached stations, but that he shall be called immediately to the Presidency, and ordered to do duty in the Castle of Bombay, until he shall give convincing proofs of a disposition to conduct himself with more personal modesty, and more respect for military subordination and good order in society.

It is of peculiar moment for the preservation of military discipline, and for the support of the just authority of your Government, that the criminal conduct of the officers who composed the General Court Martial should be investigated with care, that the innocent may be discriminated, and that the guilty may be punished with severity. Where no Civil Courts exist, as at Surat, to take cognizance of crimes and disorders, the interests of the public and those of humanity, can only be protected by the operation of martial law, and care should be taken under similar circumstances, to deter officers from daring to refuse to administer justice upon each other according to the laws of their profession. I recommend therefore that the Judge Advocate and the whole of the members of that Court Martial shall be immediately ordered to repair to Bombay, and that the Board in its judicial capacity, shall, after absolving the whole Court from their oaths of secrecy, endeavour to discover who (if any) were entirely innocent of the act of the Court, that they may be dismissed to return to their respective stations, and in the next place to ascertain, if possible, who were the individuals of those that voted in the majority, that principally contributed to bring the Court to so criminal a decision.

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I recommend that your Board shall order as many of those officers as it shall appear necessary to you, as examples for deterring others from following so dangerous a precedent, to be tried by a General Court Martial at the Presidency, for refusing to administer justice according to the Articles of War; and as I consider the principles on which the opinion of the Court Martial is founded, as tending equally to injure the interests of the Company and the credit of the nation with the natives of India, I recommend also in the strongest manner, that none of the members who voted for the decision of the Court, shall be entrusted with a command or suffered to do duty at any of the detached posts belonging to your Presidency; but that they shall be appointed to European corps, and retained to do duty under the eye and immediate authority of Government at the Castle of Bombay, at least until it shall clearly appear that they have relinquished those principles which influenced their decision at the General Court Martial, and which are equally incompatible with the respect that they owe to your Government, as with the true principles of military subordination and discipline.

You will be pleased to publish my sentiments upon the conduct of the members of the General Court Martial, in any manner that you may think most proper. And I particularly request that you will take the earliest opportunity of laying the whole proceedings before General Medows, with the opinion that I have now delivered upon them.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

H. R. H. THE DUKE OF YORK TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Feb. 1788.]

MY DEAR LORD, Hanover, April 27, 1787.

I take the very earliest opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of Your very obliging Letter of the 10th of last November, and to return You many thanks for Your goodness in thinking of Your friends on this side of the Water notwithstanding the multiplicity of affairs which You must have upon Your Hands. The Situation in which Your Lordship is at present, is certainly of the greatest consequence and the most delicate, which I believe ever has existed, and I rejoice for my Country's sake, that You have accepted of it, though for my own private sake, I confess I am exceedingly sorry for it, as it deprives me of the pleasure of cultivating Your friendship so much as I could wish, and particularly at this moment, as His Majesty has been pleased to consent to my

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return to my native Country, and it would be of the greatest consequence to me to have so good a friend and adviser as You. . . .

With regard to the Politicks of Germany Your Lordship will already long ago know that the King of Prussia died the 16th of August last, having preserved to his very last moments the same firmness of mind and the same acuteness of judgement, for which He was ever so much famed. His Successor, upon his first ascending the throne, took the very wisest steps, and gave the strongest proofs of His abilities, but unfortunately having been always so little accustomed to do business and to an active Life, He has allowed Himself of late to be too much drawn off from His business by the pursuit of His pleasures. However His honourable Character, and His affection for us have still remained the same in spite of every attempt which has been made by His Uncle Prince Henry,[1] to draw Him into an alliance with France; indeed it has gone so far as to make an open breach between them, and Prince Henry has thought fit to retire from Berlin, and it is supposed that He will spend the rest of His days in the South of France, or in Italy, which certainly is the country the best adapted to a Person of His taste.

Ever my dear Lord,

FREDERICK.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Feb. 19, 1788.]

MY DEAR LORD, Wimbledon, July 21, 1787.

The inclosed papers will explain themselves. The situation of our China trade, from the precious way in which our supracargoes are settled there, has long been an object of regret. I have learnt from various quarters, that a mission directly from the King to the Emperor of China would probably have the desired effect of obtaining to us a commercial establishment; and if that be obtained it would answer very valuable purposes, both in respect of providing China investments, and in respect of the aid it would afford to the vent both of British and Indian manufactures and produce, in the empire of China and its dependencies. I know not whether it will succeed or not, but I am sure it is worth the attempt, and there is every reason to believe the French are at this moment very anxious to acquire such a situation in that part of the world. Colonel Cathcart, from his birth and manners and

[1] Frederick Henry Louis, son of Frederick William I., King of Prussia, b. Jan. 18, 1726; d. Aug. 3, 1802; m. June 25, 1752, Wilhelmine, dau. of Maximilian, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

good understanding, has been thought of as a person likely to answer the purposes of the mission. I suppose he will sail from this, the end of September or beginning of October.

Believe me, &c.,

HENRY DUNDAS.

THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Feb. 19, 1788.]

MY DEAR LORD, June 19, 1787.

. . . You must of course be fully informed of all that has passed, and perhaps of all that is to pass, about Mr. Hastings. For my own part I will freely own to you I never was so deceived in calculation, for I could never persuade myself that the articles would pass the House of Commons, and I consider their having done so as a measure big with every kind of mischief, laying aside all question about personal justice. In this last respect I cannot but still think that he will be abandoned by the only quarter[1] which can save him from the singular virulence with which he has been prosecuted. The situation of the Stadtholder[2] has for the present taken the place of Mr. Hastings, and it might be supposed from the fluctuation in the funds, that there was a possibility of the general tranquillity of Europe being interrupted; but I do not understand that Ministry have done more than engage for some pecuniary aid, and have ordered a small fleet (the equipment of which I am afraid will not do us great credit in the eyes of Europe so far as regards despatch), more with a view to countenance than act. In the mean time France has furnished a scene of singular speculation. You will scarce believe it possible that any country could in time of peace run its expense 167 millions of French livres beyond its actual revenue, and 300 millions anticipation; but it is literally so. Mons. de Calonne[3] made a very bold attempt to ex-

[1] Probably the King.

[2] The States-General had been endeavouring to wrest from the Stadtholder his authority and hereditary rights. Matters were now drawing to a crisis, and Sir James Harris (the 1st Lord Malmesbury) had been instructed to use all the influence of England (with the assistance of some money) to maintain the power of the Prince of Orange. See the Malmesbury Papers, vol. ii.

[3] Charles Alexandre de Calonne was son of the Premier President at Douai; b. Jan. 20, 1734, d. Oct. 29, 1802; m. (being a widower) June 2, 1788, at Bath, Madame d'Harvelai, a Belgian lady, née M^lle de Nettines, widow of a rich financier. Made, through the influence of M. de Vergennes, Ministre des Finances, Nov. 3, 1783. The income of the State being quite inadequate to meet the expenditure, M. de Calonne imagined that it would be easier to impose new taxes if the financial schemes were previously submitted to some large assembly, and he therefore prevailed upon Louis XVI. to summon "Les Notables," who should be selected by the King from the nobility, clergy, magistracy, and great municipalities, but their powers were to be confined to deliberation only. They met Feb. 22, 1787, and among the 144 members were 7 Princes of the Blood.

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tricate at once himself and the state; but in executing his plan, he entirely misjudged the capacity of the nobility and the liberality of the clergy, and the temper of both, as well as his own situation at court. The clergy concurred when he expected that they would have opposed, and the nobility examined what he thought them incapable even of comprehending; and the Queen, who it seems never liked him though a creature of her own party, took a decided part against him. The consequence of the whole is, that the public in France has obtained three capital points,[1] besides several of an inferior nature. 1st, There is an end to the exceptions in favour of the nobility and clergy, which disgraced every attempt at an equitable system of taxation, and will produce immediately above fifty millions additional revenue. 2nd, Provincial administrations are immediately to take place upon the most equitable plan possible, originally proposed by Mr. Turgot,[2] which if suffered to take root, must very shortly alter the whole nature of the French Government. 3rdly, Their accounts are to be made up *annually* and *published*. Besides this, the Archbishop of Toulouse[3] is declared minister, with greater powers than the King has hitherto given. I knew a little of him when I was at Paris, and if he does not strangely alter, which men sometimes do upon getting into power, he will not want either for force of character or good intention: I mean by the last, principles which tend to promote peace abroad, and civil and commercial liberty at home. But I am taking up too much of your time, who have another world of your own to govern. We have not heard so much of your

9 Ducs and Pairs, 8 Maréchaux, 8 Conseillers d'Etat, and 11 Prelates. The statement M. de Calonne submitted to them was less unfavourable than Lord Lansdowne's calculation, as he reckoned the annual deficit only at 115,000,000 livres (4,600,000*l.*) and the sums anticipated at 175,000,000 (7,000,000*l.*). He proposed to abolish the exclusive privileges of the nobility and clergy, and to augment the stamp duties. The opposition to his plan was, however, too powerful, and in May, 1787, he was replaced by the Archbishop of Toulouse. He left France almost immediately, and did not return till a few weeks before his death.

[1] Of these three anticipated benefits the first only was realised, and that in spite of the Parliament of Paris, who refused to register the edict, which was accordingly done in a Lit de Justice, Aug. 6, 1787. But so violent was the feeling against it among all the privileged classes, including the magistracy, that it was rescinded Nov. 24 following.

[2] Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, Baron de l'Aulne, descended from an old famille de robe; b. May 10, 1727, d. March 20, 1781; unmarried. After filling various offices, among them that of Ministre de la Marine for a short time, he was made Controlleur-Général des Finances, Aug. 1774. He was a mere theorist, and one of his schemes for regulating the price of corn, and its removal from one province to another, occasioned serious riots in May, 1775, and was a principal cause of his dismissal the following year.

[3] Etienne Charles Lomenie de Brienne, sprung from an illustrious family, afterwards Archbishop of Sens, and a Cardinal; b. 1727, d. Feb. 16, 1794, at Sens, the day after he had been arrested for the second time. Lord Lansdowne's expectations, however justified by his previous conduct, were totally disappointed, for during his short official career, from May, 1787, to Aug. 1788, the Archbishop displayed singular presumption, ignorance, and vacillation. He got the nickname of Cardinal de l'Ignominie (Lomenie).

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Lordship as we shall probably in the succeeding sessions. It gave me very particular satisfaction, as a friend and sincere well-wisher to your administration, to see your resumption of privileges so unaccountably granted to the French subjects[1] within Calcutta; persuaded as I am that you are too wise to be led into the other extreme, so as to affect that general liberty of commerce which was expressly stipulated and acknowledged at the peace, and, if it was not, is so indispensable to allay the jealousies which prevail over Europe of our power in India.

I am particularly obliged to your Lordship for the gracious assurances you have given Fombelle of your protection. I am persuaded that you will find him always honourable, diligent, and well disposed; as to his abilities, you are much better able to judge of them than I am.

Lady Lansdowne,[2] who has been playing upon the harpsichord while I have been writing, stops to desire that you will accept her best compliments; and I hope I need not trouble you with many professions, to assure you of the pleasure I have in whatever contributes to your consideration.

I am, &c.,

LANSDOWNE.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

Wimbledon, July 22, 1787. [Received Feb. 19, 1788.]—*See* Appendix, No. 18.

LIEUT.-COLONEL CATHCART TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Feb. 19, 1788.]

MY DEAR LORD, London, July 27, 1787.

I did myself the honour of writing to you from St. Helena, on my passage to Europe.

Many events have taken place since that period, but not the one which I had most at heart—the settlement of a treaty with France relative to India, taking for its basis the Mauritius Convention.[3]

There are differences of opinion upon this complicated subject, and it remains to be seen whether our Government can induce the French Ministry to accede to an interpretation of the treaty of Versailles, in terms more favourable to us than those provisionally agreed upon at Mauritius.

[1] The Convention with France, signed at the Mauritius, has already been mentioned.

[2] Louisa, 2nd wife of Lord Lansdowne, dau. of John, 1st Earl of Upper Ossory; b. May 5, 1755, d. Aug. 7, 1789; m. July 19, 1779.

[3] The Government did not concur in Colonel Cathcart's views. See letter from Mr. Dundas, Aug. 3, 1787, and from Secret Committee, Nov. 3, 1787.

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I have had occasion, though not officially, to peruse your Lordship's despatches upon this subject, and have previously expressed my mind to Mr. Dundas relative to the French affairs, after being possessed of his opinions and those transmitted by your Lordship.

It has in fact been the uniform policy of our Governments, at home and abroad, to aim at the depression of the French influence in India: the differences of opinion have been as to the mode of that depression; and it will not be surprising to your Lordship, that my impression is, that the views and mode of management of the Bengal Government with regard to the French, at the period when I undertook to negotiate with the French Governor-General under their instructions, were calculated to make the most of the situation in which Great Britain is placed by the treaty of Versailles. My connexion with these affairs draws now, I am not sorry to perceive, to a conclusion.

Having been honoured with your Lordship's countenance in the military line from my first coming into the army, I looked forward with pleasure to the prospect of serving on the Staff in India under your command.

The embassy to Pekin[1] on which it is proposed to depute me, draws me from that line, but it continues me under your instructions; and it will be my endeavour, by acting zealously up to them, to merit a continuance of your support.

Mr. Dundas informs me that he had by this despatch detailed his views relative to the Chinese embassy, and that he has mentioned my change of appointment to your Lordship. . . .

I have, &c.,

CHARLES CATHCART.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Private.] Received Feb. 19, 1788.

MY DEAR LORD, Wimbledon, July 29, 1787.

. . . In your letter of the 24th August you express a wish that an allowance was made to Mr. Shore for his expenses, as his salary did not commence till December. I think the suggestion most reasonable, but as it has not come to the Court of Directors in any shape from yourself, I cannot officially order it, but I have mentioned it to the chairmen,[2] and I should hope they will prevail with their brethren to do it. If they should not, recommend it in

[1] Colonel Cathcart's death put an end to the intended embassy to Pekin, and for various reasons the plan was dropped until Lord Macartney was sent there in 1792.

[2] The Court voted a sum of 1000*l*.

the first public despatches you send home, and I shall take care it is done.

In your letter of the 17th September, you mention the scrape we had got into in the proffered force to the Marattas. I do not know whether to express my disapprobation of it most in the original idea of it, or in the execution of the idea. But it is needless to enlarge on that subject, as you have since had occasion to learn how our ideas coincided on that business, and how much we approve of the manner we are extricated from it. . . .

I attend to what you say about the German troops, but you know that is a delicate subject. My ideas as to the other European force are detailed in a letter I wrote to you a few days ago. Since I wrote that letter, I have received yours of the 18th February last, in which you have conceived doubts as to the army being *King's troops*, and that you mean to send me your reasons. You may believe I shall examine any ideas you transmit to me with a very partial attention; at the same time I confess the plan I have suggested is a favourite child, and do not be surprised if I am loth to give it up; but I shall not urge to carry it further than the three regiments I have mentioned in my letter, till I hear further from you. I am the more sanguine in thinking you will be disposed to adopt my ideas on the subject, by observing that you mention two conditions as requisite to attend any other plan: one is, that the Company shall be furnished with better powers of recruiting; the other is, that they all, I mean the Company's officers, rank with the King's troops according to seniority of commission. As to the first of these conditions, I do not believe we could ever get the better of the grumbling of the army upon that idea, if it was proposed; and as to the second, I do not believe His Majesty would ever be brought to yield up the notion of his commission having a pre-eminence over one flowing from a commercial body of his own subjects. I think my plan obviates all the difficulties. Besides, my dear Lord, you will be so good as to recollect that the Charter of the East India Company is within a few years of expiring, and in whosever hands the Government of this country may then be, I do not believe the Executive Government in India will be left on the footing it now is, and in all our arrangements we must have a view to that consideration.

Stables[1] is arrived. I introduced him at Court, where your character of him secured him a very gracious reception. Mr. Pitt and I for the same reason, have shown him every mark of attention.

[1] In a letter to Mr. Dundas, Jan. 11, 1787, Lord Cornwallis says, "Stables goes home perfectly clean-handed."

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I have resolved to present none of those who return from India, at Court, unless they are recommended to me by you.

I am exceedingly pleased with your exertions to destroy the frauds of the Board of Trade. Any alteration you suggest in the mode of paying them, will instantly be attended to by the Court of Directors; but you will recollect that it is a business in which we do not control them; but they are very much disposed to show every mark of attention to your suggestions, for you are a great favourite with them.

By your letter of the 18th February, I learn youri deas with regard to the country of Oude, and I am much pleased with the prospect you hold out, with regard to the future arrangement of that unfortunate and depressed country. I am much flattered by what you say of your opinion, that the country ought to be defended by us, for it has always been my opinion it should be so, as much as the countries of Arcot or Tanjore; but after the recent arrangement made by Mr. Hastings, I did not feel bold enough to bring forward a new system upon my own judgment; but go as far as you please on that principle, and you are sure of the support of my opinion. . . .

Out of delicacy to Lord Sydney, the alteration in the constitution of the India Board was not made as intended, last winter, but certainly will in the course of next. Lord Sydney never attends, nor reads or signs a paper; but still I do not think he likes to see the business so exclusively in my hands as the head of the Board. Mr. Pitt is a real active member of the Board, and makes himself thoroughly master of the business. Remember me kindly to Ross, and

Believe me, &c.,

HENRY DUNDAS.

RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Secret.] Received Feb. 19, 1788.

MY DEAR LORD, Downing Street, Aug. 2, 1787.

I think it material as speedily as possible, to apprize your Lordship confidentially of some circumstances which have lately arisen, in consequence of the state of affairs in the United Provinces, which may possibly, though I think not probably, lead to serious consequences.

The measures which have been long pursuing at the instigation of France, to abridge the most important rights of the Stadtholder, if not to deprive him altogether of his office, and to change in

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many essential parts the constitution of the Republic, have gradually excited a spirit of resistance in the majority of the provinces; and the situation grew so critical towards the beginning of this summer, that it seemed probable that the contest would be decided by the sword.

It was impossible for the Ministers of this country to be indifferent to the event, as the success of the French party could hardly fail to render the Republic so dependent on France, as to give that Court the absolute disposal of its forces and resources. From the maritime strength which it might at least be made capable of exerting (when acting under the direction of France, who would naturally turn everything to that object), from its local position, and particularly from that of its dependencies in India, I need not point out to your Lordship how much this country would have to apprehend from such an event, in any war in which we may be hereafter engaged.

The prospect was the more alarming, as France gave open encouragement to her friends in Holland; and there was even an appearance that if they were too weak to carry the point themselves, she would support them by force. At the same time, the extreme disorder of the French finances (which the proceedings of the Notables had disclosed to the world), and the unsettled state of their Government since the death of Monsieur de Vergennes, made it very improbable that they would hazard a step which might tend to commit them with other Powers. In this situation, the King's Minister[1] at the Hague (who had been long endeavouring to efface the impressions of resentment towards England, and to revive the old system and disposition), was instructed to hold such a language, as without pledging this country, might at least mark the interest we took in what was passing, and show a disposition to interpose if our protection should be called for, to counteract any open attempt from France; and if the exertions of the well-disposed party in the Republic, as well as the conduct of other Powers in Europe, should afford a prospect of our doing it with effect. The French Court grew uneasy at these symptoms, and through the Duke of Dorset[2] and Mr. Eden, began a communication on the state of affairs in Holland, in consequence of which a good deal of explanation has passed, but which has not yet brought things to

[1] Sir James Harris.

[2] John Frederick, 3rd Duke of Dorset, K.G.; b. March 24, 1745, d. July 19, 1799; m. Jan. 4, 1790, Arabella Diana, dau. of Sir Charles Cope, Bart. Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard from Feb. 1782 to April, 1783; Ambassador at Paris from Dec. 1783 to June, 1790, and Lord Steward from Oct. 1789 to Feb. 1799; M.P. for Kent from May, 1768, till he became a peer, Jan. 5, 1769. His widow m. April 7, 1801, Charles, only Earl Whitworth.

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any decided point. They have expressed a strong wish that the disputes in the Republic should be amicably settled; have disclaimed any idea of aiming to destroy the power of the Stadtholder, though their general language seems still to point to a diminution of his power and influence, and they have declared a readiness to act in a mediation jointly with this country, if it is desired by the States-General. But it has not yet been ascertained whether the two Courts can agree upon such principles, as make it probable that such a joint mediation should answer any good purpose. In the mean time they conceived, or affected to conceive, a jealousy of what they called a naval armament here, which however was in fact only preparing a small detachment of our guardships to exercise in the Channel, without any addition to our peace establishment; a measure which has been often taken in time of profound peace, though it certainly was foreseen that it might excite attention in the present moment.

They in consequence, gave orders for some preparations in their ports, and they have talked of drawing together a corps of troops at Givet, near the frontiers of the Republic. Mutual explanations have taken place, and strong professions of pacific and friendly sentiments; but in the midst of these a serious degree of jealousy has been excited, and their assurances respecting their preparations have upon the whole been so vague, that we have just now found it necessary to press for a full eclaircissement; and if that is not satisfactory, we shall be under the necessity of immediately making every exertion to put ourselves in a state of action. The idea of inviting a joint mediation, and perhaps including in it the Emperor and the King of Prussia, has been suggested, and in part proceeded upon in Holland; but both parties seem in a great degree waiting the effect of the explanation between this country and France. The King of Prussia, who began his reign by showing a strong disposition to support the interests of his sister and the House of Orange, but who soon after abandoned them, and seemed to have given himself up to the direction of France, has apparently resumed his first sentiments, in consequence of an affront lately put on the Princess of Orange, who was detained by a military force (under the orders of the Province of Holland) as she was on her way to the Hague, and after some confinement obliged to return to Nimeguen. He has demanded reparation, and to enforce his demand has ordered a strong body of troops to march. By the language of his ministers, there seems room to hope that he will not content himself with reparation only for this personal insult, but will endeavour to maintain the just rights of the Stadtholder, and

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with them the constitution and independence of the Republic. From his former conduct however, this cannot yet be wholly depended upon. The Emperor's attention seems chiefly taken up by the state of the Netherlands, which his attempts to new-model the Government have brought to the verge of an insurrection. There is reason however to think, that he is rather favourably disposed to the Prince of Orange; possibly too, that he has some suspicion of France fomenting the disorders in his own dominions, and therefore feels the more the interest which he naturally has in the fate of the United Provinces. Your Lordship will see by what I have written how much everything is at this moment in suspense; but from the instructions which have been sent to Paris and to the Hague, as well as to Berlin and Vienna, much of our uncertainty must be cleared up in a very short time. Our great object is to prevent France from taking steps to carry her point in Holland by force. In doing this we wish to avoid as much as possible the risk of a rupture; and if there is a fair opening to terminate the disputes in the Republic safely and honourably by a joint mediation, we shall eagerly embrace it. I am much inclined to believe this will be the issue, as I am persuaded that France is neither inclined to extremities, nor prepared for them; and if the Emperor and the King of Prussia respectively take the line which may be expected, there can hardly be a doubt of everything ending quietly and successfully. It is, however, always possible that things may take a contrary turn, and I have troubled you with this long detail, that you may see, as accurately as I can state it, the nature of our situation, and may be prepared for any contingency. The sentiment of security and confidence which I have long felt from the interests of this country in India being under your Lordship's direction, is a source of peculiar satisfaction at this moment. I trust the effects of your administration have already been such, that we have nothing to fear for those possessions in the event of a war. Bombay is the only point for which there has appeared cause to be anxious, and measures have been taken, which Mr. Dundas has I know explained to you, and on which you will also hear from the Secretary at War, which I hope will be effectual and in time. As to the rest, it is enough to put you in possession of the facts I have stated. The further measures of precaution, or the means of acting, if necessary, against the French possessions in India, will occur to your Lordship much better than they can to any one else. The only point to which I wish more particularly to call your attention is, that if things unfortunately should come to extremities, we shall be engaged in a contest in which France will probably

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for a time have the support of the province of Holland, and perhaps that of Groningen and Overyssel; while we shall have on our side the remaining provinces, making the majority of the States-General. In this situation, the first struggle will actually be for the foreign dependencies of the Republic; and if at the outset of a war we could get possession of the Cape and Trincomale, it would go further than anything else to decide the fate of the contest. We should certainly be justified in taking possession of these posts on behalf of the majority of the States, and to secure them against France. It is therefore much to be wished that on the first news of hostilities you should find the means of striking a blow at Trincomale. If anything can be tried against the Cape, it must of course be from hence. I need hardly add, that all possible care shall be taken to give your Lordship the earliest intelligence of the turn affairs may take. I shall not take up your time by dwelling on other subjects, as Mr. Dundas I know, writes fully on every point, and his letters convey my sentiments as well as his own.

I will only add, that the measures which we have taken for relieving you from the difficulties in points of finance, will certainly (in case of such events as this letter points to) bring a great burden upon us at home, while the resources which ought to support it must be necessarily in a great degree directed to carry on the operations of a war. But even in this case, I shall only feel more convinced of the necessity of the measure, and the public must at all events make such exertions as may then be necessary, to enable the Company to fulfil its engagements.

The vigour which I persuade myself will be given to your operations in India, will more than repay whatever it may cost us.

Believe me to be, &c.,

W. PITT.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Private.] Received Feb. 19, 1788.

MY DEAR LORD, Aug. 3, 1787.

Whether Sir John Macpherson means to return to Calcutta or to come home, is as much a mystery here as it is with you. His friends give out that he does not come home; but others say that he will be decided by the circumstance of whether he is pressed to return by the Government at home; and that he will remain at the Cape till he receives letters from this. I am rather of this last opinion, from the warm solicitations I have received from his connexions in this country, to write to him expressing great hope that

Government is not to be deprived of his assistance, and expressing great approbation of his past conduct. The request is so odd a one, it must mean more than it states, and therefore I have refused to comply with it. I have always given approbation to his conduct when he deserves it, and you recollect that in order to take off any appearance of dissatisfaction with his conduct, the baronetage was bestowed on him, when you was appointed Governor-General; but the fact is, Sir John and his friends seem so determined to hold up his merits and pretensions beyond all bounds, I find it necessary to be silent on the subject; I need not have said so much, for I send you enclosed the correspondence[1] I have lately had on the subject.

Yours, &c.,

HENRY DUNDAS.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Secret.] Received Feb. 19, 1788.

MY DEAR LORD, London, Aug. 3, 1787.

I trust our negociation with France on the subject of India is near a close. The next despatches will explain to you distinctly how it is concluded. We thought it best to give a mature and final consideration to the subject, and to resolve on our ultimatum; and accordingly the enclosed project of a treaty, in explanation of the 13th Article of the Treaty of Peace, is to be offered to the French Ministers for their signature; if they agree, it will be sent out to you in form,[2] to be the guide of your conduct with them. It is our determination, if the French will not agree to the Treaty now offered, to take no further notice of them, but to turn the Treaty into the form of Instructions to you, that you may declare void the Convention at the Mauritius, and act upon the Instructions then to be given you, as the rule of conduct in transacting with the agents of France in India. And if they choose to complain, we will avow the act and whole line of conduct, and stand to the

[1] The correspondence is very voluminous, and not worth printing. Sir J. Macpherson's friends endeavoured to show, that the appointment of Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General was illegal, inasmuch as by the 13th Geo. III. Sir John, being appointed Governor-General, had a right to hold the office for five years, and was irremoveable except upon proof of misconduct. They said he had obtained legal opinions in Bengal, supported by high authorities at home, to that effect; they asserted that Lord Cornwallis was aware that *every act he had performed was illegal*, and they considered Sir John had shown the greatest moderation in not publishing this fact, and maintaining his rights. But they intimated that a large pecuniary compensation might induce him to waive his claims. Mr. Dundas, in his own name and that of Mr. Pitt, totally repudiated these demands, and declared they had no foundation in law or justice.

[2] The treaty was signed by Mr. Eden and the Comte de Montmorin, Aug. 31, nearly in the terms proposed. The papers on this subject are very long, and not interesting.

consequences. This is all that is necessary to trouble you with at present; the next despatch will be conclusive on this subject.

Mr. Pitt proposes to write to you this day upon the general state of this country with regard to its European neighbours. If they do not end as they ought, the effects of them will very soon find their way to the territories under your administration.

I remain, &c.,

HENRY DUNDAS.

RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Secret.] Received Feb. 19, 1788.

MY DEAR LORD, Downing Street, Aug. 28, 1787.

I send by this conveyance, a duplicate of a letter addressed to you by the 'Ranger' packet. Since that time no decisive turn has been given to the situation of affairs. The idea of a mediation in the United Provinces, though proposed some time ago by Holland, and approved by the four Provinces in the opposite interest, has not yet been determined upon. It is delayed by Groningen and Overyssel, and perhaps *now* secretly discouraged by France, who finds the present moment unfavourable to any settlement consistent with her views, and wishes probably to gain time. The most explicit assurances have been given us by France in answer to our inquiries respecting naval preparations; and we have not hitherto found it necessary to go further than the equipment mentioned in my former letter. The camp at Givet has not yet taken place, but it probably may in a very short time, in consequence of the assemblage of Prussian troops at Wesel, which France has in vain endeavoured to prevail upon the King of Prussia to countermand, and which will probably have taken effect by the first week in September. Holland still persists in not giving the King of Prussia the reparation[1] which he requires, and he will most likely employ his army to enforce it. In the mean time the internal violence in the Republic increases, and makes it difficult to judge what is likely to be the issue. Possibly till the personal reparation to the King of Prussia is adjusted, no effectual step can be taken towards the general settlement of the disputes. But as he is now fully disposed to co-operate in effecting such a

[1] For the arrest of his sister, the Princess of Orange, at Schonhoven. He sent an army of 30,000 men, under the Duke of Brunswick, into the United Provinces, which overran the whole country in a few days, with scarcely any loss. The only opposition they encountered was at Amsterdam, which was very soon obliged to submit. The Prince of Orange was restored to all his rights, and indeed to more power than he had previously enjoyed. *See* Lord Malmesbury's Correspondence.

settlement on terms perfectly conformable to our wishes, and as the increasing embarrassment in France (from the state of her finances, and the resistance of the Parliament to the proposed taxes) renders her open interference more and more difficult, there seems reason on the whole to hope for a favourable termination of the business. Every degree of precaution on our part is however still necessary. The orders from the Secretary at War for sending a regiment to Bombay, which I alluded to in my former letter, are sent by this conveyance. We are extremely anxious for their speedy execution.

I am, &c.,

W. PITT.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Calcutta, March 3, 1788.

. . . You will receive with a letter on the subject from the Board, the draft of an Act of Parliament for giving this Government more extensive powers to enforce good order in the police[1] of this city. As the credit of your Government and the interests of humanity and justice call loudly for the measure, I am persuaded that you will be inclined to give it your utmost support and assistance, and it will no doubt give you satisfaction to know, that the principles of those propositions have been examined and discussed with great deliberation at several meetings of the Members of Government and Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and that in the adjustment of every point, there was the most perfect unanimity.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

Calcutta, March 3, 1788.—*See* Appendix, No. 19.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT.

[Private.]

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, March 6, 1788.

The conduct of administration in regard to the affairs of Holland, must be applauded by every man who has any regard for the honour and prosperity of Britain.

It gave me great satisfaction to see, that instead of going to France with representations and complaints, you began by speaking

[1] This was the first step towards carrying out the reforms in the police system, which Lord Cornwallis afterwards effected.

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a manly language to the Dutch, and forced the French Court to commence the negotiation upon that subject by making advances to you.

The absolute ascendancy in Holland is so important an object to France, and it is so necessary for our interest to prevent her obtaining it, that I conceive nothing but her poverty and intestine divisions can possibly prevent a war.

I see however with great pleasure, that the political state of Europe is much changed in our favour, since I had a commission in the diplomatic line in 1785, and I think that upon the whole you will be of opinion, that things in this country bear as favourable an appearance as could reasonably be expected. The northern powers of Hindostan, reduced to the most wretched and contemptible state by their continual dissensions, fear us and court our protection. The Poonah Marattas invite us to an offensive and defensive alliance, and I have reason to believe that by paying for them, I could obtain a body of cavalry from the Rajah of Berar. The reports of Tippoo's intended invasion, have put Sir A. Campbell in a state of great preparation in the Carnatic, and by sending a regiment, and above all by appointing General Medows to the Government, you have not only removed our apprehensions but have made us respectable at Bombay. In case of a war I think it totally unnecessary to point out to you how we should be assisted, because I feel perfectly confident you will endeavour to proportion your support, to the European force that is likely to be employed against us.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

It has been already mentioned, that among other subjects which had been discussed between Lord Cornwallis and the Government before he left England, was the position of the King's and Company's European troops. One long paper was transmitted to him from Sir George Yonge in April, 1786, treating the consolidation of the two armies, as a matter almost determined upon, unless unforeseen difficulties should arise, but leaving the settlement of details to Lord Cornwallis. The King's troops in India consisted at that time, of one regiment of cavalry, 407—and five regiments of infantry, 5500 strong (on paper), the whole of which could not furnish more than 5000 effectives. The Company's European troops were nominally 6000—and how inefficient they were, may be gathered from several of Lord Cornwallis's despatches. The whole force, European and Native, was estimated at about 70,000, exclusive of the Native troops of the Bombay Presidency.

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In July 1787, Sir George Yonge wrote again at much greater length, enclosing two papers. One was a copy of his own report to the King both on the augmentation of the establishment of King's troops to 15,000, and on the consolidation of all the European troops into one service. The other contained His Majesty's final decision approving of the plan, and directing it to be considered in Cabinet. The measure was however never carried into execution. When the four new King's regiments were sent to India, the Company's officers, both from sepoy and European corps, were allowed to enter them as part of the original establishment, but very few availed themselves of this permission.

During his homeward passage in 1793, Lord Cornwallis wrote a long paper, embodying the opinions which after eight years' experience, he had formed on this subject. The substance of this paper will be found in its proper place.

MEMORANDUM BY MR. DUNDAS.

The inconveniences of the military force in India being upon separate establishments are obvious, and need not be detailed.

Assuming therefore that the whole of it should be consolidated into one body, and in the hands of His Majesty, it is to be considered in what manner this object can be best accomplished.

Against any plan to effectuate this, considerable difficulties must be expected to occur.

First. The general clamour of a danger to arise from a great additional patronage being given to the Crown.

Secondly. The exertions of the Directors of the East India Company, to preserve to themselves the exercise of a patronage beneficial to themselves and their connexions.

Lastly. The injustice which from thence will accrue to the officers of the troops belonging to the East India Company, by having a new establishment instituted in their room; and it will with considerable force be contended, that there are many valuable officers among them, who, with great gallantry and exertions, during two successive wars, have maintained the defence of the British possessions in India, and ought not therefore to be sacrificed to any new system of policy, however plausible in its statement.

The *first* of these objections is to be obviated, by admitting the fact, but denying the conclusion. It is true there will be more military promotion in the distribution of the King, but if those

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Indian possessions are at all to be retained, it can only be by a large European force, to be recruited from the subjects of this country, to be regulated in its operations by the Government of the country, and to act in concert with the general strength of the empire. Under these circumstances, it is a solecism to suppose it can be with propriety placed anywhere but in the hands of the first executive magistrate of the state. And as to danger attending the additional patronage, it will not appear very formidable, when it is recollected that the scene of its operation is at the distance of India, and in a climate, where scarce any rewards can compensate the risks to be run, and the services to be performed.

The *second* may, and no doubt will, be acted upon as a secret motive of conduct in the minds of the Directors of the East India Company, but it cannot be avowed as a ground of public opposition. And it rests on pretensions so unfounded, so unpopular, and so corrupt, there can be no difficulty in counteracting any effects it may produce.

The *third* objection would be irresistible if the foundation of it could not be removed. It occurs clearly to me that it can, by means undoubtedly within His Majesty's own power, and which if applied, will not only very speedily accomplish the ultimate object in view, but do it in a manner highly grateful to the officers of the Indian army; and besides the attainment of the ultimate object, they will, in their execution, be attended with other collateral advantages, both of popularity and public utility.

Viewing the state of India, as well in relation to its own internal defence, as with a view of acting from it by military operations against our enemies in cases of disturbances in Europe, I am convinced that an addition of at least four or five thousand Europeans to the present establishment in India is highly expedient, and indeed necessary to create a feeling of perfect security. I am ready to detail my reasons: for the present I assume the proposition.

If it be true that the military force of India should be in the hands of the Crown, it would be preposterous to make immediate further additions to the European strength of the army, without keeping that proposition in view and acting upon it.

As the commencement of it, I take the liberty of suggesting that the officers of the two old regiments now in India should be immediately recalled, and new corps of officers appointed by His Majesty to command those regiments, to be called the 74th and 75th regiments.

These officers to be selected partly from the half-pay list of the

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King's army, and partly from the supernumerary officers in the service of the East India Company.

If this measure is adopted, the advantages resulting from it are in my opinion undoubted. In the first place it will lay the immediate foundation for the consolidation of the two armies into one.

Secondly. It will immediately call into service some of the most meritorious officers of both establishments.

Thirdly. It will ease the half-pay list at home, and sooner relieve the revenues of India from the burthens which retard their progress into the Exchequer of England, where they all ought ultimately to find their way.

And lastly. It will remove the only real objection to the attainment of the important object, which this paper is meant to bring under consideration; for it will gratify, in place of injuring the feelings of the Indian officers. It will promote in place of hurting their interest. To obtain rank in the King's army is the great object of their ambition. They feel themselves, not only when on service, but when they return to this country, in a state of degradation from the want of it. Being conferred immediately and liberally on some of their most meritorious officers, the value of that rank will become more enhanced, and the consequence of the arrangement suggested, will undoubtedly be to create a universal desire in the Company's European officers to obtain the same pre-eminence. The addition which ought to be made to the strength of the European army, will give His Majesty an immediate opportunity of gratifying great numbers, by the appointment of officers in the same manner I have suggested with regard to the two old regiments now in India; the transition is then easy, to adopt the whole European army in India as the army of the King, and if the Directors of the East India Company should entertain a disposition to resist it, the unpopularity of the resistance in their own army would deter them from the attempt.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE YONGE, BART., M.P.

[Private.]

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, March 7, 1788.

I had the pleasure of receiving your private letter of the 25th July, and your secret and confidential despatch by the 'Ranger' packet.

I have expressed my doubts to Mr. Dundas of the success of the plan for the consolidated corps. If the Company had only a European force in this country, nothing could be more easy. But

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we have in Bengal only, near four hundred officers serving with the native troops; these are, in general, the best and most deserving officers of the army, they are acquainted with the language, manners, and religious customs of the sepoys, their emoluments are greater than those of the officers of the European corps, and it is the reward of the best captains and subalterns to be appointed to sepoy regiments.

It is hardly probable that a captain, who actually has the command of a sepoy battalion, or who is likely soon to be promoted to it, will choose to become one of the youngest captains in a consolidated regiment; and indeed I should think it would be as difficult to persuade a Lieutenant-Colonel or an old Major who has served in and is well seasoned to the climate, and who may expect in five or six years more to be a Colonel with an income of between seven and eight thousand pounds a year, to remove to the bottom of the long list of Lieutenant-Colonels in the King's service, where, without interest or connexions, he could not expect to get a regiment in twenty years.

I have promised Mr. Dundas to give every possible encouragement to the trial, but at the same time I recommended that some of the King's regiments should be sent to India, if it should be necessary to increase our European force, before you can hear from us how the plan is likely to succeed. I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO C. W. MALET, ESQ.

SIR, Calcutta, March 10, 1788.

I have received your letter dated 3rd February containing an account of your late conferences and communications with the Poonah administration, and I was much pleased with the distinctness and prudence with which you stated the principles, upon which we were desirous to invite them to a friendly connexion between the two Governments.

In the situation in which political affairs then stood, and even now, in as far as we have received regular information, you will have little to add in explanation of the principal points which have already been so frequently discussed between you and the Maratta ministers, after you have communicated the substance of my instructions on the subject of their sending a vakeel to England, and on the mode of opening a negotiation for the exchange of the Island of Salsette, in case the latter point shall again be agitated by them.

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I am however in hourly expectation of receiving authentic accounts of some late occurrences in Europe, which may very possibly lead to hostilities with France; for I find that the French are already informed that the Prussian troops under the Duke of Brunswick have entered Holland, and that warlike preparations were making both in England and France.

I look upon a rupture with Tippoo as a certain and immediate consequence of a war with France, and in that event a vigorous co-operation of the Marattas would certainly be of the utmost importance to our interests in this country.

I am sensible however, from the caution and coldness with which they have treated all the qualifications that we have offered, in declining to accede to their specific propositions, that it will require great delicacy of management to obtain that co-operation upon terms either creditable or admissible by this Government, and in particular that in applying for it the greatest care should be taken not to betray the smallest symptom of apprehension for the ultimate event of the expected war.

Our declarations of political principles have been so perfectly uniform, that there will be no occasion for any alteration in your public language.

Whilst England is at peace in Europe, and whilst the powers of this country abstain from offering injury to us or to our allies, this Government is not at liberty to take any step which might lead to hostilities with any of our neighbours. But a war with France, or a rupture with Tippoo, will put it in our power to contract such alliances as may appear most conducive to our interests.

Although all objections may be in that manner removed against forming a close connexion with the Marattas, yet in the event of a war with Tippoo, either as principal or as an ally to the French, there may be several points of difficult discussion, in arranging the terms of the alliance for our mutual assistance. You will therefore, in notifying to the Minister any certain accounts that you may receive of Tippoo's entering into hostilities against us either as an ally to the French or as principal, confine yourself in the first instance to the simple proposition that the Marattas should co-operate with us in the war, by availing themselves of that opportunity to recover the countries that they have lost between the Kistnah and Tumbuddra; and to induce the Minister to take an early and decided part, you may declare that we will engage to attack Tippoo both from the Carnatic, and on the Malabar Coast, and to continue the war, until they shall obtain possession of those countries, or such compensation for them as they shall deem satis-

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factory; provided that they will also agree on their part not to make peace with Tippoo without the consent and concurrence of this Government. But on the other hand, you will also give him to understand, that if, without stepping forward in a proper time as friends with effectual assistance, they leave us to ward off the dangers of the war with our own forces only, they may probably be disappointed if they shall then expect so advantageous stipulations for the Maratta state.

The above would probably be the most convenient principle of connexion between the two Governments, for the mutual diversions would be extremely advantageous to both parties, and arrangements for a junction of forces or partition of conquests would be attended with much intricacy, and might give rise to many disputes.

It is however of so much real importance to our interests to obtain the co-operation of the Marattas in the event of a war with Tippoo, that if they are not satisfied with the above proposition, and insist as a condition for acting, that their army destined to attack Tippoo's northern dominions shall be joined by a corps of our infantry and a train of artillery, we will not only consent to that stipulation, but even agree to defray the expense of our own troops, rather than break off the negotiation, which has been already stated to you in a former instruction.

But though this latitude is granted to you to prevent the delay at critical times which might be occasioned by references from you to this Government, I have that confidence in your prudence and discretion, as to be entirely persuaded that you will make no further use of your powers than shall be indispensably necessary to accomplish the object of this instruction.

I have desired Major Palmer to state to you in the most particular manner, the substance of everything that passes between him and Scindia, and indeed it will be highly requisite that your mutual communications should be frequent and full to each other, that there may be no difference in your public language, and both Scindia and Nana may clearly perceive that the principles of both your instructions are exactly the same.

From Scindia's expression of his anxious desire to be the instrument for forming a closer alliance between this Government and the Maratta state, I did not think it prudent to reject the chance of that assistance, which his influence with Nana might afford to your negotiations, and upon this idea I replied to his proposals in general terms, without authorizing him to undertake any specific negotiation. This I shall leave entirely with you, communicating to Major Palmer for his guidance my correspond-

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ence with you, and availing myself of Scindia's disposition and influence as auxiliary only to your negotiations. If Scindia should, as he once threw out, prosecute his intention of going to Poonah, in that case Major Palmer will most probably accompany him, and you will then be able to consult with him the means which his connexions with Scindia may offer to him, for carrying into execution the intentions of this Government.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

LORD SYDNEY TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received May, 1788.]

MY DEAR LORD, Frognall, Nov. 4, 1787.

We flatter ourselves that you will be pleased with the arrangement of the four East India regiments, from the principle upon which they are composed, as well as from the number of experienced officers of your own acquaintance who will command and come out with them. I trust that the corps in general of the European officers, will see with pleasure the prospect which opens to them for getting upon a more desirable footing.

Our Parliament, which was to have met on the 15th, is prorogued to the 27th. We flatter ourselves that we shall meet with a pretty general approbation of the measures of the summer. The transactions in Holland[1] are by no means uninteresting to your part of the world: and the event of them is likely to be of service to you. The country in general approves of what has been done; and you know that, from the political opinions in which you and I have been bred, I must rejoice to see such an unanimity in favour of measures which tend to put this country upon its proper footing in Europe.

It gives me great pain indeed to write upon so melancholy a subject as that of the unfortunate death of our friend the Duke of Rutland, which was owing to Irish hospitality, violent exercise, and mismanagement of himself during his illness. His loss is a public one, for he was much beloved and respected in Ireland, and his firm and judicious government has improved the state of that country. The Marquis of Buckingham succeeds him. He has left the Duchess of Rutland,[2] the Duke of Beaufort,[3] Lord Mansfield, and Mr. Pitt, guardians to his children and executors of his will.

[1] The success of the Stadtholder's party.

[2] Isabella, Duchess of Rutland, b. Aug. 1, 1756, d. Sept. 2, 1831.

[3] Henry, 5th Duke of Beaufort, K.G.; b. Oct. 16, 1744, d. Oct. 11, 1803; m. April 2, 1766, Elizabeth, dau. of Admiral the Hon. Edward Boscawen, son of Hugh, 1st Viscount Falmouth.

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Lord Townshend is made a Marquis, and is exceedingly pleased with his promotion. Poor Lord Leicester,[1] who has been anxious to the greatest degree that his father should get this promotion before any other person, is now as miserable as possible that he has chosen his own name for his new title. He has fretted himself ill with his vexation. His reasonings, to one who is not versed in Dugdale and other great authors on heraldry, are totally unintelligible.

I am truly sorry to read those passages of your letter which relate to Sloper, but as he is returned, there is no occasion to enter on the subject. There is no chance of a pension being given to his Secretary. At least I know of no one who would undertake that job, or would be likely to succeed in it. That given to Sir George Staunton[2] was owing to the high favour in which his principal stood at that time, and was a most flagrant job indeed. The Directors are not pleased with the four regiments,[3] though they did not know how to prevent the raising them, without giving offence to their own officers. I have prevailed upon them to suffer their recruits in future to be reviewed by an officer of the King's. All my family desire to be kindly remembered to you.

Yours, most affectionately,

SYDNEY.

THE DUKE OF DORSET TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received May, 1788.]

MY DEAR LORD, Paris, Nov. 10, 1787.

I cannot omit this opportunity of congratulating you on the present prospect of tranquillity which seems to be re-established in Europe. The French have swallowed the pill very handsomely, and from their present internal distress and embarrassment, I do not think they will for some time have leisure to form any projects to interrupt us in any part of our possessions. They have certainly for a long time looked with a jealous eye towards India, but I trust, now that Holland is out of their clutches, their views in that

[1] George Earl of Leicester, so created v.p. May 18, 1784, eldest son of George, 1st Marquis Townshend, to whose title he succeeded Sept. 14, 1807; b. April 18, 1755, d. July 27, 1811; m. Dec. 27, 1777, Charlotte, dau. and coheir of Eton Mainwaring, Esq., of Risby Park. Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners from Dec. 1783 to Feb. 1790, Master of the Mint to March, 1790, and Postmaster-General from July, 1794, to Feb. 1799.

[2] Sir George Leonard Staunton, Bart., so created Oct. 21, 1785; b. April 19, 1737, d. Jan. 14, 1801; m. July 22, 1771, Jane, dau. of Benjamin Collins, Esq., of Melford. His "principal" was Lord Macartney, whose Secretary he had been during his Governorship at Madras, and with whom he afterwards went to China in 1792. His pension was 500*l.* a-year.

[3] The Court of Directors assented, Oct. 17, to this addition of four regiments, but, Nov. 21, began to complain of the plan. Their opposition, however, as will be seen in subsequent despatches, was unavailing.

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respect will be given up, and that we shall under your auspices long preserve our superiority. The augmentation of European troops which you have required will alarm them, and I imagine they will immediately increase theirs in proportion. You will know all the news from England from different quarters. Mr. Pitt has gained himself the greatest credit and honour in the late negotiations between our respective Courts, and one may say that *Old England* begins to rear up her head again. In short nothing can equal the distress of France at present: it is thought the Parliament[1] will resist every loan proposed by Government, and the nation will not be at rest till the Etats Généraux are assembled.[2] There seems no disposition on the part of Europe to meddle with the Turkish war, though the French are trying to draw off the Emperor[3] from sending further succours to the Empress of Russia. The politics of France have always been to support the Turks, as their commerce with the Ottoman Empire is an object of no less than sixty millions of livres Tournois. I am, &c.,

DORSET.

I trust you will not be sorry to hear that His Majesty intends to bestow on me one of the vacant Garters.

FROM THE SECRET COMMITTEE TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

[Secret.] Received May, 1788.

MY LORD, East India House, Nov. 3, 1787.

. . . This letter accompanies a convention which has been agreed upon between His Majesty and the Most Christian King, for the purpose of explaining and carrying into execution the 13th Article of the Treaty of Peace, concluded at Versailles upon the 3rd of September, 1783.

Upon a perusal of it, you will perceive that it has greatly curtailed the discussion of the points agitated by the negociating parties at the Isle of France, and totally omits some articles, upon which however, it is necessary that you should be furnished with our sentiments as the guide of your conduct.

[1] The Parliament did refuse assent to the loan, and the edict for borrowing 450,000,000 livres was registered in a Séance Royale, Nov. 24, 1787.

[2] The Arrêt de Conseil for assembling the Etats Généraux was published Aug. 8, 1788.

[3] France failed in her attempt, but the Austrians met with little success in the Turkish war till 1789. Peace was concluded in 1790, soon after the death of the Emperor Joseph.

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In the first place we think it necessary, as well on account of the precedent, as on account of several of the stipulations recognized in the provisional convention, altogether to disavow the authority of it as a national treaty. In so far as you have acted in conformity to the agreements contained in it, we do not desire to invalidate the particular acts done by you, but we cannot acquiesce in it as an instrument to be resorted to as evidence of any right, on occasion of any future discussions; and we direct, that if disputes shall at any time hereafter occur, in which any of the permanent rights of Great Britain are implicated, the final arrangement of them must be left to the Government at home; and no regulations upon such points shall be settled by our representatives in India, beyond what may be necessary for the purpose of temporary accommodation. The treaty now concluded, and herewith transmitted, is to be held as the final explanation of the 13th Article of the Treaty of Versailles, and is to be acted upon as the only existing instrument for that purpose.

We shall now proceed to give our directions as to points upon which the treaty is altogether silent, or only agrees upon a general principle of conduct without detailing the execution of it.

Under this description we particularly allude to the collection of the duties, generally known by the denomination of *Government Customs*, and the exercise of jurisdiction by the French nation either within or without the limits of their own factories.

With regard to the first of those points, we have not agreed to make it the subject of the present treaty, because we hold our right to collect those duties to be indisputable, and we hold ourselves at liberty to exact them, either now or at any future period, if either sound policy or the exigency of our affairs shall suggest to us the propriety of having recourse to those Customs as a source of revenue. But upon a full consideration of the subject, we have come to a resolution, and hereby direct you to desist from levying the Government Customs. We are sensible that by adopting this resolution as a general measure, we depart from an advantage we might have secured to the commerce of our own subjects, whether native or European, by relieving it from this burthen, and retaining it as a burthen upon the trade of other nations; but we shall consider this sacrifice as comparatively an inconsiderable one, if it facilitates, as it must do, the general intercourse of commerce, and proves to other nations the sincerity of our desire to afford to them the enjoyment of trade in our Indian possessions upon the most extensive and liberal footing. Having come to this resolution of abolishing the Government Customs, it becomes unnecessary to

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treat upon any of those various articles respecting the security and collection of those duties, which were the subject of so much negociation at Mauritius. If, at any future period, we shall think proper to recur to the exaction of those duties, the system of regulations proposed by your own Government in 1784, from which many of the articles of the Provisional Treaty do not materially differ, may be resorted to, and appear effectual for their object.

It only remains to be noticed, that the order for not exacting the payment of Government Customs extends to those at Madras as well as Bengal; but that neither at the one place nor the other, do we mean to impede the landholder, or others in our territories, in the exaction of any local duties payable to them; but our orders must be construed to refer only to those duties actually levied by ourselves.

Upon perusal of the treaty, you will perceive the French are secured in the settlement of Chandernagore and the five subordinate factories of Dacca, Patna, Cossimbusar, Ballasore, and that established in lieu of Jugden; and when we, on any occasion, treat of the rights of factories as belonging to the French nation, we must be understood as referring to those national factories, and not to those houses of commerce or residencies of agents, which the interests of the French commerce may require to be placed in different parts of our provinces. And you will further observe by a perusal of the treaty, that we have become bound to secure to the subjects of France an exact and impartial administration of justice in all matters concerning their persons or properties, or the carrying on of their trade, in the same manner and as effectually as to the subjects of His Majesty.

In virtue of those provisions it is become our duty by treaty, as much as it hath ever been our inclination, to give a fair and unequivocal execution to this principle; and it is our positive order that you do act in such a manner, as that the subjects of France shall receive the same protection to their commerce and the same impartial distribution of justice for the execution of their contracts, that any British subject possesses in prosecution of similar interests.

In so far as concerns the exercise of jurisdiction within the limits of the French factories, the question is not attended with any difficulty, for we have no objection to their exercising either civil or criminal jurisdiction over the persons, native or European, resident within their factories, and on account of transactions originating within their factories. If we mistake not, this is a

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concession of more than what was allowed to European factories by the ancient usage of the country Government. For although they allowed them to settle differences arising between their own European subjects, the authority of the Nizamut always interposed to protect their own natives, though resident within a European factory, against the outrages of Europeans; but we see no danger in the admission of the principle to the extent we have conceded,—for if the natives of India choose to adopt the protection of the French, by becoming permanent residents within their factories, we do not conceive it to be incompatible with any principle of Government, that they should to all intents and purposes, be placed upon the same footing as Europeans (the subjects of France) resident within those factories. You will observe that in the principle just admitted, we must be accurately understood to refer only to permanent and not to occasional residence of natives, and to mean literally, transactions originating within the limits of the factory; for if any of the residents within a French factory shall be engaged in transactions without those limits, upon which there arises any exercise of either civil or criminal jurisdiction, they must be considered with regard to these, in the same predicament as British subjects resident within our provinces, and be amenable to the established judicature of the country, agreeable to the directions we are now to give.

No notice is to be taken in the present treaty of the right of visiting ships in Bengal. We hold this right to be so indisputable, that the exercise of it cannot be made the subject of a treaty. The order above stated for the abolition of the Government Customs, will of course render the occasions much less frequent, and it is our intention that it should in no case be made use of, but where there appears reasonable ground to suspect improper practices, and that all possible care should be taken to prevent its being ever abused to the purposes of vexation.

We have, &c.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, June 5, 1788.

. . . The remonstrances made by a committee of the creditors of his Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic, have occasioned a reference to us from the President in Council at Fort St. George, with an application to consult His Majesty's judges upon some doubts which had arisen, regarding the payments to be made to the creditors.

The treaty concluded with the Nabob in June, 1787, gave rise to these doubts, as by that, the contribution of his Highness for the military peace establishment for the defence of the Carnatic, had been increased from four to nine lacs of pagodas per annum, under the stipulation expressed in the agreement of 1785, that if any deficiency should take place in the sums payable by the Nabob, it should be deducted from the creditors' proportion, and not from the Company's. The creditors, conceiving their rights and property affected, remonstrated with great intemperance, and claimed the full payment of the proportion of the twelve lacs of pagodas stipulated in their favour, whether the Company were paid or not; and supported their pretensions principally upon the grounds of your orders, and upon the agreement of 1785, which they deemed binding and conclusive.

From the presidency of Fort St. George you will learn the particulars, which will also be hereafter communicated to you by us. We shall only therefore at this time, explain to you our resolution.

Before we acceded to the application to solicit the opinions of His Majesty's Judges, we deemed it our duty to consider the questions proposed to be referred to them, ourselves; and having formed our opinions upon the whole, free from any doubt, we determined against any application to the Judges, on the principle that there could be no obligation upon us to solicit advice, where we ourselves entertained no doubts.

With respect to the question agitated, our determination is expressed in the following summary of the reasoning adopted.

That the Act of Parliament, when it directed the establishment of a fund for the discharge of the demands of the creditors, made it subservient to the rights of the Company; that the rights of the Company are primarily and necessarily the safety and protection of their territories; that the Court of Directors, although they connected the stipulation for the creditors with the arrangement prescribed for the defence of the Carnatic, consider the latter as the primary obligation, to which in cases of necessity all others must give way; that the agreement and treaty concluded with the Nabob, must be deemed one instrument only, of which the former is the commencement and the latter the conclusion; that the treaty entered into, is conformable to the prescriptions of the Act and to the orders of the Court of Directors, and that it has been formed upon fair and equitable principles, whether considered relatively to the contracting parties, or with regard to the revenues of the Nabob; and upon these grounds we deemed ourselves authorized

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to reject the exclusive claims advanced by the creditors, and refused to resign what by law, equity, and propriety we considered to be the rights of the Company,—or in other words, to sacrifice the funds granted for the protection of the State, to the accommodation of the creditors.

We have however reason to conclude, that the funds of the Nabob are sufficient to satisfy all demands upon him; that his interests have been consulted in the arrangement of 1787, is evident. The whole defence of the Carnatic now falls upon the Company, and the Nabob's proportion of the general contribution, amounts to nine lacs of pagodas only, instead of eighteen lacs, the annual amount of his military expenses before the last war.

As the conduct of the committee of creditors appeared to us highly intemperate, and disrespectful to the Government under which they served, calculated to destroy the subordination of the service, throw a contempt upon the Government, and embarrass its operations, we have not hesitated to express our thorough disapprobation of their conduct, and to recommend to the presidency of Fort St. George, to remove from their stations those servants who had joined in the measures which we thought so censurable, submitting their conduct to your particular notice.

We have, &c.

Minute of Earl Cornwallis.

Fort William, June 16, 1788.

The Governor-General in Council having taken into his most serious consideration the communications which have been received from Sir Arch. Campbell, Hydrabad, and the coast of Malabar, now records his sentiments upon them, as preparatory to the final resolutions to be passed on the subject of the Guntoor Circars, and to the instructions necessary to be sent to Captain Kennaway.[1]

The material difference in the political situation of affairs between the present period and the last year, when the claim of the surrender of Guntoor was under discussion, has been already adverted to. The pacification established in Europe between the Courts of England and Versailles, has removed the principal ground of apprehension formerly entertained, on account of the intrigues of

[1] Captain, afterwards Sir John Kennaway, Bart., so created Feb. 25, 1791; b. March 6, 1758, d. Jan. 1, 1836; m. Feb. 18, 1797, Charlotte, dau. and coheir of James Amyatt, Esq., M.P. He was afterwards Aide-de-camp to Lord Cornwallis, and was one of his most confidential agents.

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the French with Tippoo and the Nizam, and of their interference with a view to promote or assist hostilities.

Our knowledge of the views and situation of the different Powers of Hindostan is also more perfect and satisfactory, and the intermediate time which has elapsed, has afforded us an opportunity of improving our friendly intercourse with the Maratta State, and of putting our forces and preparations on the coast of Coromandel on the most respectable footing. The principle which connects the interests of the Company at their different Presidencies is now better established, and it must be apparent to the different States of Hindostan, that the whole are regulated by one rule of unanimity and co-operation. In addition to which, the Board have certain expectation of the arrival of very large reinforcements from Europe in the course of six weeks or two months.

With respect to Tippoo, the Board have no reason to conclude that he is either better prepared, or more inclined to hostilities now, than he was at the close of the last year. Every movement of a formidable power, naturally creates alarm in those whose situation exposes them to danger from it. And it is upon this principle alone, that the apprehensions suggested in the correspondence now under consideration, particularly by the Rajah of Travancore, must be accounted for. In tracing the various intelligence progressively from the earliest to the latest dates, the alarms at first entertained and then augmented, appear to have gradually subsided. If the intelligence of Zim-ul-Aldien,[1] communicated through Mr. Malet, can be depended upon, it admits of one general conclusion, favourable to the views of the Board at present,—that the discontent prevailing among the principal officers of Tippoo's army is general and deeply rooted; and this conclusion seems warranted and confirmed by other intelligence of a more general nature.

The Nizam is certainly ill-prepared for war, and by disposition adverse to it; and though he might possibly have been induced at a former period, from the active zeal of French negociators and the encouragement of Tippoo, to try the chance of it rather than part with the Guntoor in perpetuity, the present circumstances render such an idea very improbable. The establishment of peace in Europe must have convinced him that no assistance can be now derived from the French, and the expectations which they probably led him to entertain, can no longer have any weight with him.

[1] Zim ul Aldien, or more properly, Zain-ul-Abu-din, gave important information to the English. He was brother of Mirza Shuffee Khan, one of the most powerful of the Mogul chiefs, who was Prime Minister to Shah Alem in 1782. Mirza Shuffee Khan was murdered by Afrasiab Khan in 1783, who was in his turn murdered next year by Zain-ul-Abu-din.

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The accounts of his connexion with Tippoo, appear to rest upon a very uncertain foundation, and whatever advances he may have made, have more probably been suggested by the fears of that prince, than by any desire of establishing a close alliance with him. The interposition of the French between these two princes and an assurance of their active support, might have produced a connexion hostile to the English interests; but without some such encouraging motive, it is more natural to conclude that the Nizam will not hazard the loss of the friendship and support of his old allies the Marattas, which we have every reason to believe would be the infallible consequence of his forming an alliance with Tippoo.

These reflections are suggested to the Board, by the information lately laid before them, of the negotiations carried on by the Nizam and Tippoo, and which, if just, can have no weight in altering or rescinding their late resolutions.

The state of the Nizam Government, as far as we can collect from the intelligence transmitted, appears to be disordered, and his late demand upon the Jaigheerdan to have created much discontent.

The recovery of the Guntoor, can in reason afford no pretence for the interference of Tippoo. If prepared for a war and determined upon it, he will never want a pretext nor will he wait for it. His conduct towards the Marattas since his pacification with them, has afforded them great disgust and discontent, and it is a very improbable supposition, that under such circumstances, and deprived of all expectations of assistance from the French, he will be induced, from a consideration of the Nizam's co-operation alone, to attack our territories at a time when they are so well defended. He must naturally conclude that the Marattas would seize the opportunity afforded them by his being involved in a contest with us, to revenge the insults which he has offered to them since the last war. Neither are the military preparations of Tippoo, as far as we can judge, in a state of forwardness for an enterprise of this magnitude.

The arguments urged against the assertion of our claim to the Guntoor Circar are founded upon possibilities alone, which must exist at all periods. To admit these arguments in objection to the execution of the measure under the existing favourable circumstances, would be to renounce our rights for ever.

The Court of Directors have decided upon the recovery of the Guntoor; and the Board, being convinced that no period can occur in which this claim can be asserted with less risk to the interests of the Company than at present, do not deem themselves authorized to suspend that determination. It is only incumbent upon them

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in the execution of the measure, to act with caution and moderation.

Resolved, therefore, that the following additional instructions be communicated to Captain Kennaway to the completion of the object of his negotiation.

EARL CORNWALLIS' ULTIMATE INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN JOHN KENNAWAY, DEPUTED TO HYDRABAD.

Fort William, June 16, 1788.—*See* Appendix, No. 20.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO C. W. MALET, ESQ.

SIR, Calcutta, June 18, 1788.

I have received your letters dated 26th April, 5th and 12th May.

Whatever grounds there may be to doubt the veracity of some parts of the information conveyed to you by Zim-al-Abadieng, of which a copy was enclosed in your first letter, it must be admitted that his own account of his transactions bears considerable marks of industry and ingenuity. But I approve entirely of your answer to him, and you will please to repeat that he is to contract no engagements in our name, nor to enter into intrigues with any of the chiefs under Tippoo's authority; and at the same time explicitly state to him, that useful observations on the forces and government and the characters of the principal people belonging to Tippoo, with as much authentic information as possible of his designs and of the movements of his troops, are at present the only services that will be expected from him.

I have said in former letters, that, provided he gives you unequivocal proofs of his zeal and attachment, I have no objection, not only to your affording him a moderate pecuniary assistance at present, but even to your giving him an assurance of the friendly disposition and protection of this Government. . . .

From the assurances that I have received from Major Palmer, of Scindia's having uniformly comprehended with great correctness the nature of our present policy and the general tendency of our propositions to the Marattas, and from the late vague message transmitted to you from the Minister upon the pretext of the arrival of a vakeel from the Nizam, I am perfectly persuaded that Nana has designedly misrepresented Scindia's communications to him of the substance of his conferences with Major Palmer, with a view to discover, in his discussions with you, whether you possessed

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power to contract engagements more conformable to his wishes than those which you had proposed.

This style of conduct proceeds evidently from the natural propensity to duplicity in the Brahmin administration which you have so often described; but, instead of following their example, it will be most becoming on our part, without any appearance of anger or resentment for what has passed, to continue to act with our usual openness and candour.

It is however of importance for our reputation as well as satisfaction, that your explanations, assisted by Scindia's and his vakeel's statements of the nature of his conferences with Major Palmer, should remove every pretext from the Minister, to express a doubt of the consistency of the principles upon which we have negotiated with the different Maratta chiefs, or of the sincerity of our general professions of friendship for the Maratta State. But as I begin to apprehend that by continuing to press him for a return to those voluntary offers of assistance which we formerly made, we may create in minds so prone to distrust, suspicions either that we are conscious of some internal weakness, or that our European differences are not completely settled, I should at present be content with the above acknowledgment.

You will therefore take an early opportunity to hold a conference of this tendency with Nana, and whilst you will be at pains to conduct it with the utmost good humour and complacency, you may say that you observe from the general tenour of my letters, that, as our conditional offer of assistance proceeded from an unaffected friendly concern in this Government for the welfare of the Marattas, I certainly did entertain hopes that they would not have been backward in giving proofs of a similar cordiality; but that having experienced so many scruples and delays on their part, I am unwilling to importune them with further solicitations, and that you are therefore instructed to do everything in your power to cultivate the harmony and general good understanding which subsists between the two Governments, but, instead of repeating applications that have hitherto proved so fruitless, to wait with patience until from their own feelings and the suggestions of their good sense, they shall see the liberality and propriety of acceding to our propositions.

You will no doubt be aware that without great caution in the choice of your expressions, it may be difficult to convey the above sentiments to Nana, without creating a suspicion in his mind either of our friendship having cooled, or of our political system and views being totally changed.

You are therefore at liberty to withhold the declaration of our

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intention, if you have reason to apprehend the above consequences from it, but at the same time you are to desist from pressing the Minister with further solicitations, and leave it entirely with himself to revive the negotiation if he thinks proper.

You may, however, take some favourable occasion to remind him, that although it is the general system of this Government to live in peace, if possible, with all our neighbours in India, no pains will be spared to preserve our armies and finances in constant readiness to resent injuries or provocations that may be wantonly offered by our enemies, or to give every protection or assistance that can be reasonably expected by our friends.

Upon the footing on which the present Instruction will place you with the Poonah administration, it would not be expedient to cultivate a close connexion or to act in concert with Scindia's vakeel, except in giving the necessary explanations of the conformity of Major Palmer's propositions with those that you made about the same time to Nana. But you will take every opportunity to express great attention to the vakeel, and a warm concern for the interests and prosperity of his master. . . .

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

MAJOR-GENERAL GRENVILLE TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received July, 1788.]

MY DEAR LORD, No. 17, Sackville Street, Dec. 20, 1787.

I am afraid you will have but too much reason to accuse me of being a bad correspondent, but having been for these last three months in the country, I have had little or no news to communicate to you since our arrival here in the month of August. As I do not know into what hands this letter may possibly fall, in the long journey it has to make, I cannot venture to give you so *full* an account of *our*[1] proceedings in this part of the world as I could wish to do, though I am afraid there are certain parts of *our* conduct which would by no means meet with your approbation. We are totally guided by ——,[2] and thoroughly initiated into all the extravagances and debaucheries of this most *virtuous* metropolis. Our visits to Windsor are less frequent, and I am afraid will at last be totally given up. I flatter myself still, however, with the hopes that when the first burst is passed, some little reflection will come to our assistance, and we shall perceive before *it is too late*, that we

[1] The Duke of York.

[2] The Prince of Wales. Blank in orig.

are losing ourselves in the eyes of the world, and throwing away the finest game that ever man had presented to him. If the Dutch affairs had not been terminated so gloriously for this country, and a war had taken place, His Royal Highness would most likely have employed his talent and constitution to more noble purposes. He has asked the King's leave to make a campaign with the Russian army, in case the war should go on with the Turks. I understand however, that the King has given him a flat refusal, alleging that he could gain but little knowledge in his profession from the manœuvres and discipline of a Russian army, from the method they are obliged to adopt in fighting the Turks; and that it might possibly be thought, from his situation in this country, that England took a pretty strong part in favour of the side on which his Royal Highness fought. The Duke however, proposes to return to the charge, but I believe without any great prospect of success. Nothing can exceed the unanimity which prevails at present in this country, and the approbation which all parties seem to give to the measures which Ministry have pursued in putting an end to the Dutch business; the great good luck which attended the Duke of Brunswick [1] in his military operations against the city of Amsterdam, would surprise you if you was to see the difficulties which he had to encounter, and which nothing but their bad conduct and the confusion which reigned amongst them, of which the Duke took immediate advantage, could possibly have surmounted; as he had no train of artillery with him to force the strong passes upon the dikes, and the several very strong fortified places, which they were so good as to abandon without making the smallest resistance, and without any reason for so doing. In short, my dear Lord, by the measures taken here and by our well-timed armament,[2] we have saved Holland to this country, and have extricated her out of the hands of France, and all this at the trifling expense of beneath 400,000*l*. How glorious for our young Minister!

The ruinous state of the French finances, and the distraction which reigns amongst all classes of men in that kingdom, seems to insure us a much longer respite from war than we should otherwise have had. . . . I look with great impatience to the expiration of your exile, and hope to see you return in good health, and with

[1] Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, succeeded his father March 26, 1780; b. Oct. 9, 1735, d. Nov. 10, 1806, of wounds received at the battle of Jena, Oct. 14 previous; m. Jan. 16, 1764, Princess Augusta, sister of George III.

[2] A secret convention was signed Oct. 2, 1787, between England and Prussia for the support of the Stadtholder. The former Power was bound, if required, to furnish 40 men-of-war, and some preparations were made towards carrying out that engagement. *See* Malmesbury Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 339.

the satisfaction of having done an essential service to your country and to the poor inhabitants of the Eastern world. . . .

Believe me, &c.,

R. G.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Private.] Received July 19, 1788.

MY DEAR LORD, India Office, March 6, 1788.

. . . I write merely to mention to you, that we have got a good deal of faction at the India House. The handle of it is the four regiments going to India, which the Directors at first received with thankfulness, but now decline by a small majority to receive, because of the injury thereby done to their officers, and the cry thereby created has made a considerable impression. It is without solid foundation, because there is every disposition on our part to do them justice, as it is impossible not to feel that the supercession by the King's army must be very grating to them. The real fact is, that we have waited impatiently for your Report on the subject, because we think it will be favourable to the Indian officers; and backed by your authority, who are yourself high in the King's service, it would add a great strength to our opinions. They will probably give way when the Act passes; but in the mean time the Court of Directors would not give a passage to the King's troops on board their ships, and disputed our right of paying them when in India. This laid us under the necessity of bringing in the Declaratory Bill, of which I send you a copy as brought in, and also with the amendments made in the Commons. It will pass[1] in a few days. We had a violent debate on it last night, which continued till eight o'clock this morning, and we shall have another to-morrow on the Report of the Bill from the Committee. I take it for granted papers and letters will be sent out to endeavour to inflame your army, but their good sense and your authority will disappoint any such wicked views. I have time to trouble you with no more, but will write fully by the next ship.

Believe me, &c.,

HENRY DUNDAS.

[1] This Bill was warmly opposed, especially by Lord Lansdowne. It however passed the Commons March 14, the Lords the 19th, and received the Royal Assent by commission on the 20th. *See* Mr. Dundas's despatch, March 26, Lord Lansdowne's letter of April 5, and General Grant's of April 6.

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H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF WALES TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received July 24, 1788.]

MY DEAR CORNWALLIS, Carlton House, March 12, 1788.

Tho' I am sensible how much your time is taken up, I cannot help troubling you with a few lines on a subject I have already mentioned to you. Having understood that the India Directors have sent a species of order to have young Treves removed from his present situation and feeling myself much interested in this young man's welfare, I cannot help 1st recalling to your mind that I took the liberty some time ago, of recommending him particularly to your protection, and only hope that if his conduct has not been improper in his situation, you would not admit of his being an innocent sufferer. I trust to your goodness in forgiving the trouble I am now giving you, and that if any application is necessary to the subject here at home, you will be kind enough to inform me how I am to make it myself, or else I must trouble you once more in begging you to make it yourself for me and in my name. I am ever happy in any opportunity that offers itself of recalling myself to your recollection and in assuring you how sincerely I remain

Your sincere friend

GEORGE P.

WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received July 26, 1788.]

MY LORD, London, March 26, 1788.

I have had the honour to receive a letter from your Lordship by one of the ships of the last year. I return you many thanks for the attention which you have shown to my recommendations, and especially for your kindness to my old domestics, who, I hope, will prove themselves worthy of it by their fidelity and attachment.

I hear with pleasure from all quarters, and even from the disappointed, testimonies of the highest approbation bestowed on your Lordship's administration, and sincerely hope that you will meet with the due return of justice and gratitude from your country. My example holds out no encouragement for the exertion of a zeal beyond the bounds of prescribed duty; but I give your Lordship credit for a mind that does not require external impulses; and I do yet believe that there is a spirit of national honour subsisting in this kingdom, which will ultimately prevail against all

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the efforts of a faction, however supported by powerful combinations, respected talents, popular influence, or the baseness of political connivance. I do not apply this observation to my own case, which is submitted (and I thank God for it) to a surer test.

I have, &c.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO MAJOR PALMER.

SIR, Calcutta, Aug. 16, 1788.

. . . I approve of the orders which you have given to your agent at Delhi, and have at present no further instructions to transmit to you on the subject.

I do not think that, under our present orders from the Court of Directors, and the existing Acts of Parliament, we should be justified by the late violent proceedings of Golaum Kadir Khan in interfering in the disturbances of the Upper Provinces, nor do I see that we are called upon to do it, either by motives of honour or interest, or even of humanity.

The unfortunate Shah has been long since in fact deposed; without power, money, or troops, he has been a wretched pageant in the hands of the Prince or State which happened at the time to be the most powerful of his neighbours. If we should now free him from Golaum Kadir Khan, unless we could give him an army and a permanent fund for the payment of it, he would immediately again become the slave and perhaps the prisoner of some other tyrant.

I have signified to the widows and children of the late Prince Jehaunder Shah,[1] that they may remain under our protection at Benares during the present unhappy situation of their family.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO C. W. MALET, ESQ.

SIR, Calcutta, Aug. 18, 1788.

. . . The information communicated in your letter dated the 28th of June, could not fail of giving me the most cordial satisfaction.

The voluntary offer of the Poonah administration to join in the war against Tippoo, upon the supposition that he had forced us to a rupture by committing hostilities against our ally the Rajah of

[1] Eldest son of Shah Alem.

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Travancore, places this Government on as advantageous political ground with the Peshwa as I could wish or expect; and I think myself bound in justice to you to declare, that I am entirely persuaded that the prudence and good sense with which you have conducted your various conferences with the ministers, must have greatly contributed to dispose them to go beyond the bounds of their usual caution, by taking a step so decidedly favourable to our public honour and to our substantial interests.

You will have seen the instructions that I transmitted to the Government of Bombay, in consequence of the insult offered to the settlement of Tellicherry, by Tippoo's tributary the Rajah of Cherika.[1] I thought it proper likewise to write to Tippoo himself upon that occasion; and I considered it necessary for the dignity of this Government, to declare to him in explicit terms, that although I was sincerely desirous to live in peace and tranquillity with all our neighbours in this country, I was at the same time perfectly determined not to suffer the smallest injury or insult from any power whatever to the Company's territories or to those of their allies, to pass unresented.

That I had therefore sent orders to punish the Rajah of Cherika, and that as the Rajah is one of his tributaries, I expected that he would give his aid to chastise him for this act of temerity and injustice.

I have been lately informed that the Rajah died suddenly a short time ago, and I do not think it probable that Tippoo will venture to support the hostile measure in which the Rajah had embarked. But should he be rash enough to force us into a war, the Marattas will have a fair opportunity, and they shall have every reasonable encouragement, to act in concert with us against him in the manner that they proposed, whilst they believed that a rupture had become unavoidable by his attacking the possessions of the Rajah of Travancore.

The instructions already in your possession, will be sufficient for your guidance in all preliminary arrangements, even if a breach with Tippoo shall actually take place. As no European power could have a pretext to interfere in a quarrel in which he would clearly be the aggressor, we should have no real occasion to express much anxiety about the co-operation of the Marattas, and it would be still less necessary to submit to any inconvenient terms as the price of it.

Such a war from the situation of our respective dominions, would be so extensive and complicated, that it would require some

[1] A petty Hindoo Prince on the Malabar coast. He had endeavoured, in March, 1786, to seize by force the island of Darnapatam, which belonged to the settlement of Tellicherry; d. June 1788.

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time, and a great deal of correspondence, to arrange a distinct plan for carrying it on.

If the Marattas should agree immediately on the events taking place, to declare openly against Tippoo, I should readily enter into engagements not to make peace with him without communication with them, nor without giving their interests the most friendly consideration.

In communicating this declaration, you will be careful not to afford any grounds for a construction, that we will bind ourselves not to make peace without the consent of the Maratta ministers, as that might involve us in a continuation of the war beyond what prudence or policy might warrant, and the Marattas would without doubt anxiously avail themselves of such a declaration, to persist in demanding and procuring the full restitution of all that Tippoo or his father may have ever taken from them. . . .

It will be proper on every occasion to discourage all hopes in the Poonah Ministers, of our entering into any negotiation for the surrender of Salsette to the Peshwa, until they are inclined to begin as a preliminary, with an offer of some liberal equivalent for it.

Should any opening occur in any future transactions amongst the Maratta Chiefs, to enable them to make propositions in the name of the Rajah of Berar, for ceding upon certain conditions the district of Cuttack to the Company, I should be very ready to listen to them; and as that district is much more valuable than Salsette, I should willingly pay in ready money whatever sum might, upon a fair investigation, be found to be a reasonable value of the difference between the two possessions.

The value of Cuttack to the Company, would principally consist in its rendering the communication complete between Bengal and our dominions in the Carnatic; and it must be admitted to be but a precarious tenure for the Rajah of Berar, as in case of a serious quarrel arising between the two Governments, we could wrest it from him with the greatest facility. . . .

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Private.] Received Aug. 25, 1788.

MY DEAR LORD, Wimbledon, March 26, 1788.

I wrote to you a few lines on the 6th of this month, relative to the Declaratory Bill then depending: since that, the Bill has

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passed and our Indian politics are again at rest. I can assure you it was not the case for more than two months. The dispute first began among the Court of Directors, after the cessation of the apprehensions of an immediate war. While that was in dependence, they were exceedingly happy to receive the four regiments that were proffered to them, and likewise felt, or appeared to feel, extremely happy in the gift that was bestowed on their officers, by the appointment of half the officers from their army. But when the prospect of war was over, they found out they could have raised an additional European force without the aid of the King or any King's officers. But this did not gain credit to their opposition, both because they were unable to raise recruits for the supply of their army, and because their recruiting service is not so popular as to enable them to raise a cry upon that foundation. They were however more successful in their next topic, which was the hardship brought on the officers of their army by so great an additional number of King's troops, whereby the grievance of supercession was greatly increased. As there was real justice in this complaint, and it was inflamed by all the connexions of the Indian army, it was made the subject of discussion in General Courts of Proprietors, and detached from us many of the very steady adherents of Government on other occasions. It was our earnest wish to have postponed any decision on the relative rank of the King's and Company's officers till the 'Ravensworth' should arrive, in which ship your Lordship had promised your sentiments; but she is not yet arrived, and the clamour became so urgent both in the Court of Proprietors and in the House of Commons, and in the opinions of the public at large as well as in our own feelings, it became impossible to postpone this subject longer. Mr. Pitt and I took the part of the Company's officers. They had met in a body here, and entrusted their business and common interests to a committee; with them we had meetings, and, without troubling you with a detail of all the particulars, we soon discovered that nothing would be satisfactory but a communication of brevet rank to the Company's officers by King's commissions, and withdrawing the local brevet ranks which had always been felt as the great leading grievance, but, although uniformly complained of by addresses and remonstrances since the peace, had never been redressed. . . .

Although this contest at first began among the Directors and Proprietors of India Stock, yet it was too tempting a bait not to be snatched at by higher powers. It became a complete Opposition question, and brought forth all the secret foes and lukewarm friends of Government. The Lord Marquis of Lansdowne rode one

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of the first horses, and it would have amused you in the House of Lords, to have seen him sitting between Lord Stormont and Lord Loughborough, and they all hugging and complimenting each other. It proved however all in vain; the Bill was carried with a high hand in both Houses of Parliament, and the Court of Proprietors of India Stock have had several meetings called by factious proprietors, but in place of gaining their end or being able to keep up any flame, the proprietors have three to one negatived all their motions, and proved to the world in the most unequivocal manner, that their confidence is firm and unshaken in the present system of Indian Government.

I duly attended to what you write relative to the bad state of the recruiting service of the East India Company. I have urged them again and again to take the benefit of Carisbrooke Castle as a depôt for their recruits, and continue during the whole year a regular system of recruiting, in place of doing it in the slovenly and disgraceful manner it is at present done, immediately previous to the sailing of their ships. This erroneous system of recruiting has been brought so much under observation in the late discussions upon the military establishment of India, that I have little doubt of being able to bring the Directors to give it a serious consideration. If they will not be induced to do it by persuasion, I must have recourse to Parliament for compulsion. . . . Your native regiments may be kept as low as you please, because in the case of emergency, the privates can be easily recruited, but the case is different with regard to the European part of an Indian army. It must be kept on its war complement, for in the case of hostilities in Europe (which will always lead to hostilities in India) you will probably be obliged to trust to the European force as now settled; as in proportion recruits are wanted for service at home, it becomes more difficult to find them for service in our distant possessions. This is the great principle which prevailed in settling the European army as specified in the Declaratory Act, and I trust it is of a nature, if well recruited and disciplined, to keep all our rivals, European and native, in awe of disturbing the peace of India. . . .

I have nothing further to trouble you with at present, but remain,

Yours, &c.,

HENRY DUNDAS.

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RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Private.] Received Aug. 25, 1788.

MY DEAR LORD, Wimbledon, March 31, 1788.

. . . I take it for granted our despatches in August last giving an account of the state of European politics and the subsequent appearances of war, have kept you a good deal in a state of anxiety. The termination of these apprehensions by the transactions in Holland, has of course raised greatly the credit of this country in Europe. I flatter myself the effect of them will operate greatly on the face of our affairs in the East. A connexion between Holland and us in India, and the dissolution of the French connexion with that republic, are most important events with a view to the strength and permanency of our possessions and power in Hindostan. The final alliance between the Dutch and us is not yet concluded, but I hope it will soon; and a European alliance between us and the Dutch, will probably soon be followed by an Indian alliance for our mutual security there. The great anxiety of Holland is the security of their spice trade, and the restoration of Negapatnam, neither of which are objects to us; but on the other hand, we felt the want of Trincomale in the course of last war so materially to affect our interests in India, it must be our principal, and indeed our only object in an alliance with the Dutch respecting India, to secure ourselves against the danger of our ever being deprived of the use of the harbour of Trincomale, in the event of a future war. That point secured, and a moderation and economy free from corruption adhered to with regard to our Indian Empire, I am most sanguine in looking forward to the state of India a few years hence.

Believe me, &c.,

HENRY DUNDAS.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Private.] Received Aug. 25, 1788.

MY DEAR LORD, Wimbledon, April 5, 1788.

Sir John Macpherson had taken his passage on board the 'Airly Castle,' and came here a few days ago to ask my commands for India. He imagined, without any just cause however, that there had been a coldness on my part to him. He came to an explanation on this head, in which I was of necessity induced to explain to him, that he could not look to succeed to your situation in any given case that could be supposed. This led to further

explanation, in the course of which I gave him an opening to state to me his real feelings as to returning again to India. In truth, my Lord, I did not wish him to return, for it never appeared to me possible that after the situation he had held, he could sit cordially to a Board, to co-operate in systems many of which might be different from his own. I stated these ideas to Mr. Pitt in many conversations; he entirely concurred with me in thinking, that if it was necessary to give him a handsome allowance at home to prevent the untoward circumstances of his return, it was well worth the compensation. It will end in that way.[1] At present his departure is retarded in consequence of a suggestion from me, that it would be expedient for him not to go till the 'Ravensworth's' despatches were maturely considered, but the intention, although not yet communicated to anybody, is that he should not go at all. Whenever the choice of the Directors is over, which at present occupies the attention of Leadenhall Street, the proposition must in some shape be brought forward. I hope we shall have no difficulty with regard to his successor. From all your letters I see Anderson[2] is the person you wish; I suspect he would not at the present moment choose to go. If the report of the world is true, that he is soon to be married to a very pretty young woman in Scotland, I take it for granted his love of India will subside. If he does not go, I am much disposed to wish the Court of Directors not to make any appointment immediately, but to wait for your opinion on the subject, which can be asked either officially, or by private letter. Be that as it will, I wish you to transmit to me a list of such persons as you think qualified in all respects to fill up the vacancies that may occur, for there can be no difficulty of having them appointed as vacancies may actually happen.

I do not think that I have any more to trouble you with on this subject, and remain, as ever

Yours, &c.,

HENRY DUNDAS.

P.S. I am sure, both from the style of your letters and Mr. Shore's, you will approve of my ideas respecting Sir John Macpherson.

[1] He received in three instalments, between March 1789, and March 1790, 15,301*l.* 7*s.*, and June 21, 1809, a pension of 1000*l.* was also conferred on him, on his assigning to the Company a claim he had of 10,000*l.* on the Nabob of the Carnatic.

[2] David Anderson, b. Feb. 10, 1751, d. Aug. 2, 1825; m. Aug. 14, 1788, Hester Christina, dau. of Robert Findlay, Esq., M.D., of Drummore.

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MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Aug. 25, 1788.]

MY DEAR LORD, London, April 5, 1788.

. . . The winter has been taken up with Hastings's trial, which has hitherto proved as frivolous as it promises to be endless. There has been a good deal of discussion about the Declaratory Bill, the unpopularity of which has been thrown upon Dundas, who, from the language of all descriptions, will find it difficult if not impossible, to preserve his hold upon India.

As to foreign news, I will own to you in confidence, that I am very apprehensive of the consequence of all that we have been doing in the summer. We have mortified the French, and driven them into a variety of close connexions, the effects of which we may have to feel, while on our side we have been able to do very little to counteract what may happen. In Holland we have alienated the majority, and depend upon a minority more devoted to Prussia than to us. The French make the strongest professions words can express of their devotion to a pacific system, and have recourse to every argument private and public to convince us that they are determined not to profit directly or indirectly by the downfall of the Turks, whenever it happens; but though I know the Archbishop of Toulouse and those about him very well, and respect their character and their principles, I can never believe such professions, so that I shall not be surprised to hear of some general partition, or that we may be driven to a war to prevent one by which we may be affected. I should however add, that I am singular in my opinions, and would not trouble you with them, if I was not aware that it is agreeable to anybody at a distance to hear different opinions. You must not imagine that mine arises from any dislike to Government, for I never was more completely unconnected with every party.

I am much obliged to you my dear Lord, for your attention to the persons I mentioned to you. The Kennaways are friend's friends, being recommended to me by Sir Robert Palk;[1] but I am glad to hear they have merit, which he assured me they had; but I shall be excessively obliged to you if you can put Fombelle[2] into some good situation, as I knew him from his infancy, educated him

[1] Sir Robert Palk, Bart., so created June 19, 1772; b. Dec. 1717, d. May 1798; m. Feb. 7, 1761, Anne, dau. of Arthur Vansittart, Esq., of Shottesbrook. He was Governor of Madras for several years. M.P. for Ashburton from 1767 to 1768, and from Nov. 1774 to March, 1787.

[2] John Fombelle, b. Sept. 11, 1763, d. Nov. 24, 1849; m. 1st, 1785, Miss Coates, 2nd, Miss Crisp. He filled various offices: the last he held was Judge of the Sudder Adawlut.

myself, and can be answerable to you for his steadiness and integrity.

Your Lordship's partiality to Lord Wycombe[1] since he was born, will make you glad to hear that he is returned from abroad everything we could wish, and promises to be a great blessing to us.

I wish you, my dear Lord, a continuance of good health, and have no doubt of your augmenting the reputation which, without a compliment, you have universally acquired.

I am, &c.,

LANSDOWNE.

In a subsequent letter dated three days later, Lord Lansdowne says that he has it from good authority that the French have no wish to disturb the peace, and that Spain entirely agrees with them on Northern politics; that Russia will be satisfied with Otchakoff, but that Austria is still anxious for war.

He also mentions rumours respecting the King's wish to make some changes in the Ministry, and says that the Opposition[2] think the Government must fall to pieces.

GENERAL GRANT TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Aug. 25, 1788.]

MY DEAR LORD, Sackville Street, April 6, 1788.

The long expected 'Ravensworth,' after a tedious passage of five months, arrived in the end of March, with pleasing accounts from yourself to your friends, and to me in particular.

The reports of your administration which have been transmitted to individuals, are full of approbation and applause. I have not heard the most distant surmise of a grievance; they say there are no fortunes to be made in India, and that gentlemen in their present situations cannot afford to live in the expensive way they formerly did; but as your reforms have been general, without favour or partiality, being convinced of the propriety, they submit; but I have only heard of the necessity of the case from yourself, as you say the unfortunate Princes have not a rupee left. The Indians used to account for their numbers diminishing, by saying

[1] John Henry Earl of Wycombe, afterwards, May 7, 1805, 2nd Marquis of Lansdowne; b. Dec. 6, 1765, d. Nov. 15, 1809; m. May 27, 1805, Maria Arabella, dau. of —— Maddock, Esq., and widow of Sir Duke Giffard, Bart., of Castle Jordan. M.P. for Wycombe from March, 1786, to June, 1802.

[2] The Opposition expected to defeat Government upon the Declaratory Bill. There was no foundation for the rumour that the King wished any change in the Ministry.

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that the breath of the white people did not agree with them, and your Eastern sovereigns will say with equal truth, that their gold and silver coins have hitherto melted away under the touch of a single European Resident, without the aid and assistance of military Collectors.

I do not think that the affairs in Europe bear so peaceable an aspect as they do in Asia; the Emperor and Russia are at war with the Turks; Spain and the Princes in Barbary are arming;[1] a Proclamation has been issued to prevent our seamen from entering into foreign service; and Thornton,[2] a Russian merchant and agent, is not allowed to hire transports for the Russian service; he may buy as many ships as he pleases, but those ships must be navigated from the British ports by foreigners, and the Russians have already said that their fleet is not to pass through the Channel. If that fleet cannot get into the Mediterranean,[3] the plan against the Turks must fail, as the two Imperial armies cannot be supplied with provisions, and must of course fall back upon Poland; if they are disappointed in their schemes, Russia will probably resent the part which has been taken by this Court and is universally approved of, as a good return for the Armed Neutrality.[4] The Emperor's subjects in the Low Countries are dissatisfied;[5] you know they are obstinate, and 'tis said they are ready for mischief and will give him trouble. The French are marching large bodies of troops to that frontier. Our treaty with Holland[6] was some time ago said to be finally concluded; but it met with a hitch from the remains of the French party, and has been delayed; but that is a conjecture on my part, for it is still thought to be decided upon, though it has not taken place, and of course the peerage for Sir James Harris has been postponed till the Treaty is signed and sealed. Eden goes to Spain;[7] he has already left Paris; he was

[1] The Spanish armament effected nothing against Barbary.

[2] The Thornton family were closely connected with Russian trade. Six of them were assistants of the Russian Company; among them Robert, afterwards M.P. for Colchester; Henry (Mr. Wilberforce's great friend), M.P. for Southwark, and Samuel, M.P. for Hull.

[3] The Russian fleet did not enter the Mediterranean. Even then the command of the sea was evidently considered indispensable to the success of a campaign against Turkey.

[4] One object of the Armed Neutrality in 1780, was to enforce the doctrines that free ships made free goods, and that vessels under convoy could not be searched. Notwithstanding the union of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark (joined afterwards by Prussia and Holland) to effect this object, it failed so completely, that the Empress Catherine, conversing with Sir James Harris, called it the "armed nullity."

[5] The attempts of the Emperor Joseph to alter the constitutions of the several provinces of the Low Countries, and the violence with which his proposed reforms were enforced by the Governor, Count Trautsmandorff, created a ferment, which broke out in open rebellion June, 1787, and was put down with much difficulty and considerable loss of life. The existing constitutions had been guaranteed by England and Holland.

[6] This treaty was signed April 15, 1788. Sir James Harris was created a Baron Sept. 19 following.

[7] He had been appointed to that post Aug. 18, 1787. Though still M.P. for Heytesbury, he was averse to appearing in the House of Commons, where he knew he would

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offered the Red Riband, as I have been told, but he declined the honour, as he flatters himself with a peerage when Sir James Harris is made. And as Eden has no fortune, and has lived very expensively at Paris, he probably expects to support the dignity by following Lord Dorchester's example in the pension way. At any rate he prefers any climate to the House of Commons.

The Dukes of Dorset and Northumberland[1] get the two vacant Blue Ribands, the Minister not being anxious to adorn his own person; he probably thinks he may wait for another opportunity, though lately, when everything was perfectly quiet and a number of confidential members were in the country, there was a storm raised by the India Directors and Proprietors, and increased by a clamour from all your East India officers and their relations, inflamed underhand by the Marquis of Lansdowne, and brought forward in the House of Commons with great ability by Fox and Sheridan, in opposition to the Declaratory Bill framed by the Minister to explain the powers vested in the Board of Control by the Act of 1784, upon the Directors refusing to receive the new raised regiments on board their ships; in course of the debates, which continued for several days, a number of members appeared to be wheeling, and I believe Opposition were sanguine in their expectations of oversetting the Ministry, when Mr. Pitt put everything to rights by recommitting the Bill, and adding some very conciliatory clauses which pleased the House and the public, though the alarming powers remain the same. Our friend Dundas was violently attacked and rather overmatched for a day, but he returned to the charge and is ready to fight another day. Upon the whole, Mr. Pitt never has had such a push made against him; it was thought necessary to call in the outposts, and the auxiliary troops were brought from Scotland.[2] . . .

At the Irish Club we have been honoured with the presence of the Prince of Wales and Duke of York, who are reciprocally obliged to one another; the Prince has taught the Duke to *drink*

be ill received by his former political associates, Fox and his friends.

[1] The Duke of Northumberland had been a warm supporter of Mr. Pitt, but suddenly abandoned him because he was not made Master-General of the Ordnance. On a subsequent occasion he acted in a similar manner, and was therefore attacked in the 'Anti-Jacobin.' One stanza was—

> "Excise and Customs, Church and Law,
> I've begged from Master Rose,
> The Garter too, but still the Blues
> I'll have, or I'll oppose."

He was not appointed Colonel of the Blues till Dec. 30, 1806, and resigned them Dec. 1812, in consequence of a political quarrel with Lord Liverpool. He was succeeded in that regiment by the Duke of Wellington.

[2] There were several important divisions during the progress of the Bill, March 3, 5, 7, and 12. The numbers were, 242 to 118, 182 to 125, 182 to 115, 210 to 122, and 127 to 73. It is probable that the concessions made by Mr. Pitt, though practically of little value, saved him from defeat. In the Lords the majorities varied from 45 to 76, the minorities, 18 to 32.

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in the most liberal and copious way, and the Duke in return has been equally successful in teaching his brother to lose his money at all sorts of play—Quinze, Hazard, &c.—to the amount as we are told, of very large sums in favour of India General Smith[1] and Admiral Pigot,[2] who both wanted it very much. These play parties have chiefly taken place at a new Club, formed this winter by the Prince of Wales in opposition to Brookes's, because Tarleton and Jack Payne,[3] proposed by His Royal Highness, were black-balled. The Club by way of distinction, as there are so many of them in St. James's Street, passes under the name of the Dover House.[4] Goldsworthy,[5] who neither spends or loses his money, gets a step as Clerk Marshal and First Equerry, with a house and three hundred a-year of additions, by the death of Carpenter.[6] Lord Howard[7] got the regiment, as his troop of Grenadier Guards is reduced. Northumberland declines both pension and regiment; but he certainly wants something, and is not pleased though he gets the Duke of Rutland's riband; he wanted his father's, but that being contrary to rule was not agreed to, though in fact it was tantamount, as it was not given away till another fell. My reason for saying that he is not quite pleased, is because Rainsford,[8] who is brought in by

[1] Major-General Smith, d. July 3, 1803. M.P. for Wendover and Wareham from Oct. 1780 to June 1790; elected for Hindon in 1774 and 1775; twice turned out for bribery, for which he was prosecuted and convicted. He was commonly called Hyder Ali, whence his son, reckoned the best whist-player of the day, got the name of Tippoo.

[2] Hugh Pigot, Admiral of the White, brother of George, only Lord Pigot; b. May 28, 1722, d. Dec. 15, 1793; m. 1st, Elizabeth, dau. of Peter le Neve, Esq.; 2nd, June 20, 1769, Frances, dau. of the Rev. Sir Richard Wrottesley. He superseded Lord Rodney in 1782. A Lord of the Admiralty from March, 1782, to Dec. 1783; M.P. for Penryn from May, 1768, to June, 1774, and for Bridgenorth from Feb. 1778, to March, 1784.

[3] John Willot Payne, always known as Jack Payne, afterwards a Rear-Admiral, brother of Ralph, only Lord Lavington; b. 1752, d. Dec. 17, 1803; unmarried. He was a confidential friend of the Prince of Wales, who made him successively his Private Secretary, Comptroller of his Household, Auditor-General of the Duchy of Cornwall, and Lord Warden of the Stannaries. In 1800 he was made Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital. M.P. for the borough of Huntingdon from May, 1787, to 1796.

[4] It was situated where Fenton's hotel now (1857) stands. It was kept by Weltzie (who had been house-steward to the Prince of Wales), by whose name it was afterwards called. It was there that Lord Barrymore received two black balls more than there were members in the room; and Weltzie, upon being called to explain, said, "I did put in two black balls myself, lest he should come in, and ruin my club."

[5] Colonel, afterwards Lieut.-General Philip Goldsworthy, and Colonel 1st Dragoons; d. Jan. 3, 1801. M.P. for Wilton from Jan. 1785 to Feb. 1788, and from Jan. 1794 till his death. He had been about Court as an Equerry or Clerk-Marshal from 1778 to 1801, and was much in the confidence of George III., to whom he had been aide-de-camp.

[6] General Benjamin Carpenter, son of Col. Carpenter, 3rd Guards, who was killed at Fontenoy; Colonel 4th Dragoons, b. 1713, drowned himself in the Serpentine March 8, 1788; m. Miss Kerr. Equerry to the King, 1761, and Clerk-Marshal, 1771.

[7] John, 7th Lord Howard de Walden, K.B., Field-Marshal and Colonel 4th Dragoons; b. Feb. 20, 1719, d. May 25, 1797; m. 1st, March 9, 1749, Anne, dau. of Baron Schutz, and 2nd, June 11, 1765, Catherine, dau. of William Clayton, Esq., of Harleyford. Created Sept. 5, 1788, Baron Braybrooke, with remainder to his distant relation Richard Aldworth Neville, Esq., whose son Richard is now (1857) 3rd Lord Braybrooke. M.P. for Andover from Nov. 1749 till he became a peer.

[8] Lieut.-General, afterwards General Charles Rainsford, Colonel 44th Regiment;

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Lord Lovaine,[1] did not vote with the administration in the late India business; he did not vote against, and he told me that he did not attend, because his friends did not like the Declaratory Bill; that is not direct opposition, but it is not the language of what Dick calls good politeness.

Hastings's trial was at first well attended, all the members of the House of Commons in their places. The fine women could not exist out of Westminster Hall, and everybody who could procure a ticket[2] was there, and did not think it a hardship to go down at eight in the morning to get a good place, and to wait quietly being so seated for four or five hours before the trial came on; it was the object of the day and the constant conversation in every company; but during the holidays and since the recess, you hear no more of Hastings than of an American battle. The trial is hard upon the poor man; he sits at the bar to hear himself most illiberally abused, is and must have been put to great expense, and from what has appeared and been said, though he may not be to blame, yet a something will stick in the minds of many people; and though he should neither be fined or confined, and should in a great measure be acquitted of every charge which is brought against him, as every part of his conduct for a series of years has been so minutely examined, and no allowance made by his prosecutors for the difference of government, laws, and customs in the Eastern and Western worlds, he never can be restored to the same situation he was in before the impeachment commenced; and he certainly in a great measure owes his misfortunes to the mistaken zeal of his friend Major Scott,[3] who bullied Burke into the *persecution*. But the trial is to

b. 1727, d. May 24, 1809; m. twice; 2nd, Feb. 16, 1789, Anne Cornwallis, dau. of Sir More Molyneux, Bart., Groom of the Bedchamber to the Duke of Gloucester. M.P. for Malden from Nov. 1773 to June, 1774; for Berealston from Jan. 1787 to Dec. 1788; and for Newport (Cornwall) from Sept. 1790 to May, 1796. He was in the battle of Fontenoy.

[1] Algernon, 2nd Lord Lovaine (son of Hugh, 1st Duke of Northumberland), made Earl of Beverley, Nov. 2, 1790; b. Jan. 21, 1750, d. Oct. 21, 1830; m. June 8, 1775, Isabella Susanna, sister of Peter, 1st Lord Gwydyr. M.P. for Northumberland from Nov. 1774 till he succeeded to his title, June 6, 1786. He inherited from his father, besides Berealston which he kept, Warrington Castle and the two boroughs of Newport and Launceston, all which he sold to his brother. He was one of the detenus in France, and resided at Moulins from the rupture of the Peace of Amiens till 1814.

[2] Twenty guineas were occasionally given for a ticket, and as much as fifty to hear Sheridan's Begum speech. *See* Walpole to Mr. Barrett, June 5, 1788.

[3] John Scott, a Major in the East India Company's service, whom Lord Macaulay truly describes as Hastings's most injudicious friend and agent; b. 1747, d. May 5, 1819; m. 1st, Maria, dau. of Jacob Hughes, Esq., of Cashel; she had been on the stage; 2nd, Elizabeth, dau. of Alexander Blackrie, Esq., of Bromley; and 3rd, Mrs. Esten, the actress, then a widow, but who had long been notorious for her gallantries:

> "Still she is young, and still she 's fair,
> Our cheers and plaudits sharing,
> And though well known for ages past,
> She 's not the worse for *wearing*."

Major Scott had previously taken the name of Waring for the estate of Ince in Cheshire. M.P. for West Looe from May, 1784, to June, 1790, then for Stockbridge, but was turned out on petition, in 1793, and ordered to be prosecuted for bribery.

come on again on the 10th, the Peers must return to town, much contrary to the inclination of some of them, but particularly to the mortification of the Duke of Bridgwater,[1] who has been looking after his canal in Lancashire; but both Houses are so tired of the trial, that I dare say Sir Elijah Impey is perfectly safe. Sir John Macpherson[2] went through the ceremony of securing a passage, without an intention of going to India, though he is empowered by the Directors to return if he pleases, as he made it appear to them that he left Bengal on account of his health. What his plan is, I know not; but I am pretty sure that nothing is fixed—it will probably end in a pension; what the quantum will be I know not, but in the opinion of the Minister, if I am not misinformed, a locum tenens is not to be considered upon the same footing with a Governor-General. He has upon Petrie's[3] prosecution been found guilty of bribery, and fined three thousand pounds, which they say at the India House renders him incapable of being a justice of the peace, and of course should operate more forcibly against his being a member of the Supreme Council. I believe his fortune is very inconsiderable, and he is said to be an expensive man. The pension talked of is from a thousand to two thousand a-year.[4] . . . Poor Rigby, the best friend, and most cheerful pleasant companion, has been ill for several months, and is breathing his last at Bath without the least hopes of recovery. Indeed I expect every morning when the post comes in, to hear of his death. . . .

I said a great deal to you in my last letter about law promotions: they still remain impatient expectants in the same situations. Lord Mansfield continues to stop the way; he lives in hopes of quarter-day and receives his salary; he is not likely to die, and is not inclined to let other people live, for the two Crown lawyers seldom have a brief in their pockets. Buller has had two paralytic strokes, and had not been able for some time to attend the business of King's Bench. The other judges do not choose to decide in great causes, and several of them have been put off upon that account.

[1] Francis, 3rd and last Duke of Bridgewater, b. May 31, 1736, d. unmarried, March 8, 1803.

[2] It is quite clear Sir John never really intended to return to India, but threatened to do so, that he might obtain some pecuniary reward. His election for Cricklade had been declared void on the ground of bribery. Between 50 and 60 of his supporters had been convicted of that offence, and 82 actions had been brought against him, which he avoided by going abroad.

[3] Samuel Petrie had been Sir J. Macpherson's opponent at Cricklade. Numerous prosecutions, commencing in 1781, arose out of the Cricklade elections; in one Mr. Pitt was counsel. Mr. Petrie obtained verdicts against Lord Porchester, Sir J. Macpherson, Mr. Bristow, and Mr. Barwell for 53,500*l.*, but was prosecuted and convicted in his turn. A Bill was brought in, in consequence of these elections, for extending the limits of the Borough to the adjacent Hundreds.

[4] *See* antè, letter of Mr. Dundas, April 5.

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People have become impatient, many hints are given in newspapers for retirements, but the Chief Justice keeps his ground. . . .

Believe me, &c.,

JAMES GRANT.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Private.] Received Aug. 25, 1788.

MY DEAR LORD, Wimbledon, April 7, 1788.

. . . On the eve of the ship's now sailing, I can do no more than express the satisfaction I feel in the good you are doing to your country and the credit you are gaining to yourself, by your unremitting industry and attention to the welfare of the British empire in India. If it is any satisfaction to you to hear it, I can with perfect truth assure your Lordship, that full justice is done to you in all quarters.

There are two particulars in your private letters, which I think it right not to omit this first opportunity of answering. First, that part of your letter where you say that the Company's officers ought not to have King's commissions. But your Lordship will observe that in the mode which has been adopted, your objection does not operate; for the brevet commissions which your Lordship is to grant under the Warrant given from the King to you, is only an accessory to the Company's commission, and therefore, if in the usual mode of dismissing these officers from the Company's service, their Company's commissions become vacated, the King's brevet of course becomes of no effect, so that there is no danger either of disregarding the civil authority, or making appeals to the King against the acts of authority exercised by you on the spot. I trust, therefore, the mode which has been adopted will meet with your entire approbation, and will enable you to carry your commands with éclat over a harmonious and united army. I am glad your idea of not giving King's commissions to the Company's officers was only mentioned in your private letter to me, and not in your public letter. In all respects your public letter was just what I would have wished. It comes too very opportunely, for if you had wrote it on purpose, it could not have been more entirely calculated to support all our reasonings, and refute all the reasonings of our opponents in the late discussions on the military establishments in India. The other point I wish to advert to is, the uneasiness you seem to feel on account of the illiberality of the Directors with regard to the appointments of their servants, and

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your apprehensions that they will undo some of the arrangements you have made. I beg you to set your mind at ease on that subject. I do not recollect, till I have time to look over the despatches to which you allude, what are the particulars you find fault with, but I shall take care that they be reconsidered, and probably a discretion opened to you with respect to these salaries which have been found fault with. . . . I do not mean to take any particular credit to myself in that respect, for I would do injustice to the Court of Directors if I was not to assure you, that their respect for you is of a nature that does not require any spur from me. I wish I could say the same with regard to Sir Archibald Campbell, whose merit, great as it is, does not meet with justice in that quarter. *We* all feel of him as your Lordship does, and will give him thorough support. . . . Believe me, &c.,

HENRY DUNDAS.

MAJOR-GENERAL GRENVILLE TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Aug. 25, 1788.]

MY DEAR LORD, Sackville Street, April 10, 1788.

I have just received the favour of your letter of the 6th of July, and rejoice most sincerely to hear that everything goes on so well in your part of the world, and that you enjoy your health, though at the expense of a very troublesome complaint,[1] which is however, the more supportable, as it is a certain mark of an excellent constitution and will most probably secure you from more serious illnesses. I hope you will have received before this the letter which I wrote to you in January, wherein I gave you a short account of *our* proceedings since our return to this country. I am sorry to say that we still go on at a most furious rate, and I cannot but lament most sincerely certain parts of our conduct, which I hope we shall correct *before it is too late*. That very strong passion for gaming which I always foresaw would be the rock which we should most likely split upon, has broke out with all the violence I apprehended, and the too frequent opportunities which offer for indulging it, fill me with the most serious apprehensions. What a pity it is, that with such excellent parts, and with a disposition calculated to make everybody about him happy and contented, he should be so led away by his passions, as to lose the finest game that ever presented itself to a person of his rank and situation! I do not however, by any means despair; many things may

[1] The gout, to which Lord Cornwallis was subject.

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happen, which by taking him out of this state of dissipation (which we have all in some degree experienced), may give a new turn to his mind, and make him see things in their true light.

I shall now, my dear Lord, attempt to give you some little sketch of what is going on in this part of the world, but as I am no great politician, and no ways let into the secret, I am afraid I shall do nothing more than repeat what you will receive in many other letters, and much better than I am able to give it. The principal subject of conversation before Easter, rolled chiefly upon Mr. Hastings's trial, and on Mr. Pitt's Declaratory Act, concerning the power invested in the Board of Control to interfere in the direction of East India affairs; the Minister however carried his point, but agreed to insert some clauses which might serve to check any abuse of the power granted by the first Bill. How far this agreed with the opinions of some of his colleagues I know not; it is reported that there were some dissentients upon the occasion. In regard to Mr. Hastings's trial, which re-commences on the 20th instant, the very violent (and, in my opinion, illiberal) manner in which the prosecution is carried on, has disgusted many people; the very harsh expressions which Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Grey made use of in opening the different charges against him, shocked and offended many people, even those who were prejudiced against Mr. Hastings; how and when it will end the Lord knows. He must, however, be something more than man, if, in the course of such very weighty transactions, some faults, both of head and perhaps of heart, may not be sifted out, especially where so much pains and such extraordinary talents are employed to unravel and detect them.

I wish I could send you any authentic intelligence of continental politics. I flatter myself however, that His Royal Highness will set aside a leisure hour to answer your last letter to him, which he had the goodness to show me, and as I believe he still keeps up a pretty close correspondence with my friend Ewart and some other foreign correspondents, he will be better able to send that kind of information to you than I am. The report at present is, that Spain means to oppose the entrance of the Russian fleet into the Mediterranean, but I am apt to think, from what I can collect, that this rumour is by no means well substantiated; at least we do not appear to be in the least alarmed here, or in a hurry to take any steps to be prepared on our part. We wait with great impatience to hear from the two imperial armies. It is rather too early in the year for any very active operations in that part of the world, as the crops are not as yet advanced enough to feed such

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large bodies of cavalry, &c., and I believe they will find great difficulty in establishing magazines to enable them to push on with vigour through a country, which has not any very great resources within itself. I am rather inclined to wish, politically, for the Turk, as I do not relish much the idea of any material aggrandizement in favour of Austria and Russia. . . .

I shall now, my dear Lord, take leave of you for the present without trespassing any longer upon your patience. It is a long time to look forward to the year 1791; I am, however, too good a citizen to consult my own feelings where they clash with the public good. I am thoroughly convinced that you have the sincere wishes of all honest people on your side of the water, and I can venture to assure you, that I do not believe there is a single dissentient voice here, in doing every justice to your conduct and endeavours to effect the great object you have in view. May I beg leave to trouble you with my best respects to Colonel Ross.

Believe me, &c.,

R. GRENVILLE.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO COLONEL MACLEOD.

[Private.]

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Aug. 31, 1788.

I shall not begin with the common cant of desiring you not to be vexed at the late orders from England—every man of feeling must be sensibly affected by them; but still, when you consider that the abolition of the local rank was a matter of compulsion and not of choice, although the injury exists, it will be some satisfaction to you to reflect that it was occasioned by untoward circumstances only, and that H. M. had no intention to do injustice to officers who had a claim to so much favour at his hands.

The opposition to the sending out the four King's regiments, and to the Declaratory Bill, was unexpected by Government and rapid in its progress; it not only threatened to overset that necessary measure, but once more to storm the closet. Your own observation of the Parliamentary proceedings in England, must convince you that at such times resistance is vain, and that the greatest kings must temporise or submit.

It was impossible to make an exception in favour of the field-officers holding local rank now in India, as the arrival of others senior to them in their respective ranks, must have occasioned daily embarrassments.

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To quote precedents of similar hardships gives but cold comfort; but in America in the year 1780, all the lieut.-colonels were superseded by the Provincial colonels, whom they had commanded four years in the same ranks; and Lieut.-Colonel Webster, who was second in command under me with the corps serving in South Carolina, was at once superseded and actually commanded by Lord Rawdon, who was at the time a much younger lieut.-colonel in the King's service than himself; and this happened in the face of the enemy.

It gives me pleasure, at all events, that you will retain your present command for another year; it will then be prudent for you to take your family home, and you are so near the head of the list of lieut.-colonels, that I hope it will not be long before you will receive some substantial reparation.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO H. S. H. THE DUKE OF BRUNSWICK.

SIR, Calcutta, Sept. 1788.

The extraordinary kindness and confidence with which your Highness honoured me when I had the pleasure of paying my respects to you in the year 1785, were so very gratifying to me, and made so strong an impression on my mind, that I looked forward with the most earnest hopes to the possibility of my serving with a body of English troops in an army under your command.

Amongst the many objections which occurred to me against undertaking the arduous task which my King and country imposed upon me, the consideration that I must relinquish this flattering prospect was one of the most forcible; and when I heard that your Highness was marching into Holland, I would most gladly have sacrificed all the dazzling situations that Asia could hold forth, for the honour of attending you.

The wisdom and vigour of your measures, and your rapid and brilliant success, have, for a time at least, given peace to the western part of Europe, and have again called forth that universal applause and admiration, which your Highness has so often received and so justly merited.

May I beg that you will believe that no person can take a more earnest part than myself in everything that concerns your glory and happiness, and that I am, with the most sincere attachment and respect, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

[Private and Confidential.]

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Nov. 1, 1788.

Before I state the complaints which I have to make on my part and on the part of this Government, I think it is right to premise, that I am convinced you never intended to give grounds for them, and that I attribute the share you had in some measures which are, and others which were likely to have been, distressing and degrading to me, to the hurry of the business in which you were engaged, and to your not being sufficiently on your guard against the workings of subtle and persevering intrigue; perhaps by these last expressions you will already guess that my grievances are Sir J. Macpherson and Colonel J. Murray.[1] That the former does not return to India, is indeed a fortunate event; but his being officially permitted to return, and his having been within a few days of embarking, has had an effect not easily to be removed. What must the people in this country, either Europeans or natives, imagine? They have seen that our measures have been as widely different, as I trust they believe our dispositions and characters to be. Will they not be astonished that the same ruling power should approve of both? I need not pursue this subject any further, and state how probable it must appear to every one that he was to succeed to my situation, and how much that prospect would weaken Government in supporting all our internal arrangements, as well as shake the confidence of the native powers. The next question was, Why does Mr. Dundas let him return? Why does he not tell him, when he talks of grievances and pensions, that he may think himself well off that he is not impeached? That he was guilty of a breach of an Act of Parliament in the offer which he made of aid to the Poonah Government; and that he was guilty of basely degrading the national character, by the quibbles and lies which he made use of to evade the performance of it. That his Government was a system of the dirtiest jobbing; that besides a number of other stipulations, he bought General Sloper's vote by making Mr. —— give a quarter of the plunder of —— to Mr. ——; and that his conduct in Oude was as impeachable, and more disgusting to the Vizier, than Mr. Hastings's.

Whatever difficulties I may have had hitherto in giving an answer to this question, I will endeavour to do it in this letter.

[1] Colonel, afterwards Sir John M'Gregor Murray, Bart., so created June 23, 1795; b. 1745, d. June 29, 1822; m. April 10, 1775, Anne, dau. of Roderick M'Leod, Esq., and sister of Lord Bannatyne. During the war with Tippoo, Colonel Murray exerted himself so much as to obtain the marked approbation of Lord Cornwallis.

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Mr. Dundas chose to believe a report which, if he had been at the trouble of inquiring, he must have been soon convinced could have no sort of foundation, that Lord Cornwallis, at the age of forty-nine, forgetting the serious task which he had undertaken, and forgetting likewise his grey hairs and rheumatism, had married a girl of sixteen. If this had been true, no very flattering hopes could have been indulged respecting the future conduct of the Governor-General, and it is not probable that Sir J. Macpherson's coming out could have done any material harm, as Lord Cornwallis's Government would have been in no great danger of being either weakened or degraded. But as Mr. Dundas was pretty deeply interested in the ultimate success of our affairs in India, I cannot help thinking that it would have been prudent in him to have taken pains to trace the rise and progress of this report. If he had done so, he would soon have discovered that it originated solely with Sir J. Macpherson, who told more than one person that I could name, that, *although he did not himself believe it*, he had seen a letter that came through France which mentioned it as a fact; and who said in the hearing of Colonel Musgrave, that he thought it very likely to be true, from the attention which Lord C. had shown to the lady before he left Bengal.[1]

So much for Sir J. Macpherson and the marriage; let us now proceed to our great reformer Colonel John Murray.

That gentleman and his brothers[2] have been long famous in this settlement for their spirit of intrigue, and their able and successful perseverance in all jobs where their interest was concerned. These talents being more useful than either amiable or engaging, the consequence of them has been, that the Murray family is pretty generally detested in this country. Although very few of Colonel Murray's retrenchments could ever be realised, and that he took much more credit for them than he deserved, yet he is certainly a man of sense and of business, and by no means a bad military Auditor-General, and if I had not thought that my friend Robinson exceeded him in ability, industry, and impartiality, I should not have been sorry to have seen him appointed to that office. But

[1] The lady was a Miss Philpot, who was residing with her brother, an officer of artillery.

[2] He had three brothers: Alexander, b. 1747, d. July 17, 1822; m. 1st, Frances, dau. of Major Pascall; 2nd, Grace, d. of — Hay, Esq., and widow of Colonel Macpherson. After his return from India, he commanded the Clan Alpine Fencibles and the Highland Edinburgh Volunteers. Peter, killed Aug. 3, 1803, in an action in the Chops of the Channel, between a French frigate and the 'Lord Nelson,' on board of which he was returning home; m. Eliza, dau. of — Tuting, Esq. He had been Adjutant-General to the Bengal Army with the rank of Colonel. Robert, b. 1750, d. 1831, m. 1798, Barbara, d. of Roderick Mackensie, Esq., of Fairburn, and widow of Kenneth Murchison, Esq., of Taradale. She was mother of Sir Roderick Murchison.

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his resuming the employment, and pretending by a juggle between him and Macpherson in wording the resolution, that he had not resigned it when he went home, which is contrary to all the rules of the service and highly prejudicial to it, and above all, his rank of Colonel and his deliberative seat at the Supreme Council, are to me matters of very serious concern and mortification.

The real rank of Colonel by the Act of 1784, he cannot legally have; but it has hurt me very much when I am ordered to take away that rank from such men as Colonels Macleod, Floyd, Stuart,[1] and Elphinstone,[2] to notify a young captain, even as a nominal Colonel, who never did a day's military duty in his life that I ever heard of.

His deliberative seat with the power of recording his opinions, as it for the time undoubtedly makes him a member of the Supreme Board, is I conceive, absolutely illegal, for he is not duly appointed a member of Council, and cannot by law; as he is not a civil servant, and the Council is by Act of Parliament restricted to a Governor-General and three Counsellors. It makes besides, a total want of confidence in the members of Government, and after the unwearied, and I trust, the successful pains that I have taken to regulate and check the military expenditure, is in the greatest degree insulting and degrading to them. The precedent is taken from a most infamous job that was done before the Supreme Government was established by law, for a very great rascal, and in the most rascally times. . . .

I must earnestly request for your own sake, as well as the satisfaction of the army, and the credit of this Government, that his rank of colonel and his deliberative seat may, if possible, be recalled. I shall state my objections to both, but with great caution and without touching upon their illegality, to the Court of Directors.

Considering my private letters to be addressed to you and Mr. Pitt only, I beg you will both be assured that I firmly believe nothing was further from your wishes than to occasion any embarrassment to me, and that you are sorry that in four or five months, you did not employ some persons to find out whether any vessel or overland packet had brought information to any part of Europe, of my having committed such an act of levity as marrying Miss Philpot.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Lieut.-Colonel James Stuart, of Blairhall, 72nd Regiment, afterwards a General, and Colonel 72nd Regiment; b. 1759, d. April, 1815.

[2] Lieut.-Colonel John Elphinstone, 71st Regiment, d. July 26, 1791.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

Calcutta, Nov. 3, 1788.—*See* Appendix, No. 21.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Nov. 4, 1788.

By the letters which came in the 'Airly Castle,' it has given me pleasure to see that the despatches of the 'Ravensworth' have not only been agreeable to the Court of Directors, but convenient to Administration.

Wishing, as I most cordially do, prosperity to my country and credit to its present rulers, I shall feel sincerely happy if any efforts of mine can materially contribute to the accomplishment of both those objects; and I have been particularly careful in my letters to the Court of Directors, to avoid any expressions that in their present humour with the Board of Control, might occasion embarrassment.

You will observe that we did not lose time in availing ourselves of the advantages which your success in Europe had given us; for we received the account of it on the 1st of April, and Captain Kennaway began his journey to Hydrabad in the beginning of May. My friend Sir Archibald saw more difficulties and dangers than I did on this occasion, but I was too strongly convinced of my being in the right, to give up my opinion to any man. It will be a great relief to me to have got over this unpleasant business of the Guntoor, which has been a weight upon my mind ever since I have been in India.

By fairness of dealing and a proper attention to our dignity, we have brought the Marattas to propose to us the very thing that I was last year so strongly *urged* from Madras, to ask of them. Although it is rather voluminous, I must hope you will read over the correspondence between Mr. Malet and myself. You will, I am sure, agree with me in thinking that his able conduct and unremitted attention deserve particular notice.

My inclination not to thwart the Marattas in their views upon Gingera[1] will not, perhaps, be popular at Bombay, where old

[1] Gingera, or Jingeera, a small island strongly fortified, in the harbour of Dhunda Rajepoor. It had long been held, sometimes with considerable possessions on the main land, by a family of African descent, called Seedee, who had maintained themselves principally by piracy, and though often attacked by the Marathas, had never been subdued. In 1762 Seedee Yakoot got possession of the government, to the prejudice of Seedee Abdool Rahim, who was supposed to be the rightful heir. The former was supported by the English, the latter by the Peshwa, at whose court he took refuge. A compromise between the rival chiefs was made by themselves as to the future possession of the state, but it was not

prejudices remain, long after the causes of them have ceased; but in the present circumstances of the Siddee family I do not see that we have any right to interfere, and I think we go full as far as we ought, in requiring a provision for Balla Meah and his brother, after they have voluntarily put themselves under the protection of the Marattas.

You may be assured that I shall act with caution about Salsette, and make no final agreement without a reference to the Court of Directors. From the proposal which Nana has made for the exchange of it, I cannot believe that he is in earnest about it.

The indignity to which Macpherson patiently submitted in March, 1786, from the Rajah of Cherika, encouraged him, or rather Tippoo through his means, to take from the settlement of Tellicherry by force the island of Darmapatam in June last. That affair is now I hope, in a way of being amicably and honourably settled, and then I should be very glad to get rid of Tellicherry itself. That place is not now of the smallest use to our commerce; it is impossible, as I understand, to penetrate into Tippoo's country directly from thence; and although it made a long defence last war from being very ill attacked, yet it is so weak a post, as to be for ever liable to be carried by a coup-de-main, and the ground lies so inconveniently, that even if it was worth the expense it would be impossible to make it a place of strength.

There have been frequent alarms about Tippoo's designs on Travancore, and the Rajah has been very much frightened. He applied to Sir Archibald for some of our officers to discipline his troops, but to that proposal I gave the most determined negative, as that measure has everywhere in this country been the source of the grossest iniquity. Sir Archibald is however of opinion, that if we could get rid of Tellicherry, it would be advisable to fix a station for three or four native battalions on the sea line, near and just within the frontiers of the Travancore country, where, he says, the position would be so strong, that it would be difficult for Tippoo's whole force to molest them, and of course that it would effectually secure the Rajah's territories. . . .

We go on very well with the French, and I have had a friendly correspondence with General Conway: he professes not to intrigue

honourably carried out, as Abdool Rahim at his death in 1784, bequeathed, in contravention of the arrangements, the principality to his eldest son, Abdool Kureem Khan, commonly called Balloo Meah, the person mentioned in the text. After much negotiation, and some perfidy on the part of the Marathas, the latter by an agreement signed June 6, 1791, gave, under the guarantee of the Company, Balloo Meah and his brother a tract of land near Surat, for which they surrendered all claim on their patrimonial estates. The Peshwa obtained possession of all on the main land, but the independence of the little island of Gingera survived the empire of the Peshwas.

with the native powers. Although I may not give implicit faith to that assertion, I have no reason to believe that he has any desire at present, to begin any mischief in this country. I have likewise just received a very civil letter from the Governor of Batavia, who declares himself a friend to the present Government in Holland, and very desirous of cultivating an amicable intercourse with the English. You may depend on my doing my part, and preventing as much as I can our eastern traders from getting into any disputes with the Dutch. . . .

The loss of poor Cathcart is a very serious misfortune. I wish, as the object of his embassy was quite public in India, that it could, in the event of his death, have been entrusted to some other person; but I take it for granted that you had reasons for determining otherwise. . . .

I hope your treaty with Spain is in a good way. Two merchants came this year from Manilla, and brought dollars: I paid them all possible attention, and told them if they did not like to borrow colours another time, I should, in spite of an obsolete treaty, show respect to those of Spain. I wish you would look into that old treaty prohibiting their coming into our Indian ports, and see if it cannot be altered. . . .

I never had any conversation or private correspondence with you on the subject of the Nabob of Arcot's creditors, yet I can have no doubt that we must think alike about them, and that you only consented that their fraudulent and infamous claims should be put into any course of payment, because you could not help it. I have thoroughly supported Sir Archibald, and I think the arguments in my minute are incontrovertible. We have sent home Paul Benfield,[1] but whilst the senior counsellor is a principal creditor, the cause will not want support. You may make the wisest laws, and send out the ablest instructions for the government of India, but they will be of little service unless you can get good governors, and a proportion, at least, of good counsellors. This you will ever find to be the most difficult part of your business. I am frightened about Medows; he has begun by a most precipitate act,[2] which will prejudice every man in the

[1] Paul Benfield, b. 1740, d. April, 1810, at Paris, in narrow circumstances; m. Mary Frances, dau. of Henry Swinburne, Esq., of Hemsterley, the author. His connexion with the Nabob of Arcot, and his large, probably not very legitimate, claims upon the latter, were brought before Parliament on several occasions, but he escaped all serious animadversion. He was afterwards a partner in the well-known house of Boyd and Benfield. M.P. for Cricklade, Oct. 1780 to March, 1784; for Malmesbury, Jan. 1790 to Feb. 1792; then for Shaftesbury to June, 1802. He was considered one of the Nabob's six members.

[2] He had appointed three King's officers to staff appointments, which could only be held by Company's officers. The correspondence with Lord Cornwallis is missing, that with Colonel Ross exists.

Company's service against him, and which shows that he has not been at the trouble to inform himself of the most common rules of the service. I enclose a copy of the letter which I have written to him on the subject; and if I find when he gets to Madras, that he is not inclined to apply himself to business, I will advise him to ask leave to return.

I doubt your being able to persevere in the military line in your choice of governors. I love Abercromby,[1] and know him to be a man of the strictest honour and integrity, but unless I should be encouraged by very good accounts from Bombay, I should have great doubts of his succeeding in the ticklish and complicated government of Madras. The properest man by far amongst my military friends for an East India governor is Colonel Fox, and if he was to come to Bengal in the months of August or September, '90, I would make him pretty much master of the business of this country, by the 1st of January, 1791. There would however, be a difficulty about his being Commander-in-Chief, if any of the other governors were seniors to him in the army, and it could only be remedied by their submitting to let him have superior local rank. I have before mentioned the names of some others, and particularly Colonel Thomas Dundas, and I really do not know whom to add to my list.

I am not without my cares about our council here. I fear Mr. Shore's bad health will drive him home this year; he is so reduced that I hardly dare press him to stay. In that event, I must recommend in the strongest manner that Mr. J. Duncan may succeed him; and I shall certainly call him into council after Shore's departure, if Macpherson's vacancy should be notified to us without any successor being appointed, although it would grieve me to take him this year from Benares. Next to Shore, he is by far the ablest man in the revenue line, and, indeed the fittest in every respect. The only person senior to him in that line who could have been thought of has almost entirely lost his eyesight, and has not been able to attend the Board of Revenue for the last twelvemonth. . . .

My most worthy and valuable friend Mr. Charles Grant can, I fear, on no account be prevailed on to stay longer than next year; indeed, I believe it is only in consequence of my earnest entreaties that he remains so long. If he could be tempted by being a Supreme Counsellor, to superintend the Company's com-

[1] Colonel, afterwards General Sir Robert Abercromby, G.C.B., Colonel 75th Regiment; b. Oct. 1740, d. unmarried, Nov. 3, 1827, being then the Senior General in the service. He was taken at Yorktown with Lord Cornwallis. M.P. for the county of Clackmannan from Feb. 1798 to June, 1802.

mercial concerns for a year or two beyond the period which he has fixed for retiring, my duty would oblige me to name him before Larkins, and the latter would be reasonable enough to see the necessity. . . .

Poor —— is, I think, the weakest man I ever met with in any public station; he sits like an automaton when all public business is transacted, and would do more harm in the Government in six months, than I have been able to do good in two years. He has no will of his own, and his friends are unluckily the worst men in the settlement; but, although we are on very good terms, he is too much afraid of me to venture now to take any part in their favour.

You will see by the returns, that I guessed pretty right about the Company's officers going into the King's service. I am sorry likewise to observe that I was more in the right than you, about the remittances that were to be made from Bengal to the other presidencies. This produces an important question which I wish to submit to the serious consideration of yourself and Mr. Pitt. Of what use is the civil establishment at Bombay? I should conceive that a small factory there, and another at Surat from the Bengal or Madras establishments, would answer every purpose. Although we have appropriated the whole surplus revenue of Benares and Bahar to the support of Bombay, we are obliged to send many lacs thither from Calcutta. . . .

Why we should have a council, and senior and junior merchants, factors, and writers, to load one ship in the year and to collect a very small revenue, appears to me perfectly incomprehensible. It is nearly an equal absurdity, though upon a smaller scale, to have an establishment that costs near 40,000*l.* a-year at Bencoolen, to facilitate the purchase of one cargo of pepper. It is however asserted, that Bencoolen pays its own expenses, and, although I may doubt the fact, I am not prepared absolutely to deny it. No material reduction of expense or increase of revenue can take place in Bengal, nor I believe at Madras; perhaps the Northern Circars might be better managed, but I fear the failure of the payments from the Nabob of Arcot and Rajah of Tanjore is much more certain. Unless therefore we can make some considerable reductions at the other settlements, how are we to grow richer?

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE.

Fort William, Nov. 4, 1788.—*See* Appendix, No. 22.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT.

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Nov. 6, 1788.

The accounts which you will receive by this conveyance, of our affairs in India, will I trust, on the whole, prove satisfactory to you.

The state of our finances, and the great remittances from Bengal to the other settlements, form the most disagreeable part of our despatches. I have mentioned to Mr. Dundas what appears to me the only resource.[1] The prospect of so great a change may at first sight appear rather too bold; but some measure must be adopted that will operate effectually. No reduction can be made in the civil establishment of Bengal that would in reality promote economy,—those persons who hold offices of great labour and great responsibility must be well paid, or they will for the most part betray their trust; and I do not think Sir J. Macpherson's plan of striking off 1000 rupees from a man's salary and adding 1200 to his establishment, will enrich the state; although by summing up all that is taken away, without mentioning the additions, it might send the Directors in great good humour from Leadenhall Street to the London Tavern.

I have reflected most seriously, and have conversed with the most sensible men in this country, on the utility of the civil establishment at Bombay, and I am perfectly convinced that the Company derive no benefit from it. I see two material obstacles to the abolition of it: the unwillingness of the Court of Directors to lose the appointment of so many writers, and the difficulty of overcoming prejudice and ancient habits. I am however well assured, that it will receive from you and Mr. Dundas the most candid and attentive consideration.

You will be concerned to see what I have been obliged to say to Mr. Dundas about my friend Medows: I have indeed been most severely mortified. It may have the appearance of presumption in me to say it, but I really do not know where you will find governors; and unless those at least of Bengal and Madras will apply in earnest to the business of the country, our Asiatic possessions cannot prosper. Mr. Dundas's idea of military men, and uniting the command, is a good one so long as military men can

[1] See despatch, Nov. 4.

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be found who are fit for it; but from my knowledge of the army, I cannot encourage you to suppose that it will furnish you with extensive choice.

I have had great advantages, and, besides the able and thoroughly upright assistance of Mr. Shore, I have given up my whole time and attention to business, and yet I have much to learn.

My wish that you should be perfectly prepared with a proper successor, has induced me to enter so fully on this subject. I would not condemn Medows entirely for one inadvertent act; he may do well, and prove himself fit for the office of Governor-General, but it is certainly very doubtful. If he should not succeed, I know no military man who is so likely to make a good Governor-General as Colonel Fox. You will see by my letter to Mr. Dundas that some military difficulties would attend his appointment, and perhaps there may be other circumstances that would render it improper.[1]

It might therefore be advisable, that you should look about for a Governor-General among your friends in the civil line. Any person with a good constitution, not much above 35, might reasonably expect to be able to hold the office long enough to save from his salary a very ample fortune. This he may accomplish in a few years in the most honourable manner. But to do justice to you and to his country, he must divest himself of every idea of patronage.

The climate here has had so little effect upon me, that I have great reason to hope that I shall be able to stay here till the beginning of January, 1791, the period for which I engaged. My time of life, and many other weighty considerations, render my longer continuance in India impossible.

As I am sure you feel as much interested as I do for the future success of the affairs of this country, I beg leave to suggest, that if you could send me a successor of abilities and character three or four months before my departure, I think I could give him such information both as to men and measures, as would prove most materially useful to him.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Colonel Fox was younger brother to Charles Fox, and though they differed in politics, the part taken by the latter on Indian matters, threw difficulties in the way of the nomination of the former to so high a post.

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THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

Fort William, Nov. 6, 1788.—*See* Appendix, No. 23.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.

MY DEAR LORD, Calcutta, Nov. 10, 1788.

I return you many thanks for your letters of the 5th and 8th of April, and am very glad my friend Motteux did not prevail upon you to send duplicates, which in time of peace is very unnecessary, unless you were to send bills of exchange, or some intelligence of very serious moment.

Everything here looks perfectly pacific; I have had a most friendly correspondence with Monsieur de Conway, who I really believe at *present* does not wish to stir up any mischief. And we have got the Guntoor, which we have so long claimed from the Nizam, without any danger of quarrelling with him, and without offending his friends and allies the Marattas, who declared to Mr. Malet, our Resident at Poonah, and to the Nizam himself, that they thought our claims were founded in justice, and that they ought to be complied with. We have had no accounts of the war between the two Imperial Crowns and the Porte, but I conceive that the former must succeed.

I am most sincerely sorry for the sufferings of poor Hastings. It is not fair to judge his conduct many years ago by the temper of the present times; he has certainly many great and amiable qualities, and he has been unfairly and cruelly persecuted.

The pleasing accounts I have heard from all quarters of Lord Wycombe give me the greatest satisfaction, and I most sincerely congratulate you upon the prospect of his turning out everything you could wish. I beg you will be so kind as to present my best respects to him.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO CAPTAIN KENNAWAY.

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Nov. 17, 1788.

. . . The success of the negotiation has in every respect been equal to my most sanguine expectations. I could not indeed have wished for a speedier or a happier issue of the most important object of your mission, the surrender of the Circar. And although it would have been more pleasant to have concluded the whole business at once, according to your liberal proposal, yet it

will be so easy for us to state the unreasonableness of His Highness's claims, that I have no doubt, after we receive an account of the collections usually realised, we shall be able to prove in the clearest manner, that by offering 8,30,000 rupees, we go beyond the strict letter of any treaty or obligation whatever. . . .

I shall receive the Nizam's vakeel with civility; the circumstance of his sending one for the first time to Calcutta immediately after his surrender of the Circar, will not tend to discredit us in Hindostan; and it may perhaps be convenient to both powers, to appear to be more connected than we really are; to His Highness it will probably be of substantial service, and this I think you may cautiously hint, when an opportunity offers, in your conversations with him or his minister.

The Poonah Government, Scindia, and the Rajah of Berar, have all expressed their sense of the justice of our demand, and their satisfaction at the Nizam's ready compliance.

I wish you to use every prudent means to establish a correspondence in Tippoo's country; I know it to be very difficult, but a favourable opportunity may offer, and in that event I would not be sparing of expense. . . .

I have received a letter for the Nizam, from Mr. Hastings, excusing himself from any neglect in endeavouring to procure an answer to His Highness's letter, which was transmitted to His Majesty.

Mr. Hastings has submitted to me the propriety of delivering his letter, to which I see no objection. You will therefore present it to His Highness, if you are of the same opinion; but you may defer doing it, if you think it can possibly be attended with any inconvenience.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR SAMUEL HANNAY,[1] BART.

SIR, Calcutta, Dec. 12, 1788.

. . . I have been favoured with your letter dated the 27th of March, 1788.

You say in that letter, that it is perfectly understood in England, that the Company will not permit the Nabob Vizier to pay his just debts, and that the resolution of the Supreme Board at Fort William, not to interfere in the Nabob's private debts, was

[1] Sir Samuel Hannay, Bart., of Mochrum, d. Dec., 1790. M.P. for Camelford from July, 1784, till his death.

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something more than a hint, and almost equal to a command to his Excellency not to pay them.

It is matter of great surprise to me, that so very extraordinary and unwarranted a construction should be put upon our resolution, which undoubtedly conveys neither hint nor command to the Nabob.

I do not know that this Government possesses any right to order the Vizier to pay or not to pay his private debts, nor do I believe the British Legislature would approve of any such interference. But even admitting that an undue influence could be exerted, still as those debts, whether just or otherwise, were certainly not contracted either by the order, or in any degree for the advantage of the Company, I do not think it can reasonably be expected that this Government should take any concern in the collection of them.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

DEAR SIR, Fort William, Dec. 18, 1788.

I was favoured yesterday with your letter dated the 20th ultimo, and I am exceedingly sorry to be obliged to own, that the part of it in which you mention your having given a sanction to the claim of the 71st Regiment for Madras batta, during their absence at Bombay, has given me the most sincere concern.

The inconveniences which the public service suffered during the late war, by the discontents which arose from the troops of the different Presidencies drawing different allowances, whilst they were employed in the same armies and upon the same services, are still fresh in the recollection of the military men of this country; and the Madras officers in particular, will easily remember how galling they felt their situation, by being exposed to the same dangers and fatigues as those belonging to the Bengal establishment serving in the Carnatic, at the time that their allowances were very inferior.

Long established usage, the total separation of promotion between the different establishments, and the local pursuits and advantages which the officers look to and sometimes obtain at their respective Presidencies, give some kind of plausible pretext for continuing this exceptionable practice in the Company's service. But the King's troops have no kind of ground for supporting similar claims; they are sent from Europe for the general service

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of India, and therefore cannot possibly be considered as belonging to any particular establishment at which they may be for some length of time, or accidentally employed. They are subject to the same military regulations, and they have the same ultimate objects in the service as they have a right to, and expect promotion in the general list of the army.

The consequence of putting troops of this description upon different allowances at the same station, and the clamour and discontent which must ensue, are so obvious, that it is scarcely necessary for me to desire you to consider what your situation would be with the King's troops now in the Carnatic, if the 73rd Regiment was ordered from hence to that Presidency, and if upon the ground of their belonging to this establishment, the same allowances were continued to them which they at present enjoy in Bengal.

Upon the principle of the 71st Regiment belonging to the Madras establishment, their right to demand the batta would have been the same if they had remained at Bombay, as it is now upon their return to Madras; and if they had received that batta at Bombay, I need not point out to your candour and good sense, the effects which such a distinction (putting the Company's troops out of the question) must have produced upon the 75th and 77th Regiments, and the hardship and embarrassment which they must undoubtedly have occasioned to the Governor or Commander-in-Chief of that Presidency.

The objections that I have hitherto stated, are chiefly upon the general principle of its being highly inexpedient to grant any partial favour or privilege, which may be productive of a general mischief to the service. But we must also recollect, that the agreement between His Majesty's ministers and the Company, that the King's troops shall only receive equal allowances to those which are paid to the Company's Europeans at the Presidency where they may happen to be employed, is clear and explicit. And if you and I, with both our Councils, were unanimous in passing a resolution or in granting any allowances, which militated against the principle of this agreement, I am perfectly convinced that we should not be able to offer any arguments in support of such a measure, that would not be equally reprobated by the King's ministers and by the Court of Directors.

If an exception could be admitted to a general as well as so necessary a rule, it could nowhere have been made more to my private satisfaction than in the case of the 71st Regiment, for I have a personal regard and the most favourable opinion of the

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characters of several of the principal officers, and I know that they are entitled to the highest credit for the present good condition of the discipline of that corps.

I should gladly attend to your wishes in filling up the vacant lieutenancy in your regiment, but I have not quite made up my mind upon the propriety of setting aside the two eldest ensigns, to whom no blame can possibly be imputed for their having been detained in Europe till next season; and I feel very averse to bringing back to the King's service, those volunteers who are appointed acting ensigns in the Company's, and whose situations as volunteers are so completely filled in the regiments which they have left.

I am, with the greatest esteem, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Dec. 21, 1788.

The only material event that has happened since my letter dated November 10th, is the death of the Ameer, the Nabob of Arcot's second son. I thought it my duty to take so favourable an opportunity for offering my sentiments fully on the affairs of the Carnatic, where the Nabob is anticipating his revenues and ruining his country, and where, when his overstrained credit breaks, which I am much afraid will soon be the case, we must expect a very serious defalcation in our Indian resources.

I have heard from private letters, that my friend Medows has entered very heartily into several branches of the public business, and is much esteemed at his present Government. Much will depend on the manner in which he takes my letter, and one that Ross, who is an old intimate friend of his, wrote to him at my request, giving him all proper encouragement, but stating the necessity of his determining to apply to business and to attend to the forms and rules of the service, representing also that it would be necessary that he should make up his mind as to his future situation, before the despatch of the last ships of the season.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE HON. AND RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.[1]

MY DEAR LORD, Calcutta, Dec. 27, 1788.

In giving such an answer to your letter as you might lay before the Committee, I felt myself under great difficulties, lest on

[1] Hon. Shute Barrington.

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the one hand I should appear lukewarm in an undertaking, in which, if it was practicable, I should most earnestly wish to distinguish myself, and on the other, lest I should encourage too sanguine hopes, where I must acknowledge I see no probability of success.

The temptations have hitherto proved so irresistible, that since we have held extensive possessions in India, I believe there are but few instances of Europeans having acquired an influence at the courts of the native princes, without converting it to the most interested purposes; and the natives, with a strong propensity to intrigue, are so little capable of distinguishing the real objects of Government, and the different gradations of rank amongst us, that if preceptors were recommended by the Governor-General to sovereigns or principal zemindars, they would infallibly consider them as people of great importance, and endeavour by the most alluring offers, to engage their support against the influence or power of the Company's Residents or Collectors, in the districts to which they might be appointed.

It is likewise urged as an objection to teaching the natives English, that it would weaken the necessity which the Company's servants now feel, of instructing themselves in the languages of the country, by which means, unless we could suppose it possible to make English the universal language throughout our extensive territories, the collectors of revenue, judges, and officers of Government, stationed in the distant provinces, would be in the hands, and at the mercy, of the few individuals who could interpret for them.

The pride and bigotry of the Mussulmen, and the dreadful consequences to themselves and their families for ever attending the loss of caste to the Hindoos, must in my opinion prove insuperable bars to any material progress in the propagation of the Christian religion.

The success of the Portuguese Missionaries on the Malabar coast, does not hold out any very encouraging prospect to us, as their converts are the poorest and most contemptible wretches in India.

It is likewise a matter for serious consideration, how far the imprudence or intemperate zeal of one teacher might endanger a Government, which owes its principal support to a native army composed of men of high caste, whose fidelity and affections we have hitherto secured, by an unremitted attention not to offend their religious scruples and superstitions.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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CHAPTER XI.

Lord Cornwallis intends to return to England — Alliances with Native Princes — Revision of Military Establishments — General tranquillity of Hindustan — Gloomy aspect of affairs in England — The King's illness — The Regency Bill — Sweeping changes expected from the Regency — The King's recovery — Congratulations of Indian Princes — Lord Cornwallis's opinion of Sir John Macpherson — Movements of Tippoo Sultaun.

No striking event occurred during this year, as the tranquillity of Hindustan was undisturbed. Lord Cornwallis was therefore able to direct his whole attention to the internal affairs of the country. Convinced that this tranquillity would be permanent, he announced his determination to return to England in January, 1791; but urged the necessity of appointing a proper successor, without which he expressed his conviction, that all his labours would prove to have been totally wasted.

Much correspondence passed both about investments for the home market, and about the supply of articles from India for the Canton market. As these subjects are connected solely with the affairs of the East India Company as merchants—a character which it no longer possesses—nearly all the papers bearing on this question have been omitted.

The reluctance which Lord Cornwallis felt to enter into alliances with native princes, arose more from the prohibition contained in the 24 Geo. III. than from any belief on his part that they would, if prudently made, be injurious to British interests. Mr. Dundas seems to have considered that Lord Cornwallis had perhaps interpreted the Act somewhat too strictly, and he was not unwilling to encourage more intimate relations than had hitherto been considered advisable. The aggression of Tippoo on the last day of the year rendered all speculations unnecessary, and compelled the Company to enter into various close alliances. But this belongs to the ensuing year.

As all the suggestions made by Lord Cornwallis, in regard to the revision of the military establishments, were adopted, the progress in those arrangements, though slow, was highly satisfactory to him; but he was not so successful in his attempts to put an entire stop to the system of receiving presents from native princes. The

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value of these presents was reduced to an amount which could hardly be considered as sufficient for a bribe; and many of the Residents, of whose uprightness and honour no doubt could be entertained, assured Lord Cornwallis that the refusal of all gifts was so at variance with the habits of the country, that it would be considered offensive by the Sovereigns who tendered them. By the regulations now in force, all presents, except those of very trifling value, are deposited in the Treasury of the Company, by whom gifts of corresponding amount are provided in return.

The acquisition of Cuttack in exchange for Salsette was still kept in view, but with slight hope of success; nor was Lord Cornwallis very eager on the subject, as he was little anxious to augment the extent of British territories. This question, and a dispute between the Vizier and Sindia, were almost the only two points which, in the course of this year, gave rise to any interference with native princes.

A settlement of the province of Bahar was also nearly completed—much, as Lord Cornwallis states, to the satisfaction of the Zemindars. He further prevailed on the Raja, or rather the Zemindar[1] of Benares (for he had really no higher rank), to consent to many most important changes, both in the management of that territory and in the duties levied therein. In fact, as Lord Cornwallis says in a letter dated December 7, "everything appeared to be in as good a train as the most sanguine persons in England could expect; and I see no danger for this country so long as they can find proper Governors, and Ministers like the present, who will not impose jobs upon them." But a cloud burst at the very close of the year, though Lord Cornwallis was not aware of the storm till the following January.

The aspect of affairs in England had at one time borne a very gloomy appearance. The illness of the King in the autumn of 1788 led to a Regency Bill, the discussions on which are too well known to require any notice here. Lord Cornwallis, indeed, had little time for anxiety on the subject; for the news of the King's recovery reached him very shortly after he had heard of his illness. There exists a large mass of letters written to him during that period, some from his personal and political friends, detailing the events as they occurred, others from partizans of the Prince of Wales, excusing the votes they had given. Some of the most interesting have been selected for publication, occasionally omitting names, or suppressing passages which reflect in no measured terms on the

[1] Maheput Narryan, nephew of Cheyt Sing; elevated to that position by the English Sept. 14, 1781, though then a minor; d. Sept. 12, 1795.

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characters and conduct of individuals, and impute motives on no better foundation, it is to be hoped, than the reports of the day or the violence of party feeling.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO VISCOUNT BROME.

MY DEAREST CHARLES, Calcutta, Jan. 11, 1789.

Although when I wrote last I could hardly flatter myself with hearing from you by this time, yet I cannot help lamenting that my last accounts of you were dated nine months ago, and that I had the mortification to find by them that you were still an invalid. It is in vain however to dwell upon grievances that we cannot remedy, let us look forward to that happy day when we shall meet, and when, if I find you well, I am sure I shall find you in every respect just what my fondest heart could wish.

I can send you no news from hence that can either amuse or interest you, my life at Calcutta is perfect clockwork; I get on horseback just as the dawn of day begins to appear, ride on the same road and the same distance, pass the whole forenoon after my return from riding, in doing business, and almost exactly the same portion of time every day at table, drive out in a phaeton a little before sunset, then write, or read over letters or papers of business for two hours, sit down at nine with two or three Officers of my family to some fruit and a biscuit, and go to bed soon after the clock strikes ten. I don't think the greatest *sap* at Eton can lead a duller life than this. Give my best compliments to Mr. Hayes, and be assured that I am and ever shall be

Your most truly affectionate Father,

CORNWALLIS.

H. R. H. THE DUKE OF YORK TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Jan. 1789.]

MY DEAR LORD, London, July 26, 1788.

It is with the greatest pleasure that I take the opportunity of the 'Swallow' Packet to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's two last very obliging Letters, by which I am rejoiced to see that You are pleased with the present situation of affairs in India. As for the account which You give of the State of the European Troops in the Service of the Company, it grieves me, though it does not in the least astonish me, as It is totally impossible that they can be otherwise than the riffraff of London Streets got together

by the Crimps, and the Gleanings of the different Gaols. The Officers are in general, young men, who have ruined themselves, and are obliged to fly their Country, or very low people who are sent out to make their fortunes, and who will therefore stick at nothing in order to gain money. I have no doubt however, that through Your Lordship's Good management and prudence, You will be able, in time, to make great alterations for the better even in this, though I must confess that the only real way of getting rid of all this inconvenience at once, would be to destroy the Company's troops, and have nothing but King's troops, indeed it is quite ridiculous, that there should be two compleatly different services, in a Country which acknowledges the same Sovereign, and that a Company of Merchants should have been to all intents and purposes for so many years, the Kings of so immense a tract of Country.

I have no doubt that Your Lordship will not regret the reduction of the four troops of Horse Guards, and Horse Grenadiers as they were the most useless and the most unmilitary Troops that ever were seen. I confess that I was a little sorry for the Horse Grenadiers because they were to a degree Soldiers, but the Horse Guards were nothing but a collection of London Tradespeople.

If the two new Regiments keep exactly to the Standard which they have settled they will be the finest bodies of men that ever were seen, the tallest not to exceed six foot one the shortest five feet eleven.

As for publick news Your Lordship will already have heard of the great Amity which has subsisted between us our Court and the new King of Prussia ever since His accession to the Crown and which has within these few days been strengthened by the signing of a defensive treaty including Holland, So that the first Stone is laid for the Great Northern Alliance, which We have so often talked of with Ewart, during the time we were at Berlin together. As for the Emperor, He has managed His affairs so well, that He has drawn Himself into a War with the Turks, where till now He has been worsted in almost every attempt which He has made. The Empress of Russia is if possible in a worse Situation as She has besides the war with the Turks, two other horrible enemies to contend with, which are the Plague and Famine, which by all accounts have reduced Her forces so low that instead of Sending a Corps of forty thousand men to join the Austrian forces in order to besiege Choczim,[1] only Six-and-twenty thousand arrived in a serviceable

[1] Choczim was taken by the Prince of Coburg, July 20, 1788.

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State, and after Staying a few days were ordered to return immediately to Marechal Romanzoff's[1] Army, as they had lost such a considerable number of men by disease. France is torn to pieces by internal dissensions. That spirit which She had been so successfully trying to promote among the Americans, has broke out in Her own Country and in spite of everything, which is done, appears rather to increase, than to diminish they are obliged to have their troops, and are said to be forming two Camps in order to keep their own Provinces in order and Subjection. In short, the present situation of this Country appears to be more flourishing and more truly great than ever it has been since the Peace of Sixty-three. All our enemies are engaged and are ruining themselves piecemeal, While We and our Allies are daily gaining strength and riches.

I am afraid My Dear Lord You will already be sufficiently tired with this long Scrawl, I shall therefore conclude. Pray write as often as it is convenient, and believe me ever, My Dear Lord,

Most sincerely yours,

FREDERICK.

FROM THE SECRET COMMITTEE TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL IN BENGAL.

[Secret.] Received Jan. 22, 1789.

MY LORD, East India House, July 31, 1788.

. . . We have already expressed our full approbation of your conduct towards the native Princes in general; we feel the force of your reasoning in both points of view; at the same time we wish a continuance of our former pacific system, and an adherence to the instructions we have formerly given. If at any time, on account either of Indian or European politics, we may see cause to deviate from that system, we shall take the earliest opportunity of detailing our sentiments at large. For instance, any strict union of France, either with Tippoo Sultan or the Mahrattas, would naturally force us into other alliances which might enable us to counteract it.

With respect to Tippoo's embassy to the Court of France, we can only advise at present of their arrival in that kingdom, and that His Majesty's Ministers are taking the necessary measures to

[1] Pierre Alexandrowitch, Comte de Romanzoff, a Field-Marshal, b. about 1730, d. Dec. 17, 1796. He was descended from one of the oldest Russian families, and had seen much service.

discover and defeat the object of their mission. The Court of France, whilst they are treating these deputies with every demonstration of respect and courtesy, as is the custom of that Court upon such occasions, have given assurances that no negotiation is intended, on their part, hostile to our interest.

We are, &c.,

MRS. CORNWALLIS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Jan. 22, 1789.]

MY DEAR LORD, Seymour Place, June 19, 1788.

. . . Mr. Sheridan[1] summed up the evidence upon the second charge against Mr. Hastings in a speech which lasted three days, and finally closed that business on Friday last, the 13th inst., for this Session. His speech was reckoned a most wonderful one;[2] you will of course have it sent you. In the way this tryal has hitherto gone on, it may last years. It has been a most fatiguing business, particularly to the Chancellor, whose attention and impartiality has been the admiration of all parties. He was ill one day, and Lord Bathurst[3] was forced to take his place. The contrast, to be sure, was very remarkable.

I forget whether I have mentioned Lady Anne Wesley[4] lately. She turns out a very fine girl, and has been much admired this winter, but I don't hear of any match for her yet. Her brother Arthur,[5] instead of going with his regiment to the East Indies, has made an exchange, and is now Aide-de-Camp to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—a much worse thing for him in my opinion. . . .

Lord Mansfield has at last resigned, and Sir Lloyd Kenyon succeeds him. Pepper Arden is Master of the Rolls. The appointment of the Duke of Leinster[6] to that office in Ireland, upon Mr.

[1] Right Hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, b. Sept., 1751, d. July 7, 1816; m. 1st, March, 1772, Miss Elizabeth Linley; 2nd, April 27, 1795, Esther Jane Ogle, only daughter of the Dean of Winchester. M.P. for Stafford from Oct. 1780 to 1806; Westminster to 1807, and Ilchester to 1812; Under Secretary of State, March to July, 1782; Treasurer of the Navy, Feb. 1806, to April, 1807; Receiver-General of the Duchy of Cornwall, 1804 till his death.

[2] The Begum speech.

[3] Henry, 2nd Earl Bathurst, b. May 2, 1714, d. Aug. 6, 1794; m. 1st, Sept. 19, 1754, Anne, dau. and heir of — James, Esq., and widow of Charles Phillips, Esq.; 2nd, June 14, 1759, Tryphena, dau. of Thomas Scawen, Esq., of Maidwell. A puisne Judge of the Common Pleas from May 2, 1754, till Jan. 23, 1771, when he was made Chancellor, and created Lord Apsley, having been one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal during the previous year. On resigning the Chancellorship, June 3, 1778, he was made President of the Council, and held that office till March 19, 1782. M.P. for Cirencester from April, 1735, till he was made a judge.

[4] Lady Anne Wesley, dau. of Garret, 1st Earl of Mornington, b. March 13, 1768, d. Dec. 16, 1844; m. 1st, Jan. 4, 1790, Hon. Henry Fitzroy, 4th son of Charles, 1st Lord Southampton; 2nd, Aug. 9, 1799, Charles Culling Smith, Esq.

[5] The Duke of Wellington.

[6] William Robert, 2nd Duke of Leinster, K.P., b. March 13, 1749, d. Oct. 20, 1804;

Rigby's death, is rather a matter of surprise to everybody. He must certainly have asked for it, for nobody could have thought of offering it to him.

The Parliament breaks up next week, when everybody will disperse. Everything seems to be perfectly quiet, and I hope likely to remain so both at home and abroad, at least with regard to ourselves. The French are quarrelling amongst themselves. A spirit of liberty has gone forth, which however can come to nothing whilst the army remains firm to the King. Their interference with us in America has taught them a lesson against themselves which we have no reason to be sorry for. . . .

God bless you, my dear Lord.

Believe me, &c.,

C. CORNWALLIS.

Mr. Grisdale has just called here. He tells me he is going to make another little tour to France this summer. I wish I may have some good news[1] to send him before he comes back.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Private.] Received Jan. 1789.

MY DEAR LORD, Wimbledon, July 13, 1788.

. . . My last letter to you was of date 7th of April, 1788, since which I have your letters of 16th of November and 18th December, 1787, and 7th and 27th January, 1788.

Many of the topicks discussed in these various letters have been already observed upon, either in my former letters to you or in the despatches which have gone or are now going by the present conveyance. I shall however trouble you with these few lines, to advert to some particulars upon which these publick despatches may be silent, but of which however it is proper that you should be apprised.

It is scarcely necessary to say much upon the subject of the recruiting service. I have intimated to the Chairman that with your publick letters before us all, and your private letters before

m. Nov. 4, 1775, Emilia Olivia, dau. and sole heir of St. George Usher, only Lord St. George.

The office of the Master of the Rolls in Ireland was in those days a sinecure. The Duke of Leinster held it only to July 15, 1789, when he was dismissed for the line he took on the Regency question. M.P. for the city of Dublin from Oct. 1767, till he became a peer, Nov. 19, 1773.

[1] Mrs. Cornwallis, as widow of the Archbishop, had a good many options in her gift; to one of which, Withington in Gloucestershire, she presented Mr. Grisdale soon after the date of this letter.

me, it is impossible to omit taking effectual measures for effectuating that important object. The Chairman has entreated me to give him a little time for management, and he will get everything put to rights. Accordingly, within these few weeks, they have come to a resolution to apply for Dover Castle for a depôt for their recruits. I do not know how far it will suit the convenience of Government to allow them to have it, but I am satisfied they are in earnest to bring this business into proper train. I hope they will do it without the necessity of any compulsion on my part; but you may rest assured I will watch it very strictly, and not quit the business till it is satisfactorily concluded. Your account of the state of their European army, contrasted with that of the King's, has been of much use to us in this and many other views.

The Chairman has not yet brought forward Sir John Macpherson's business: he will soon, and it will be arranged on the footing I formerly wrote to you. . . .

Agreeable to your request I have read your letter of the 14th December to Mr. Malet, with the proper attention. I approve entirely of the line you have prescribed. I think I can discover in some of your letters, a feeling that you are too much hampered in your power of allying yourself with the Marattas. I am the more disposed to give you credit for that feeling, because I am free to declare it goes very much along with the bent of my own mind. I feel that an alliance with the Marattas, of the closest kind, is all that is requisite to keep the whole world in awe respecting India. The aid of their cavalry seems all that is wanting to make our power compleat; and I think it is highly probable that the restless spirit of France, by their intriguing with Tippoo, will probably give us a fair opening to such a connexion; but unless the prospect of hostilities was more immediate than at present appears to be the case, I am still rather disposed to think that it would be better that either the hostilities of Tippoo singly, or of him and the French jointly, should furnish us with the apology of so exclusive an Indian alliance.

You will hear by this conveyance that we have got a material change in one of the departments of Government. Lord Howe is an Earl, and gives up the Admiralty, and is succeeded by Lord Chatham. This circumstance gives a wonderful cement of strength and power to Mr. Pitt's Government, by connecting the Treasury and Admiralty so closely together.

The very high opinion you express of Sir Archibald Campbell's administration, is highly satisfactory to me. I agree with you and him that he is very illiberally treated by the Court of Directors,

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but he is not singular in that respect. We are all (except your Lordship as yet) sharers in it, and I regret that it seems to have hurt Sir Archibald so much as it has done. I hope, however, it is now over; for after having got the drubbing we gave them in their conflict before the House of Commons, on the subject of the four regiments, and after having discovered that their own Court of Proprietors would not support them against us, I think they are grown tolerably quiet and moderate. I shall write to Sir Archibald by this ship. I am sorry we are so soon to lose him in India. I suppose the Directors will soon come to the measure of appointing Medows provisional successor to Sir Archibald, and Abercrombie to Medows.

Believe me, &c.,

HENRY DUNDAS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO VISCOUNT BROME.

MY DEAREST CHARLES, Calcutta, Jan. 29, 1789.

The 'Swallow' packet arrived on the 22nd, and I had the infinite happiness of hearing that you was perfectly recovered. . . . I will endeavour to get Scorpio and Aquarius for you, but these coins are very scarce here, and I think it doubtful whether I shall succeed.[1] They are said to have been coined by a Queen of Delhi who reigned only for one day, and who was deposed by the priests for coining them. The Mahometans are such violent enemies to idolatry, that they will not suffer any figures even upon their coins; you may suppose from this that they worship money, but in that respect they resemble most other religions. I do not however seriously believe any part of the story about the Queen, &c. &c.

Your truly affectionate Father,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Feb. 18, 1789.

My time of life and the state of my private affairs have rendered it necessary for me to fix a period in my own mind for returning to Europe, and I consider it as my indispensable duty to

[1] These coins represent the 12 signs of the Zodiac on the obverse. A complete set in the time of Lord Cornwallis cost 2000 rupees. The story about the queen is told by Tavernier (Part 2), who believed it. Jehangir, grandfather of Aurungzebe, m. in 1611, a beautiful widow, Noor Jehan, who took the name of Noor Mahl, the Light of the Seraglio, and completely governed him. The coins bear various dates between 1617 and 1627, which disproves the story of their being struck in one day. Noor Mahl's name is, however, on some of them. She is buried in a very magnificent tomb at Lahore, which is still kept in good repair.

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give early notice of my determination on that head to your Honourable Court, that you may have full time to deliberate on the choice of my successor in this Government.

I have, therefore, to acquaint you, that it is my intention to resign the Government, and to embark for England in the beginning of the year 1791, and I am willing to indulge myself in the hopes of being able to inform you on my arrival, that I have left your valuable possessions in peace and prosperity.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

[Private.]

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Feb. 18, 1789.

As the 'Dublin,' the ship now under despatch, is to take in a part of its cargo at Madras, I shall postpone answering your letters which I received by the 'Swallow' packet, or entering into any part of the business of this country, until the departure of the 'Northumberland,' which ship is to sail directly for England in about three weeks, and will probably arrive before the 'Dublin.'

But as I consider the appointment of a proper successor to the Government as a matter of so much greater importance than any other, and without which all laws, regulations, and orders are perfectly nugatory, I do not chuse to trust to a single conveyance to inform you of what it may be very essential you should know before the end of the summer, which is, that General Medows has received mine and Colonel Ross's admonitions with the most perfect good humour, and that he assures us he is determined to devote his time and attention entirely to the public service during his stay in India. I enclose a copy of his letter to me, dated November 26, and some extracts of what he has said to Ross.

Knowing as I well do the strictness of his principles and the goodness of his parts, I had no fear but of his treating the whole business, and particularly our sovereign lords in Leadenhall-street, too lightly; but as I am now well assured that will not be the case, I do not think that I can deliver the office of Governor-General into safer and better hands in January, 1791, and I hope you will do all you can to soften any censure which the Court of Directors may think it necessary to pass on his first appointment at Bombay.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY.

DEAR JAMES, Calcutta, Feb. 23, 1789.

Although the 'Northumberland' East Indiaman is to sail in about three weeks directly for England, and will probably arrive before the 'Dublin,' which is to take in some part of its cargo at Madras, I still cannot suffer the 'Dublin' to go without telling you that I am well.

I have by both these ships notified to the Court of Directors my intention to resign in January, 1791, a period to which I often cast a longing eye; but if I get through the next two years as well as I have done the two last, I shall have great reason to be satisfied with my undertaking.

I shall be very impatient for the first ship of the season, to know that I have been in time for the purchase of Sir Charles Kent's[1] estate. I should most undoubtedly have wished both for that estate and Saxham;[2] I think a considerable command and extent about a man's house the greatest comfort he can have if he loves the country, and the difference of three or four hundred pounds a-year is a very trifling consideration in competition with it. I am, however, although in this instance I differ a little in opinion, most truly sensible and most sincerely grateful to you for all your care and attention. We have had a remarkably fine and cool winter, which has a little made up for the excessive heats of September and October, which are by far the two worst months in the year. I have often thought that you would not easily be prevailed upon to lie without any covering, and with windows and doors open on every side of the room, to catch every breath of air.

There is the greatest reason to look forward to a continuance of peace; and I think, in spite of Mr. Francis,[3] our finances are in no bad state. The income of Bengal exceeds its expenditure by above two millions, and although the other Presidencies are a great drain upon us, yet, on the general state of the finances throughout India, we can without increasing our debts, send home

[1] Sir Charles Kent, Bart., so created Aug. 3, 1782, b. 1745, d. March 14, 1811; m. May 20, 1771, Mary, dau. and coheir of Josiah Wordsworth, Esq., of Wordsworth. M.P. for Thetford from May, 1784, to June, 1790. Lord Cornwallis did not buy the estate, Fornham St. Genevieve, but it became the property of Bernard Howard, Esq., afterwards 12th Duke of Norfolk.

[2] Saxham was bought, but afterwards exchanged with Lord Bristol for mutual convenience.

[3] Mr., afterwards Sir Philip, Francis, K.B., b. Oct. 22, 1740, d. Dec. 22, 1818; m. twice. His 2nd wife (Dec. 9, 1814) was Emma, dau. of the Rev. H. Watkins. M.P. for Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, from May, 1784, to 1790; then for Bletchingly to May, 1796, and for Appleby from Nov. 1802 to April, 1807. His public and private career are well known, but his literary reputation mainly rests upon the 'Letters of Junius,' which almost all whose opinions are considered of value, concur in attributing to him.

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an investment from the different settlements, which costs us 1,300,000*l.*, and which will sell in Europe for 2,400,000*l.*, which, besides at least a million of profit which the Company receives from the China trade, must I think enable them to pay off at least a million of their debt annually in England.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO C. W. MALET, ESQ.

SIR, Fort William, Feb. 23, 1789.

I was favoured on the 16th inst. with your letter, dated the 21st ultimo, and Mr. Hay has shown to me your letter to him, which he received about the same time.

Your zeal and ability in conducting the negotiations with which you have been entrusted, and your knowledge of the manners and turn of thinking at the Court where you reside, will ever induce me to give the fullest consideration to any opinions that you may offer on those points, with a view to promote the public interest.

I shall therefore weigh very deliberately the arguments and propositions which you adduced in your letter to Mr. Hay, in support of your recommendation of some relaxation in the orders which you lately received against accepting presents, in any form or under any pretext, in your intercourse with the Peshwa and the Poonah Ministers; and I shall take an early opportunity to convey to you my final decision upon them.

I think it only necessary on the present occasion to answer the parts of your letter which relate to the means of forwarding our views upon Cuttack.

The consideration of the value of that province, both to the Company and to the Boosla family, offers so many grounds for apprehending difficulties in obtaining a voluntary cession of it from the Marattas, that I cannot bring myself to be sanguine in the hopes of any immediate success to our wishes. But I am clearly convinced that our best chance will arise from the eagerness and anxiety of the Peshwa, and from a constant appearance on our part, of indifference to the event of the negotiation for the proposed exchange.

Upon this principle, I do not wish that any steps should be taken directly by you, to prevail upon Ragojee to consent to the cession; but that the Poonah Ministers should understand that you

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are instructed to leave all the preliminary parts of the transaction entirely to themselves.

If Ragojee should execute his declared intention of making a visit to Poonah, the long connexion which has subsisted between the Boosla family and this Government, will require that you should clearly manifest a disposition to show him marks of particular attention and respect. But to avoid giving ground for suspicion or jealousy to the Poonah Minister, my wish is that you should consult Nana, and even be guided by him, unless you should see any very material objection to it, in all steps that you take to give public proofs to Ragojee of the consideration in which he is held by this Government.

You will, however, be studiously careful to suppress all appearance of anxiety to obtain his consent to the cession, unless Nana should in explicit and earnest terms request your interference and assistance; and even in that case, it will tend most to promote the success of our real wishes, that you should uniformly appear to lend your aid in the negotiation, more from a spirit of accommodation and friendship to the Poonah Government, than from any impatience on our part to acquire the Province.

I concur in a great measure with you in opinion, that it may be wise in this Government to devise means for encouraging a spirit of pilgrimage amongst the Hindoos of Hindostan and the Deccan, to the Company's dominions; and for that reason, if you could come to the discussion of conditions for the cession of Cuttack, I should have no objection to grant particular privileges, or even exemptions from all Government duties, to Maratta subjects on religious visits and pilgrimages to Benares and Gya, and to Juggernaut, when surrendered to us.

The acquisition of Cuttack would be of so much real importance to the Company, that I should not scruple to furnish you with the means of making very liberal presents in money, to any of the Ministers who could give a decisive assistance in forwarding the accomplishment of the object in question; and I should be much guided by your opinion, in determining the extent of the sums to be so applied; as you would be qualified to form the best judgment on the mode of applying such sums, in the most efficacious manner for inciting different individuals to make their utmost exertions to bring the negotiation to a successful termination.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO JAMES MACPHERSON,[1] ESQ.

SIR, Calcutta, March 1, 1789.

I have been honoured with your letter dated the 20th of June, 1788. Being disposed from regard for your personal character to receive your sentiments with pleasure, and to consider them with attention, I should most readily, if I thought myself at liberty, enter into a discussion of the point which formed the subject of your letter.

I do not, however, conceive that I can, consistently with the duties of my station, and with the spirit of the orders of the Court of Directors, correspond on the public business of this country with any British subject who assumes the character of agent of any native prince in India.

It therefore only remains for me to say in general, that I was at great pains to examine the nature of the claim of the Nabob of Arcot on the country of Tanjore, and the orders of the Court of Directors on that subject; and I feel conscious that I have discharged my public duty with propriety, and that I have done his Highness ample justice.

I beg that you will believe that I am,

With great personal esteem, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

Calcutta, March 6, 1789.—*See* Appendix, No. 24.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO COLONEL ——.

DEAR ——, Calcutta, April 5, 1789.

I was glad to hear by your letter of the 14th ultimo, that you had arrived in good health at Madras, and that you was satisfied with the reception you met with from the Governor and Council.

Brigadier-General Horne's[2] being called to the Presidency, and invested with the supreme command, was as little expected by me as by yourself, especially after the very different line of conduct which had been so recently adopted in similar circumstances at Bombay.

You must, however, excuse me, if I cannot admit the justice of

[1] James Macpherson, Esq., of Belville, b. 1737, d. Feb. 17, 1796. M.P. for Camelford from Oct. 1780, till his death. He was agent for the Nabob of Arcot, and was said to have a pension of 700*l.* from Lord North for writing in defence of American taxation. He was a most voluminous writer, but is best known for having edited—or written (?)—the poems of Ossian.

[2] Brigadier-General Matthew Horne, d. Dec. 14, 1789.

your expressions of chagrin and mortification on this account; for you knew before you left England, that there were two Brigadier-Generals in India, under one of whom Abercromby was to be immediately placed; and a person so conversant in military affairs as yourself, must have been aware that it was not only possible but probable, that you might likewise serve under either of them; as I am sure neither your own good sense and knowledge of the service, nor the assurances of any person in England, could have warranted your entertaining an idea, that the King's regiments were to be fixed at the respective Presidencies, instead of being stationed where the Commander-in-Chief or the Supreme Council might conceive their presence to be most necessary.

I have really a most sincere regard for you personally, and I likewise highly esteem your public character; it will therefore always be very irksome to me to mark a dissatisfaction at any part of your conduct, or to say anything that can be unpleasant to you. But when I thought it necessary to order the troops destined for this place to be detained at Madras, at a time that I had great reason to expect that difficulties would arise in that quarter; and when I knew that the state of Sir Archibald Campbell's health would not admit of his making any exertions, you must give me leave to claim a right to the expressions of chagrin and mortification, at seeing my friend —— set the example of disregard and disobedience to my orders (which were shown to him by Sir Archibald Campbell), by obtaining, in direct opposition to them, his leave to come to Bengal in the height of the south-west monsoon; and which I cannot possibly think Sir Archibald would have given, if he had not apprehended from your manner, that you would not have been a good-humoured assistant to him at Madras.

As I do not wish to dwell on a repetition of grievances, I shall only slightly notice the ill-humour in which you left us, although you must have been sensible that the weakness of a temporary Government, the inexperience of some of the principal officers on the coast, and the danger that would attend any serious differences between so large a body of the King's troops and those of the Company, called on me to use every precaution in my power to insure the public tranquillity.

It will be my earnest desire to make the service of India as agreeable and as advantageous to you as I can, consistent with my public duty; and I sincerely hope that I shall feel myself at liberty to bring you and your regiment hither in the course of this summer. But no private considerations can induce me to create

unnecessary appointments, or grant unauthorised emoluments, or will have weight with me in the disposal of the officers or corps of the army, when they affect the public welfare, or the propriety of conduct which is due to the station that I hold.

I thought it fair to unbosom myself thus freely to you, and I trust this will be the last time that an explanation of this kind will be necessary.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO MRS. CAIRNES.[1]

MADAM, Calcutta, June 1, 1789.

It is with infinite concern that I have just heard of your misfortune, and though I should not thus early have intruded upon your sorrow with such lessons of resignation to the Divine will as your own good sense and virtuous mind must have already taught you, yet I feel that the helpless state of your family requires immediate assistance.

I have, therefore, directed Mr. Porcher[2] to supply you with 1000 rupees for your present exigencies, and 200 per month whilst you are obliged to remain in India. He will likewise advance a further sum of 4000 rupees when you embark for Europe.

I beg, Madam, you will be assured of my sincere good wishes for yourself and your family, and that I am, with great esteem, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

MRS. CAIRNES TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, St. Thome Mount, June 22, 1789.

I last night had the honour to receive your Lordship's very kind letter. So flattering a mark of distinction from such a distinguished character as your Lordship, has excited in me sentiments of gratitude, which I find myself perfectly unable to express. The delicacy with which your Lordship is pleased to relieve me and my little orphans from a most distressing situation, is at this moment a greater alleviation to my sorrows than any I could possibly have met with, and demands my sincerest thanks.

[1] Mrs. Cairnes was widow of Major Cairnes, who d. May, 1789. She afterwards m. Major-General Cuppage.

[2] Josias Du Pré Porcher, Esq., b. 1761, at Charlestown, d. April 25, 1820; m. Charlotte, dau. of Admiral Sir William Burnaby, Bart. M.P. for Bodmin from Nov. 1802 to July, 1806; then for Tralee for a few weeks in 1807. His family emigrated from France to America after the Edict of Nantes.

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My misfortune has, indeed, been a very severe and unexpected one; but I trust in that all-wise Providence who has inflicted it on me, that he will enable me to bear it with that fortitude and resignation, which for my children's sake I find it so necessary I should do.

Believe me, &c.,

JANE CAIRNES.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL HORNE.

SIR, Fort William, June 20, 1789.

I have been in daily expectation for some time past, that you would have communicated to me as Commander-in-Chief in India, the instructions by which you were required by the Government of Fort St. George, to order so large a body of troops to take the field, as that which is now employed under the command of Colonel Stuart in the southern parts of the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot; the measures that you have taken to carry those instructions into execution; the nature of the service which it was expected of the troops to perform; and all the circumstances that have come to your knowledge of the steps that have been taken by the commanding officer, in consequence of the orders that he has received.

I am entirely persuaded that this omission has proceeded from your not adverting to the propriety of my receiving early notice of every military transaction of importance, that happens at the other Presidency, and by no means to any designed neglect on your part. But as I consider it as my indispensable duty as Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces in India, to superintend the conduct of all officers both in the King's and in the Company's service, I cannot content myself with vague newspaper accounts; but must require authentic reports of all military operations or incidents of consequence, for the guidance of my judgment. I therefore desire that you will immediately transmit to me copies of all the correspondence that has passed between the Government of Fort St. George and you, on the subject of the above-mentioned expedition; of the orders that you have given for carrying their instructions into execution; and of all the correspondence that has passed between you and the commanding officer, as well as of all the reports that he has made to you of the occurrences on that service; that I may be able to form a judgment from proper materials, whether your directions have been well calculated to second the intentions of Government, and whether the executive officer has exerted himself

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with ability and prudence, to effect the purposes for which your directions have been given.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

The reply of General Horne to this letter was, as regarded himself, satisfactory. He had been ordered by Mr. Hollond,[1] Governor of Madras, to move a force into the Little Marawar country, nominally to aid the Nabob against Vella Murdah, and Chinnah Murdah,[2] (tributaries said to be refractory,) but really to assist in enabling him to pay his private creditors, among the largest of whom were some of the members of Council at Madras. The better to conceal his real intentions, Mr. Hollond sent orders direct to Colonel Stuart, who commanded the detachment, instead of transmitting them in the ordinary course through General Horne, who being thus kept in ignorance, thought he had nothing to communicate to Lord Cornwallis. On a subsequent occasion, Mr. Hollond pursued a similar course, and in his anxiety not to interfere with Tippoo's plans, exposed a large detachment to be cut off. Nor was this all of which General Horne complained. Mr. Hollond, contrary to orders from home, himself filled up all vacancies on the staff with his own creatures; and what was worse, allowed the pay of the troops to fall largely into arrear, that the Nabob might have a larger surplus to pay his private debts.

MAJOR-GENERAL GRENVILLE TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received June 27, 1789.]

MY DEAR LORD, Sackville Street, Dec. 27, 1788.

As I delivered one letter to your brother some time ago, thinking that he would have set out upon his voyage much sooner than I find he does, I shall take the opportunity to send you these few lines by way of postscript, to condole with you most sincerely upon the heavy calamity which has befallen us in the K—g's most unexpected and most dreadful illness. I have not words sufficient to describe to you the consternation and anxiety of all ranks of people. God grant, that the hopes which the physicians give us in their depositions before the Committees of the two Houses, and the very sanguine expectations of recovery entertained by Dr. Willis,[3] who has been long accustomed to have the care of people

[1] John Hollond was acting Governor of Madras from Feb. 1789, to Feb. 1790. His conduct in that capacity incurred, as will be seen, the severest reprobation from Lord Cornwallis.

[2] They were Polygars, petty native chiefs, living about 40 miles N.W. of Bangalore, in the Shevagunga country, a wild tract of hill and jungle.

[3] Dr. Francis Willis, Rector of Wapping, b. 1717, d. Dec. 5, 1807; m. 1st, a sister of the Rev. Peregrine Curtis; 2nd, very late in life, Mrs. Storer. He was a clergyman who

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in similar cases, may turn out according to our wishes, and that we may soon see His M—y restored to his former sound state of body and mind.

I cannot, nor dare not, tell you, how much I feel vexed at the conduct of a certain great person, about whom we have so long interested ourselves. How far he can answer it to his own mind and conscience I know not; but I am thoroughly convinced that the impression it has made upon all sober-minded men will never be effaced. I took a very early opportunity to disburden my mind to him upon the subject, though I rather felt an awkwardness and delicacy about it, on account of my family being so deeply engaged in the controversy. I therefore avoided entering any further on the subject than what regarded the propriety and decorum of his taking any part at all in a business, wherein his father's illness must be discussed, and made so material a point in the debate; but as I soon saw that I laboured in vain to bring him to my way of thinking in this respect, and that he was firmly persuaded, or made to believe so, that he was defending the rights of the Crown, which he asserted were meant to be infringed by the limitations which Mr. Pitt proposed to lay upon the Regent, I did not think it my business to argue that point with him, though I am afraid he will not find it so easy as he thinks, to justify his line of conduct to the K—g's satisfaction, in case H. M. should recover. I must, however, do him the justice to say, that he was not in the least out of temper with me for remonstrating so strongly as I did against his proceedings, but on the contrary assured me that notwithstanding our disagreement in politics, he should always entertain the same friendship and esteem for me as he had ever done.

I will not dwell any longer upon a subject, which I am sure must give us both great pain and uneasiness; a *certain party* has now *thorough possession of him*,[1] and will make the most of it. I see nothing but anarchy and confusion staring us in the face, unless it should please Providence to restore H. M. to his former sound state of body and mind, which I believe is the universal and most sincere prayer of every well meaning subject.

I am, &c.,

R. G.

had paid great attention to cases of insanity, and kept a house at Gretford, in Lincolnshire, for the reception of persons so afflicted. For his attendance on the King he received a pension of 1000*l.* by patent.

[1] The Prince of Wales had acquired complete influence over the Duke of York. It was long before the King and Queen forgave the latter; with the Prince the King was never perfectly reconciled.

LORD HAWKESBURY TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received June 27, 1789.]

MY DEAR LORD, London, Jan. 6, 1789.

You will learn from your other friends the melancholy state of the King's health, and the situation to which the Government of this country is reduced in consequence of it. I will only say, that as the disorder with which His Majesty is afflicted was never in his family, as His Majesty never showed any symptom or tendency to this disease before;[1] and as his mind evidently appears not to be enfeebled or broken, but only deranged, I look forward with confidence to his recovery. I consider his nerves as in a very high state of irritation, in consequence of some humour that has fallen upon them, and conclude that when that humour is removed, the irritation, and all the consequences which it has produced will cease. In the mean time the personal exercise of the Royal Authority is at an end. To supply this, the Prince is to be appointed Regent, under such restrictions as do not allow him to do anything which the King will not be able to undo, if he should ever be able to resume his Government; and the Queen is to have the care of the King's person and the management of his household. These questions we are warmly to discuss in the two Houses in the course of the next ten days. The Queen supports the King's Ministers and servants; and the Prince and the Duke of York cleave to Opposition; and as soon as the Regency is formed, we shall certainly be all dismissed, and the system of the Government will be changed. This is unfortunate, for the commerce and revenue of the country never were in a more prosperous condition, and the Government was never more respected abroad. . . .

If your Lordship should have any commands for this country, I should be happy to receive them. I have, &c.,

HAWKESBURY.

LORD SYDNEY TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received June 26, 1789.]

MY DEAR LORD, Grosvenor Square, Feb. 21, 1789.

I sit down to write to you with much more satisfaction than I should have done some time ago. Our good master has now been three weeks in a state of gradual recovery, and we have reasonable hopes of a perfect one. The Chancellor was yesterday with H. M.,

[1] There is no doubt that the King had had an earlier, though slight, attack of a similar nature.

and for the first time talked to him upon business, and opened to him, in part, the measures which had been taken during his confinement. I understand that H. M. was by no means the worse for this conversation. Dr. Willis, who attends him, says that, were he a private man, he should advise his following now his usual occupation, as the mode of living the most likely to restore him. But, God knows, H. M. will have a severe trial when he is informed of all that has passed during the unhappy interval. Every possible care will no doubt be taken to prepare him. You will hear from other hands, probably, that the P. of W. has got complete possession of the D. of Y., and they had meditated such changes in the state and in the army[1] as would have grieved him exceedingly. No scruple has been made of declaring that a general sweep of all places would be made, if the Regency were to last only a day. I enclose you a copy of the Regency Bill as it came to us from the House of Commons. There have been some amendments made in our House, but as we have adjourned the Committee before we had gone through the Bill in it, I did not think it necessary to have the amendments in the first part of the Bill inserted. I can hardly give you a state of the country with regard to foreign politicks at present, everything of that kind having been at a stand for the three months of the duration of the King's illness, and some Powers are waiting for our determination. The French nation is in a complete ferment. The conversation and the publications and speeches have as much of the spirit of freedom as any we have read in our own history or seen in our times. The event is not easy to be foreseen, but none can now be surprising.

Our own domestic scene has been an interesting one. We have seen no times when it has been so necessary to separate parties in private company. The acrimony is beyond anything you can conceive. The ladies are as usual at the head of all animosity, and are distinguished by caps, ribands, and other such ensigns of party. They have driven Old Queensberry[2] out of England by calling him a Rat for deserting his master to hobble after a young Prince. At

[1] Sir William Fawcett, Adjutant-General, wrote to Lord Cornwallis by this same packet, giving him the details of the military promotions as, all but officially, announced. Four Field-Marshals, including the Dukes of Gloucester and York, 31 Generals, 20 Lieut.-Generals, 12 Major-Generals, besides Colonels and others in lower ranks. Ten new Aides-de-Camp, almost all for political reasons. The list of the new administration, as generally circulated, included the Duke of Portland, Premier; Lord Stormont and Mr. Fox, Secretaries of State; Lord Loughborough, Chancellor; Lord Sandwich or Lord Fitzwilliam, Admiralty; Lord Spencer, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; the Duke of Northumberland, Master-General, and General Burgoyne, Lieut.-General, of the Ordnance; Colonel Fitzpatrick, Secretary at War, and Mr. Sheridan, Board of Control.

[2] William, 4th Duke of Queensberry, K.T., b. Dec. 16, 1725, d. unm. Dec. 23, 1810. Appointed a Lord of the Bedchamber on the King's accession, but removed on his recovery. Created Baron Douglas, in England, Aug. 8, 1786.

Calais his Grace was in doubt whether he should go to Brussels or venture to Paris, where he would have been as much abused as in London. I believe he has gone to Brussels. Lothian[1] is a conspicuous figure among the deserters. Sir James Harris was created Lord Malmesbury, and took his seat during the King's illness. He desired Lord Carmarthen and me to introduce him. He went to Mr. Pitt and declared his approbation of the intended measures and the restrictions on the Regent's power. He then went to the Prince and turned to the right-about. The Duke of Northumberland, whose ill-humour broke out as soon as he had got his Blue Riband, has been, with Rawdon, at the head of what has been called the Armed Neutrality. These too have joined the Prince, are the most inveterate and hostile of anybody, covered as they are with the poor King's favours. Gratitude was not, in the King's melancholy situation, to be expected from Stormont and Loughborough, and they boast that, notwithstanding their obligations to H. M., their attachment is to the constitution. I will not dwell upon this filthy subject even to state the filthiest conduct of North, who is led down to the House to act under Sheridan to joke upon the King's misfortunes. Thank God, the country in all parts and both Houses of Parliament have nobly stood by the King. More affection and concern could not have been shown, and H. M. will have the satisfaction of finding how much he is personally beloved. Mr. Pitt has conducted himself with the greatest judgment and ability—Fox has been dangerously ill. He has hurt himself by travelling from Bologna[2] at a great rate when he was much out of order, in hopes to have been in at the death. He has been absent some weeks from the House, and at Bath. I hear he is a good deal recovered.

We adjourned our Committee on account of the rapid improvement of the King's health. To-day is Saturday; we meet again on Tuesday. We may see reason to make some change in our proceedings, but probably shall go through the Bill in the Committee.

. . . I had omitted to mention that there is every reason to attribute H. M.'s disorder to the imprudent and immoderate use of Cheltenham waters. I have just received an authentic account of the same effect upon a French gentleman, who drank them at

[1] Lord Lothian, who was Colonel of the 1st Life Guards, was removed from a regiment which gave him constant access to the King; but His Majesty, aware of his narrow circumstances, offered him another regiment, and a pension of 250*l.* for each of his daughters, all which he refused. He was made Colonel 4th Dragoons 1798, and 2nd Dragoons 1813.

[2] The news of the King's illness reached Mr. Fox at Bologna about the middle of November; he arrived in England on the 25th, after several days' constant travelling, leaving Mrs. Armstead, afterwards Mrs. Fox, behind him at Lyons. The rapidity of the journey materially injured his health.

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the same time, and he is now nearly recovered. From that circumstance of the cause of the illness, the medical men give us reason to be confident in the perfect and radical cure. God send it, and soon; for the country *was* at the brink of everything that is bad.

I will detain you no longer, my dear Lord, but to desire you to accept of my best wishes for your health and happiness.

I am, with the greatest truth and esteem,

Yours, &c.,

SYDNEY.

LORD RAWDON TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received July, 1789.]

MY DEAR LORD, London, Feb. 28, 1789.

. . . Before this reaches you, you will have had the news of the King's recovery; probably also of his resumption of the functions of government. Under what mode these last are to be exercised we know not as yet; for it is acknowledged that the King could not, without incurring great danger of relapse, for a considerable time apply himself to business, even supposing his present recovery to be as complete as is asserted. As to the extent of that recovery, there is great scepticism; and to speak truly I am very doubtful of it. That his mind is at present tranquil, and clear upon ordinary subjects, is without dispute; but the suspicion is that there are certain strings which will, whenever they are touched, produce false music again. The care which is taken that neither the Prince nor the Duke of York shall see the King alone for a moment, whilst the Chancellor and Mr. Pitt have severally conferences without any witness, marks an awkward apprehension. However, at all events, the present gleam will be made use of to sanction with the name of the King, such provisions against a similar exigency as may be best calculated to support the party and influence of the existent Ministers. The circumstance is not indifferent, which I should consider it, if it went merely to the possession of office by one party or the other. But the view of what has passed within these three months enables one to judge so far upon the probable conduct of Pitt, that I look forward with rather an uneasy eye to the coming time. Pitt will without scruple hazard the public tranquillity, if not designedly embroil it, rather than be removed from power; and the popular cry which has been excited and kept up in his favour by extraordinary management, will enable him to cope (under the King's name) with all the influence of the Prince. The feelings of the latter will make resigna-

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tion to such practice very difficult, if not impossible; and that any moderation should long be shown in such a struggle, is more than can be hoped. I, as you would probably expect, have taken part decidedly with the Prince upon this question, thinking the combination attempted to be marshalled against him the most mischievous in its necessary effect upon the constitution, that could possibly be conceived. By this means I have slidden into a kind of alliance with the D. of Portland. Had a new administration been formed, I should have had a seat in it: this ground having, however, been stipulated by me, and admitted by them, that I shall never be considered as absorbed into the Duke's party, but should remain with my particular friends a distinct body. This the Princes guaranteed; and that condition would have lodged in my hands a check upon the intemperance of some of that set that would have been very useful. The Chancellor from detestation of Pitt, and still more from love of office, for a time coquetted with the Prince of Wales, though indeed that expression is not strong enough to mark the apparent decision which he had made of taking part with us; but having taken fright and drawn back a little upon a show of amendment in the King, he received from the Prince and Duke of York (before Fox) so rough a charge of double-dealing that it is now impossible he can close with us. I believe sincerely that he hates Pitt beyond any man in England, and Pitt speaks most contumeliously of him in private: yet you see they draw together admirably, and a joint interest will now, I think, keep them from separating. Adieu, my dear Lord, and do not despise the little interests of this island from comparison with the magnitude of the territory you are governing, as I trust we shall one day have you take an independent share in them at home. In all situations,

Believe me, &c.,

RAWDON.

The whole of the Prince of Wales's party professed to entertain doubts similar to those intimated by Lord Rawdon, but they were totally without foundation. Dr. Warren, one of the physicians, who, actuated perhaps by political feelings, had always held the most desponding language, had as early as February 17th signed a bulletin stating the King to be convalescent; on the 19th the Chancellor moved to postpone the Regency Bill; on the 27th the bulletins were discontinued; on March 2nd the complete restoration of His Majesty was announced to both Houses; and the Session was formally opened on the 10th by a speech from the

throne delivered by Commission. It is quite true that the King gave repeated audiences to his Ministers, before he admitted the Prince and the Duke of York to his presence; but this arose from the displeasure he felt at their conduct.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received July, 1789.]

MY DEAR LORD, London, Feb. 20, 1789.

My last letter to your Lordship was on the 13th of July, before my departure for Scotland. I remained there till called to town on account of the King's calamitous illness, and since that period we have been employed about nothing but the Regency Bill, which, having passed the House of Commons as proposed by Mr. Pitt, is now in the House of Lords, where everything is likewise carried by a decided majority. But within these few days things have taken a most wonderful change. The King is so well as to render it now very probable that no Regency Bill will be necessary. Upon this I need not enlarge, as Lord Sydney and other friends will write to you.

From the situation of the Government, nothing of moment has passed at any of the public offices. At my own office we have gone on as usual, to revise and alter or approve the despatches sent to us from the India House, and the ship which carries this will carry you voluminous despatches. Business of all other kind has stopped at the India House, so that neither Medows's appointment to Madras, nor a successor to him, has yet taken place. The fact is, that it was a decided point with the Prince of Wales the moment he became Regent to dismiss all his father's servants; and of course looking every moment to be the last, of remaining in office, I had no disposition to urge the Directors to take any steps for the providing their Governments, nor were they, under such circumstances, very much disposed to do anything but wait passively for events. Mr. Sheridan was fixed upon for my successor, both at the Navy Pay Office and the Board of Control. It would not become me to say anything of the propriety of the appointment of my successor, but I may say without arrogance, that the prospect of that appointment did not give much satisfaction either to the public at large or to the East India Company in particular. Sir John Macpherson has given in his resignation. He is a right-hand man with the Prince of Wales,[1] and supposed to be very deep in his

[1] This intimacy with the Prince continued for several years. At last it ceased, but no reason was ever assigned.

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counsels, rather more so than anybody except Mr. Sheridan. Sir John's successor is not yet appointed; upon your authority I have recommended Jonathan Duncan. I do not know whether they will agree to it or not; the Chairman has engaged to try it, but is apprehensive of the objection of his being so young a servant in comparison of many others. That is in truth no objection, and I hope they will feel it so. If the King get round again so quick as to prevent a change of Government, I trust I shall have influence enough to prevail on the Directors to adopt Mr. Duncan. If that event does not happen to prevent a change, your Lordship will conceive that of course my interference would neither be proper nor available.

. . . Everything you have done and the opinions you entertain coincide in everything with my own. I hope soon to hear from you that our measures at home to give you now and hereafter a complete European establishment of troops, enabled you finally to settle that business to your own satisfaction. I can assure you I never in my life had so much trouble about a piece of business. I approve very much of the settlement you have made of the exchange for the purpose of bringing home the debts; the measure is a very favourite one with me, and of course it became my duty to give you every aid to forward. It is perhaps not the worse that the debts come home gradually, at least if the prospect of peace remains; but if that was interrupted, it would be very inconvenient for you to have such a load of debt upon your revenues in India.

I long for your final report upon your establishments. It is highly essential to have that point fixed, so that they may be declared in terms of the Act of Parliament. By the first ships that sail for Madras and Bombay we send out their final establishment; they are now before me sent up by the Directors within these few days. The final settlement of yours only waits the expected report from you. . . .

By the present ships you will receive our sentiments on some of the important measures of your Government. I give entire approbation to your regulations respecting the Collectors and the Courts of Adawlet, and I trust the suggestions I have thrown out upon the subject of the regulations for the weavers will meet your approbation, for I have made them from a perfect conviction that they tend to make your own system more complete. . . .

If the King gets so quickly round as to prevent a change of Government, and we get again firmly on our legs, you will very soon hear from me again on several subjects; if not, my next letter will be a farewell letter with many thanks for all the good you

have done; and expressing my earnest hopes and entreaties that happen what will at home, you will not, before your intended time, deprive the publick of your exertions to complete the salvation of India.

Remember me kindly to Ross, Shore, and all your other worthy coadjutors, and

I remain, &c.,

HENRY DUNDAS.

SIR WILLIAM FAWCETT, K.B., TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received July, 1789.]

MY DEAR LORD, London, March 7, 1789.

Though I make no doubt but that the joyful tidings of our Royal Master's most happy and providential recovery from his late illness, will have already been forwarded to your Lordship from official authority, yet I cannot let pass this opportunity, without availing myself of it, to congratulate you on an event so highly important to this country, and at the same time so singularly critical, as it happened a few days only before the Regency Bill had passed both Houses of Parliament. I was at Kew yesterday, and had the honour of a long conversation with His Majesty in the Gardens, when I had the happiness of finding His Majesty in as perfect health in every respect as I ever saw him in my whole life. Amongst a variety of other public mischiefs which are thus, by the intervention of Providence, most happily prevented, that of the intended general promotion in the army is one, and that not the least; especially as, had it once taken place, it could hardly ever have been remedied. . . .

Lord Lothian, who was particularly active in the late political bustle, will be dispossessed of the Gold Stick, and replaced in the command of his regiment of Life Guards by Lord Dover,[1] and the Irish Dragoon Guards will be offered in exchange to Lord Lothian. Several other changes are talked of, but the particulars of them your Lordship will, without doubt, be informed of from better authority than any I have it in my power to give you.

I remain, &c.,

WILLIAM FAWCETT.

[1] Joseph, only Lord Dover, K.B., so created Sept. 18, 1788, son of Philip, 1st Earl of Hardwicke; a Field-Marshal, and Colonel 1st Life Guards; b. June 24, 1724, d. Dec. 2, 1792; m. June 22, 1783, Christiana Charlotte, dau. of Hans, Baron de Stocken, of Denmark, and widow of the Baron de Boetzalen, a Dutch noble. A.D.C. to the Duke of Cumberland at Fontenoy. After considerable military service he was employed in the diplomatic line, latterly as Ambassador at the Hague from Sept. 1751 till war broke out, Dec. 1780. M.P. for East Grinstead from Nov. 1747, to March, 1761; for Dover to June, 1774; and for Grampound to July, 1780.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE.

GENTLEMEN, Fort William, Aug. 1, 1789.

I think it my duty, in addition to the communications that you will receive in the despatches from the Board, and in my letters to the Court of Directors, of the nature of my different conferences with the Nizam's vakeel, Meer Abul Kassim,[1] to inform you that the vakeel on all occasions expressed a strong desire on the part of his master to enter into new engagements with this Government, and was in particular extremely solicitous that the Company should agree, on conditions to be discussed, to furnish a much larger body of troops for the Nizam's assistance than that which was stipulated by the treaty of 1768.

After having been repeatedly urgent on this head, he asked me on the day on which he took his leave, whether a proposal to form a connexion between his Highness and the Company, similar to that which actually subsists between this Government and the Vizier, would be listened to. But upon my informing him with every expression of my own personal goodwill to his master, and with the strongest assurances of the friendly disposition towards him on the part of the Company, that I was not authorized during the present general tranquillity in India to form new treaties with any native power whatever, he requested that what he had said should only be considered as a private suggestion of his own wishes, and not as an official proposition. It may, however, be almost needless to remark that he was probably possessed of sufficient power to negotiate, if his advances had met with any encouragement. . . .

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

Fort William, Aug. 2, 1789.—*See* Appendix, No. 25.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD RAWDON.

MY DEAR LORD, August, 1789.

In regard to the political part which you thought it right to take in the late melancholy situation of affairs, I cannot avoid acknowledging that few things could have given me greater concern.

[1] Meer Abul Kassim, better known as Meer Allum. He was the Nizam's minister, and acted as his Plenipotentiary when peace was made with Tippoo in 1792; d. 1805.

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I know you to have the nicest sentiments of honour and integrity, and I greatly respect your judgment, yet I am not entirely without apprehension that on that occasion it was somewhat warped by pique and ill-humour on one side, and persuasion, open arms, and a laudable desire to provide for some friends on the other. Had I been upon the spot I should have thought it the duty of a friend to have stated my sentiments to you, and to have represented what the impartial world would probably say upon your relative situation to the poor sick King, whose crown would undoubtedly have been torn virtually from his head, or at least must have sat very uneasy upon it, after his recovery, if a Regent had been appointed without restrictions.

The die is now cast; and although I thought our old friendship and your letter called upon me to say so much, I shall be very delicate in troubling you in future with my sentiments on political subjects; for I know from experience, that when people arrive at so great a degree of difference of opinion, both in regard to men and measures, as I am much afraid is the case at present between you and myself, frequent discussions of that nature seldom fail to irritate, and hardly ever succeed to convince.

This can however make no kind of alteration in our private friendship, as I am persuaded that we mutually possess each other's esteem. On my part I shall always have a pleasure in giving the warmest proofs of it on every occasion that may offer through life.

Affairs here, at least as far as Bengal is concerned, continue in a good train. The French, as you may probably have already heard, are going to withdraw their military force from Pondicherry, and, making Mauritius their place of arms, leave nothing but commercial factories on this continent. However prudent this measure may be for their finances, it certainly will improve our consequence in the eyes of the native powers, and tend to confirm those pacific dispositions which they seem at present to entertain.

There is an universal clamour at Madras against Hollond, who if he is not a wicked, is certainly a weak Governor. I have been long impatiently looking out for Medows's appointment; but he inadvertently gave the Court of Directors reason to complain, with some colour of justice, of his conduct towards them, and I apprehend Dundas will find great difficulty in carrying the point of his removal to Madras. In the mean time poor Abercromby is literally ruined at Bombay.

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD SYDNEY.

MY LORD, Fort William, Aug. 6, 1789.

I lost no time, after being honoured with your Lordship's letter dated the 28th March, 1788, in notifying His Majesty's pleasure to all the officers in the King's and Company's service in this country, that the brevets of advanced local rank which had been granted to field-officers in His Majesty's service should cease to operate after the 29th day of September, 1789; and that His Majesty had been graciously pleased to order that brevet commissions of King's local rank, should, under certain restrictions, be issued to all the officers in the service of the Honourable Company.

His Majesty's field-officers could not but feel some degree of mortification and disappointment at being now deprived of the advanced brevet rank, which part of them have long enjoyed in this country; but being sensible that the measure had been adopted from considerations of public utility, those who have stated their feelings on the occasion have done it in the most decent language; and on the 29th of September next the order will, from the whole of the King's field-officers in this country, meet with the most respectful obedience.

I have issued brevet commissions of King's local rank to all the officers now employed in the Honourable Company's service in India, according to the terms of His Majesty's Instructions; and I have the pleasure to say that they have been received with a due sense of the honour and distinction which has been thus conferred upon them. The officers on the Bengal establishment have requested that their most grateful thanks may be offered to His Majesty for this substantial mark of the Royal favour and condescension; and I have no reason to doubt that the officers on the establishment of Fort St. George and Bombay are less desirous to express their warmest acknowledgments. It is my duty to beg that your Lordship will be pleased to convey these sentiments to His Majesty.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

[Private and Confidential.]

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Aug. 8, 1789.

I flatter myself that you will give me credit for feeling the most sincere joy at the recovery of our beloved Sovereign, and at the continuance of an administration whose measures have proved

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so advantageous and so glorious to Britain. I cannot sufficiently admire the conduct of Mr. Pitt upon this trying occasion, and am much pleased to find that it made a proper impression upon the nation at large.

I have written so fully on the public business to the Court of Directors, and to the Secret Committee, that I have not much at present to say to you in addition to it. Little progress, as you must have expected, has been hitherto made in the business of Cuttack; but should the Marattas at any time engage heartily in a negotiation for giving us that province by an exchange of territory, you will see from Mr. Malet's letter, dated March 28, that we can very well spare many things to them on the Malabar Coast.

By all accounts Hollond is in every manner doing infinite mischief both to the interest and reputation of the Company. In particular I suspect strongly that the late expedition commanded by Colonel Stuart against the brothers called the Mundahs, who were in possession of the Shevagunga country, was undertaken and ordered by him upon principles highly detrimental to the interests of the Madras Government, and disgraceful to the national character.

Enclosed I send to you a copy of a letter (dated April 8, 1789) that I wrote to him when he first communicated his intention to me, with a view to put him on his guard; and I was sincerely sorry that I could not with propriety interfere with more efficacy. It is also a great evil to the public that he can have no authority, for there seems to be an universal clamour against him at Madras; and the general wish of all ranks is for Medows, who is much beloved and highly respected at Bombay.

The Court of Directors have given me a miserable Counsellor in my poor friend Speke.[1] He is in his private character a worthy, honest man, but very weak, and open to the solicitations of individuals to support their most ruinous jobs, and totally unacquainted with all the business of this country, except making silk. He will afford me about as much assistance as our friend Stuart, without having so gentlemanlike manners, which are of more use to a Supreme Counsellor than silk-making.

Mr. Duncan is by far the most proper man in this country for a seat at the Supreme Board, and I must hope that you will exert yourself most strenuously to get him appointed to succeed Mr. Shore, who certainly will leave us in December next. I shall write to this effect to N. Smith.[2]

[1] Peter Speke, b. 1745; d. Dec. 1, 1811. His father, Captain Speke, commanded a ship in Admiral Watson's action near Chernandagore.

[2] Nathaniel Smith, d. May 6, 1794. An East India Director for many years, and Chairman 1788-9. M.P. for Pontefract for a short time in 1783, and for Rochester from May, 1784, to June, 1790.

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Charles Grant's children have been ill, and I am sorry to say that no consideration can detain him longer in India. I shall much lament his loss from the general assistance which I have received from him, but in the commercial line it is irreparable.

Macpherson seems to expect that you are to give him a pension, besides all the ill-earned money that he has got under the head of pay and presents. His flimsy cunning and shameless falsehoods seem to have taken in all parties; believe me that those who trust the most in him will be the most deceived. He tells me in a letter that I received from him lately, that the field is as open to him as to any other person, to be my successor in this Government. On this I cannot help saying, that, as I must always take an interest about the future prosperity of this country, I hardly know any public event which is possible to happen that would give me more concern than I should feel at his ideas being realised, nor any measure respecting India that in my opinion would tend more in its consequences to vex and discredit both you and Mr. Pitt. You may be assured that under his management a relaxation of authority in Government, and a system of mean jobbing and peculation, would immediately take place; and if in my time we shall have recovered any part of the national character for sincerity and honour with the native powers, you may depend upon it that his duplicity and low intrigues amongst them would soon completely demolish it. His pretension to a knowledge of the revenue business of this country, of which I have no doubt that he has talked much since his return to England, is really most laughably ridiculous, and is of a piece with the rest of his character, for I do not believe that there is a boy in the service so grossly ignorant of it in every respect: he does not even know the commonest revenue terms. He sometimes made a good regulation by the advice of J. Duncan, but never had the spirit to enforce it; nor had he a mind sufficiently upright to avail himself, to any purpose, of such counsel as Duncan was always ready to give him.

I always think it right to give you my sentiments plainly and fully upon these points, as I have no doubt of your considering them as private and confidential, for the use of yourself and Mr. Pitt only.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD SYDNEY.

MY DEAR LORD, Calcutta, Aug. 9, 1789.

I received your letter of the 21st of February, for which I am much obliged to you. The subsequent confirmation of His

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Majesty's perfect recovery has on every account, both public and private, given me greater joy and satisfaction than I can express. The Parliament and the nation have shown great virtue, but that there should be some exceptions is not surprising. I have long since known —— to be void of principle, and have only kept up an appearance of connexion with him because I thought I might be of some use to his family. Of the Duke of Northumberland, I have never changed my sentiments about him since I knew him at Eton nine-and-thirty years ago. But ——'s ingratitude seriously shocks me. He had principle and sentiments of honour: where has he disposed of them?

The Nizam's ambassador, who was lately here, complained in the strongest terms of the insult which had been offered to his master, by the neglect of returning an answer to the letter which he wrote to the King when he sent the present of the diamond; and he declared that the Nizam could not rest quietly under such an affront, but was determined to write again to His Majesty to state his feelings, and to represent that he was dishonoured unless he could obtain an answer to his letter. I thought it much better that he should write no more, and therefore agreed to take it upon myself that he should have an answer. It may of course be written in the pompous unmeaning jargon of this country. If you should find a difficulty in getting it put into Persian, you may send the proper paper with the King's signature to me, with an English copy of the letter, or the heads of a letter only, if it should be more convenient, and I will have it translated into Persian. I mentioned to Mr. Dundas the sort of present which might be sent in the King's name, and would help to remove all recollection of grievances.

Mobarick al Dowlah, our Nabob of Bengal, sent me a letter of congratulation to the King on his recovery, with the customary nuzzer (present) to a crowned head of 101 gold mohurs. He likewise sent a ridiculous letter, with a present of 7000 rupees, for Dr. Willis, and 7000 rupees to be distributed to the poor in the neighbourhood of the King's palace. It occurred to me that sending home the money would occasion as many idle stories as the Nizam's diamond; that 7000 rupees would be changed into 7000 or perhaps 70,000 pounds; and that the letter to Dr. Willis might be very much laughed at. In addition to this, Mobarick is as poor as a rat (I do not mean one of the new-fashioned rats), and wants 7000 rupees as much as any man. I therefore returned the presents, assuring the Nabob that it was not the custom in England to make any on such occasions, as well as the letter to Dr. Willis, and promised to transmit that which is addressed to His Majesty.

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The inhabitants of this settlement were very desirous of sending home a congratulatory address; but although the present is of all possible cases the most unexceptionable, yet I thought it was better not to establish a precedent that might give rise to addresses of a very different nature, and persuaded them to be satisfied with illuminations, music, &c., &c. Hollond was of the same opinion as myself, without any previous communication, but had not weight enough to stop an address from Madras. I must now request that you will assure His Majesty that his subjects in Bengal are not behindhand with their brethren at Madras, or with those in any other part of the world, in sentiments of the purest loyalty and warmest affection.

I am, my dear Lord, with the most sincere good wishes to Lady Sydney and all your family,

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

Aug. 13.

Since I wrote the foregoing the Nabob Vizier has sent likewise a complimentary letter, with pecuniary presents for the same purposes, but to a much greater amount than Mobarick, viz. 25,000 rupees to Dr. Willis, and the same to charitable purposes. I have, as before, promised to forward the letter, and civilly declined the money. I received letters of congratulation to the King, and nuzzers, from Hassan Reza Khan, the nominal, and Hyder Beg Khan, the real Minister of the Vizier; but I have not transmitted their letters, as I do not apprehend that in point of etiquette they ought to write to His Majesty. I have therefore acquainted them that His Majesty shall be informed of the sentiments of joy which they express on the happy event of the recovery of his health.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO ——, ESQ.

SIR, Calcutta, Aug. 10, 1789.

My personal esteem for you, and my sincere regard for my friend the Duke of Grafton, made me feel the deepest concern at being under the necessity of removing your son from his collectorship of ———. From his general good character, and from other circumstances, I do not attribute his behaviour to corrupt motives; yet his official misconduct was of such a nature, that I could not save him, without marking a partiality which must have destroyed all respect for my Government. But although unfortunately mine is the duty of the rigid judge, an affectionate father has another

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part to act. It is for you to believe your son innocent of all moral wrong; and when you lament that the error into which he has fallen must materially affect his fortune, do not aggravate the calamity, which God knows is severe enough, by the addition of your unkindness.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO JOHN WOODHOUSE,[1] ESQ.

SIR, Calcutta, Aug. 10, 1789.

I have been favoured with your letters dated 17th July, 1788, and 10th March, 1789. I received the latter but two days ago; and although I am, just at the despatch of the 'Swallow,' too much hurried to answer it fully by this conveyance, yet from your obliging expressions towards myself, and from the attention which I wish to pay to a person of your respectable character, and who has been so many years in the Direction, I cannot let the present opportunity pass without sending you a few lines in explanation of the transaction of which you complain.

I appointed Mr. —— commercial Resident at ——, from which station, after, I believe, about a year's trial, I was under the necessity of removing him, on account of his incapacity to manage the business of that aurung, and his repeated and obstinate disobedience of the orders of the Board of Trade. The whole detail of the circumstances of this transaction are on our Proceedings, which I will get abstracted for you, and transmit by one of the first ships of the season. Mr. ——, although there was no imputation on his honour or integrity, was certainly let down very easily by being appointed Resident at ——, and received more favour from this Government than his official conduct entitled him to.

His successor at —— soon showed us what might be done by capacity and exertion, and in little more than a twelvemonth, nearly restored that most valuable aurung, which had been ruined by long mismanagement, to its former flourishing condition.

In regard to Mr. ——'s eventual succession to Beauliah or Malda, no opportunity has offered for its taking place since I have been in India; for when Mr. Grant was removed from Malda, it was necessary that his successor should take the unexpired term of his contract, before the end of which, Mr. —— had been promoted to ——, and given no favourable specimen of his abilities; but I fairly own to you that if a vacancy had happened, I should hardly

[1] John Woodhouse, many years an East India Director.

have thought myself justified in appointing him to either of those Residencies, for he has had no experience in making silk, which important article forms a considerable part of the provision of the investment at both these places.

It is true that by the long existence of the contract system, so few of the Company's servants had an opportunity of obtaining commercial knowledge, that I have been under the necessity of appointing gentlemen to manage silk as well as other aurungs, who have had no experience, but then they appeared to me to be persons of quickness and exertion, which talents Mr. —— unfortunately does not possess. Before I conclude I must beg leave to observe, that I do not conceive any man can have behaved with more proper respect to the Court of Directors than I have done ever since I have held my present station; but I must freely acknowledge that before I accepted the arduous task of governing this country, I did understand that the practice of naming persons from England, to succeed to offices of great trust and importance to the public welfare in this country, without either knowing or regarding whether such persons were in any degree qualified for such offices, was entirely done away. If unfortunately so pernicious a system should be again revived, I should feel myself obliged to request that some other person might immediately take from me the responsibility of governing these extensive dominions, that I might preserve my own character, and not be a witness to the ruin of the interests of my country.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Aug. 10, 1789.

. . . We cannot avoid mentioning, that among the private instances of generosity and benevolence which were exhibited on the day that was fixed for celebrating His Majesty's recovery, Coja Cacheek Arakeel, an Armenian, deserves particular notice. He was not contented with testifying as others did his pleasure at the event by illumination and other public demonstrations of joy, but he also took that occasion to do an act of uncommon charity, by paying the debts of, and releasing no less than one hundred and thirty unfortunate people, prisoners for debt in the jail of the Court of Requests.

We are, &c.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD HAWKESBURY.

MY DEAR LORD, Calcutta, Aug. 10, 1789.

I have been honoured with your letter of Jan. 6, since which the gloomy prospect which then hung over the affairs of Britain has been most happily dispelled, and everything now promises to go on in its usual, and I trust prosperous channel.

I have the pleasure of knowing Mr. Beachcroft, and should be glad on his own, as well as on your Lordship's recommendation, to show a kindness to his son, who is a young man of good character.

I doubt however very much whether he has had sufficient experience in the commercial line, to enable him to manage so difficult and so very important an aurung as Luckipore, which is almost the only one of any magnitude which supplies the species of coarse cloths which do not interfere with the British manufacture.

If in the course of the ensuing winter, an opportunity should offer of appointing Mr. Beachcroft to a Commercial Residency, in which he would be likely to succeed, I shall be very glad to do it. But here, my Lord, we are in the habit of looking for the man for the place, and not for the place for the man.

I have never heard of your clerical friend Mr. Hollingbury, but unless he was sent out by the Court of Directors, I could not have it in my power to promote him.

Mrs. Johnson[1] is now better, but she was very much mortified, not to have an opportunity of testifying her loyalty by coming to the entertainment which I gave on the 28th ultimo, in celebration of the joyful event of His Majesty's recovery, as she was at that time very much indisposed.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO VISCOUNT BROME.

MY DEAREST CHARLES, Calcutta, Aug. 14, 1789.

We tried our hand at illuminations here on the evening of the day appointed for the celebration of His Majesty's recovery, when the army fired what is called a *feu de joie*, and I gave a concert and supper to the whole settlement, but unluckily, after we had made all our preparations, and flattered ourselves that we should rival the most brilliant part of London, just about sunset there came on a most violent torrent of rain, which lasted the greatest part of the night, and put out our lamps almost as fast as

[1] Mrs. Johnson was widow of Mr. Watts, for some time Governor of Bengal, by whom she was mother of the 1st Lord Liverpool's 1st wife.

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we could light them. We must now hope the good intention will be taken for the act; the supper, which could not be put out by the rain, was a very good one; some of the gentlemen who stayed late however were nearly extinguished by the claret; seven of the finest ladies of the place and twelve gentlemen sang the Coronation Anthem, so that upon the whole you see that it was a magnificent business.

The accounts I receive of you from Mr. Hayes, the B. of Lichfield, and indeed everybody that knows you, give me the greatest joy and satisfaction; and now the greatest happiness I have to look forward to in this world is our meeting, which I trust will be in May or June, 1791, not quite a year and a half from the time that this letter will probably reach you. God bless you, my dearest Charles, may you be as well and as happy as I wish you, and you will not desire any more.

I am most truly
Your affectionate Father,
CORNWALLIS.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

Wimbledon, April 3, 1789. [Received Aug. 1789.]—*See* Appendix, No. 26.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO CAPTAIN KENNAWAY.

SIR, Fort William, Aug. 26, 1789.

. . . Tippoo's letter to the Nabob of Karnoul,[1] is descriptive of his general character of bigotry to his religion, and jealousy and hatred of Europeans, though perhaps his enmity to our nation may be particularly predominant.

You will inform the Nizam and the Minister, that I consider the communication of the letter as a confidential mark of their cordiality, to which I shall always be happy, when opportunities offer, to make suitable returns.

It would be inconsistent with the good faith which we wish to observe in all our treaties or transactions with the Princes of his country, to engage in intrigues or correspondence with the tributaries or dependents of any power with whom we are at peace, and you therefore acted properly and judiciously in declining to meet the advances that were made to you by the Nabob of Karnoul; although there are many circumstances that we could plead to excuse a want of forbearance of that nature with regard to Tippoo.

You will however observe the same rule in all similar cases that

[1] A petty Mohammedan Prince subject to the Nizam.

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may occur, though it will be proper in such instances that you should clearly explain to the parties concerned, that this Government does not avoid a connexion with them from being indifferent to their friendship, or insensible of their merit in showing a partiality to the Company; but that we are precluded at present from contracting the engagements that they may desire, by considerations of justice and national honour, which do not admit of any deviation on our part from the faith of existing treaties, whilst they continue to be observed by the Princes of this country with whom they have been made. . . .

My desire is that your public language and manner should be extremely guarded, and free from all appearance of inveteracy or aversion to Tippoo's vakeels or to their master; and though it will not be proper that the advances should be made by you, I do not wish you to decline living upon terms of common civility, or even your mutually visiting each other, if it should be proposed by them. And should fair opportunities offer in the course of occasional meetings, I have no objection to your throwing out as an opinion of your own, that there is no rooted antipathy against Tippoo in this Government. . . .

It may be proper that you should know, that I have already declared to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, that in my opinion the Settlement of Tellicherry is not of value to the Company, either in a commercial or a political light, in any degree of proportion to the expense and risk at which it is maintained; and consequently that it would be a wise measure to relinquish it either for an advantageous equivalent, or even when it can be done without discredit.

The province of Cuttack is one of the few districts in this country which it would be desirable to add to the present possessions of the Company.

Some desultory propositions have been agitated at Poona, for obtaining that province by an exchange of territory; and with that view Mr. Malet was authorized to mention as a thought of his own, that the Peshwa's administration might in some transaction with Tippoo, obtain a valuable consideration for engaging to procure for him the surrender of Tellicherry from us. No progress, however, was made in that negotiation; and it appears to me not entirely impossible that an opening may offer, during the residence of Tippoo's vakeels at Hydrabad, for effecting our purpose of getting rid of Tellicherry with credit and advantage, still more conveniently by the means of a negotiation with the Nizam. . . .

I think it possible that in the course of conversation upon

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that subject[1] with the Minister, you may find an opening to say in an unaffected manner, that you are sorry that from the situation of Tellicherry, Tippoo's jealousy of our interference between him and his tributaries may be incurable, and that in your opinion it would be extremely desirable that some arrangement could be made, by which the Nizam should give the Company a proper compensation for Tellicherry; and that Tippoo should in some form or other give His Highness a sufficient equivalent for surrendering his rights in that settlement to him.

Should the Minister adopt the idea with earnestness, you may encourage him to make some specific proposition of an equivalent to be allowed to the Company by the Nizam (and it could easily be done by a deduction from the peshcush), for giving him the disposal of Tellicherry, to be forwarded to me; but should he appear disinclined to enter into a negotiation of that nature, or even hear what you may throw out upon it with seeming indifference, it will not be proper for you to touch upon the subject again, unless it should be revived by himself.

By some accounts that I have received from the Southern parts of the Carnatic, the Rajah of Travancore appears to be much alarmed at the warlike preparations that Tippoo has been making for some time past, in his neighbourhood at Coimbatore. But as Tippoo is well aware that an attack upon any part of the country of Travancore would be looked upon by this Government as an act of hostility against the Company, and as you have seen no reason to apprehend that he entertains any design at present to break with us, I hope that the Rajah will soon see that his fears have been without foundation. . . . I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO MAJOR PALMER.

SIR, Fort William, Aug. 26, 1789.

Candour obliges me to acknowledge, that the Vizier's general conduct towards Scindia for several years past, must have been considered by the latter as unaccommodating, and to a certain degree provoking. But at the same time great allowance should be made for the feelings of a Prince of his Excellency's rank and dignity, at having been witness for a train of successive years of the perseverance with which Scindia has pursued schemes of unbounded ambition and avarice in Hindostan.

[1] The encouragement falsely supposed to have been given by the Company to some of Tippoo's tributaries.

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I cannot therefore admit upon the most partial consideration of their relative situations, that Scindia's complaints against the Vizier are founded upon such valid grounds, as to justify his throwing threats out of public resentment.

For though I do not approve of his Excellency's showing countenance or furnishing shelter to Scindia's professed political enemies, yet as those men have only become his enemies in consequence of his own ambition and a systematic plan of encroachment, the protection which may have been offered to some of them by the Vizier, cannot be viewed by any means in so offensive a light as if they had been native Marattas, or had been for a considerable time in a state of submission to the Maratta Government.

It will be proper that you should take an early opportunity to discuss this subject fully with Scindia; and after claiming the credit to which we have so just a title, for the sincerity with which I have adhered to my professions to him since my arrival in India, and which he has experienced in the most substantial manner, by the strict neutrality which this Government has observed during several delicate and intricate turns in his affairs, you will convey to him the substance of what I have stated, in the most friendly and conciliatory language. I should wish you at the same time to be at pains to explain to him, that although the general principles of his own political conduct, ought in my opinion to render him cautious in preferring public complaints against the Vizier, of the nature of those that have been lately under discussion, yet that I am ready to allow that his Excellency's behaviour to him on several occasions, has not been entirely blameless. And you may assure him that from that consideration, as well as from my personal regard for him, and my respect for the Maratta State, I shall always be ready to interpose my good offices with the Vizier, to obtain his acquiescence to all Scindia's reasonable requests. But you will always endeavour to make Scindia sensible, that should his Excellency's aversion to such compliances as I may from time to time recommend, prove invincible by means of persuasion, it would not only be indelicate, but highly unjustifiable in me to employ any other mode to induce an ally, with whom we are connected by the strictest ties of friendship and mutual interests, to comply with requisitions which, in my own opinion, cannot in strict justice be demanded from him. . . .

Should Scindia, contrary to my expectations, declare that he will not overlook (or depend entirely on my interference to endeavour to procure redress for) any future similar grounds of complaint that may be furnished by the conduct of the Vizier, and should think proper to express a resolution to show his resentment by any public

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acts, you are to recommend to him in civil but in the most explicit terms, to weigh very maturely the consequences that may follow his executing such a determination; and notify to him, in a manner that cannot be misapprehended, that I shall consider any act of injury or insult to the Vizier or his subjects, precisely in the same light as if it had been offered to any of the immediate subjects or dominions of the Company. . . .

The particular circumstance of Scindia's having become a principal on the side of the Marattas in the late treaty of Peace, and the long connexion which has now subsisted between him and this Government, has hitherto rendered it expedient to station a Resident with him, though I must confess that it is somewhat problematical, whether the measure is necessary or advantageous to the Company.

From the authority which seems to have been delegated by the Peshwa's Government to Ali Behauder[1] and Tookojee Holkar to interfere with Scindia in the management of the Maratta interests in Hindostan, it appears to be more than probable that he may resolve to relinquish that scene altogether, and either return to his own territories or repair to Poona, to endeavour to recover any credit that he may have lost with the principal members of the Peshwa's administration.

Should he come to either determination, you are not to accede to any proposition for your remaining with both, or with either of the other Maratta chiefs; but when Scindia shall be ready to depart, you are to take leave of him with every possible public mark and demonstration of cordiality and friendship, and to proceed with your assistant and escort and suite with all convenient despatch to Benares, where you will receive such further instructions as may be judged proper by this Government.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

MINUTE OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Sept. 18, 1789.—*See* Appendix, No. 27.

[1] Ali Behaudur, grandson of the Peshwa Baji Rao, by a Mohammedan woman. He was in the service of the reigning Peshwa, and was sent by Nana Furnavese with an army to join Sindia in his invasion of Hindustan. After separating from him he made conquests for himself in Bundelkund, which, after his death in 1802 at the siege of Kalinjar, were seized by the Peshwa and Sindia. They are now mostly in the possession of the Company, but his descendants are still Nabobs of Banda in Bundelkund.

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MAJOR-GENERAL GRENVILLE TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Sept. 18, 1789.]

MY DEAR LORD, 7, Sackville Street, April 14, 1789.

I had the pleasure in my last to acquaint you with the King's convalescence: I have now still a greater satisfaction in assuring you of his *perfect recovery*, which, God be praised, is complete in every respect. I need not, and indeed it is hardly possible for me to give you a just description of the universal joy which has been testified by almost the whole nation, upon this fortunate event. Mr. Pitt's conduct throughout the whole of this very embarrassing situation has been so judicious and manly, that it has raised him still higher, if possible, in the estimation of the people than he was before; the many difficulties he had to encounter, and the influence of certain great persons, who stuck at nothing to gain over the majority to their side, was not sufficient to overwhelm him, and I think it does infinite credit to both Houses of Parliament, that notwithstanding the above, and the very hopeless state of the King's illness, which at one particular time made people almost despair of his recovery, they still held out firm, with very few exceptions, amongst which I am sorry to say that a very old friend and acquaintance of ours, Lord Lothian, was the most conspicuous. The many personal obligations which I understand he lays under to His Majesty, and the very friendly footing on which the King was always pleased to put him, should have made him hesitate, whatever his opinions might have been, to have taken so active a part in Opposition, as he must have at least guessed, to speak the least harsh of the business, that should His Majesty recover (which, however improbable it might have appeared to him, was yet fully possible), he would have been extremely shocked to have had all his old servants dismissed, and *things done which could not have been undone;* in short I cannot see how he can well defend himself, and indeed H. M. has pretty strongly shown *his* sense of his conduct, by having amongst one of the first things he did upon his recovery, taken away his regiment of Life Guards, and given them to Lord Dover, and offered him a regiment of Dragoons upon the Irish establishment, which his Lordship has thought proper to refuse. As I acquainted the Duke that a very good opportunity offered for a safe conveyance of a letter to you, I am in hopes that H. R. H. will devote one half-hour to that purpose. I am sorry to say that he still continues in the same style of life which has lasted the whole winter, and which if he does not soon change, neither his constitution or pocket can hold out, and we shall be obliged, as the

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sailors call it, to cut and run for the Continent; in short, my dear Lord, we take a long time to sow our wild oats, and I am sadly afraid we shall never have a good crop, unless something turns up in our favour, to remove us from this scene of riot and eternal dissipation. He has not shown me any of your letters; I think it however my duty to give you a hint to take care what you write, as he is *beyond measure careless* in leaving his letters about open upon the table, and I have lately had some complaints from his correspondents on that head: I very often remarked it when I was in Germany, and have frequently spoke to him upon it. I am not sufficiently informed to give you any tolerable account of the state of politicks either at home or abroad: everything seems to go on here in its old course; no talk of war, though our alliance with Prussia may possibly lead us into one, as everything seems to be upon the stir on the Continent. The Emperor[1] is extremely ill and in a dangerous way; if he should die it would still add to the confusion, as there is no King of the Romans: we shall, however, endeavour to keep ourselves out of the scrape, and if France will let us we shall remain quiet. The show of Hastings' trial begins again on Tuesday. I wish they would raise a tax upon all the auditors and spectators, as I believe it is the only good we shall derive from it. The King goes to St. Paul's on the 23rd,[2] which is to be a day of general thanksgiving throughout the whole kingdom. . . .

Adieu, my dear Lord. Believe me to be ever, with the truest attachment, &c.,

R. GRENVILLE.

A thousand thanks to you for yours of the 8th of Nov. 1788.

SIR JOHN MACPHERSON, BART., TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Sept., 1789.]

MY LORD, London, March 9, 1789.

. . . Your Lordship will understand from the Company's despatches that I have resigned their service. The Board of Control wrote a very handsome letter to the Court on the 26th of last month, stating their reason why my return to India in a secondary situation was inexpedient—having filled the first with the approbation of my employers, and having received their thanks. They accordingly recommended a remuneration on the part of the Com-

[1] He died Feb. 20, 1790; see *antè*, 1785.

[2] Both Houses were present at the Thanksgiving, which was attended by the Foreign Ministers, the Corporation of London, and an immense concourse of persons of all ranks. At night the illuminations were general beyond all precedent, and the warmth and universality of the satisfaction displayed on seeing the King, showed the deep attachment of his people.—See *Annual Register*, 1789.

pany of 2000*l.* a-year, as my removal from the Government was not owing to any fault. At that moment the influence of administration was in a state of dissolution at the India House, and that of the ex-ministers, who had espoused my cause, was not established; and opposite counteractions had their effect. The friends of my predecessor and of Lord Macartney, were not well pleased to see so superior an attention paid to my interests; and the connexions of those who were hurt by the reforms were not friendly. The issue was curious. The main question could not be carried with certainty. The opinion of law was taken, and my salary, with the present of 50,000 rupees, were granted.[1] Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Portland were less pleased with the conduct of the Court than I was; and though Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas knew that my opinion did not coincide with theirs in recent politicks, they were not the less urgent in my business. It was indeed their own; and as I have only received my legal rights, I imagine Mr. Pitt will still move for an annual establishment for me, either from the Company or in Parliament. He is apprised that from certain circumstances, I had pretensions to the salary of a higher rank than that of a Member of Council. . . .

Your Lordship will know from your relations, that if there had been a change in Government, your Lordship was to have been supported. I have invariably adhered to my first declaration to your Lordship, relative to the support necessary and due to your administration. I have had many conversations with my Lord North on the subject, and I believe your Lordship will find the Prince of Wales, who honours me sometimes with questions about India, as well disposed to your cause, if not more so, than he was some time ago. The Duke of York is steadily so.

No successor is yet thought of to your Government; and as I mentioned before, your Lordship will be anxious to have one before you have notice of his appointment. If I were ambitious of recommencing an India campaign, the field is, I believe, as open to me as to any person. . . .

I sincerely wish your Lordship good health, a prosperous Government, and a safe return to your native land, and have the honour to be, With much respect, &c.,

JOHN MACPHERSON.

P.S.—When I was leaving Bengal, the Vizier offered me some presents. I sent him word (through Colonel Harpur, who by-the-

[1] He claimed a pension of 2000*l.*, but he only received the sum of 15,301*l.* 7*s.*

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bye I have never seen in this country but *once*) that if his Excellency or his minister sent me one of Saja swords and some ottar of roses, as specimens of the country manufactures, I would receive them and give them to the Prince of Wales, who had then honoured me with a letter. Since my arrival in this country I have presented them. They were of little value but as curiosities. They have been graciously received—a circumstance which cannot but be agreeable to the Vizier and his minister, if mentioned by your Lordship.

The whole of this letter is a string of gross misrepresentations. When Sir John wrote it, he had been distinctly informed that on no consideration would he be allowed to return to India, and he was perfectly aware that nothing but a change of Government could have given him a chance of being appointed Governor-General. He looked for support from the Whigs, as the reward of having ratted to them on the Regency question; but even among that party, there were several whose claims were stronger than his.

His resignation was a farce, for when he left India he was in fact legally out of the service, although he endeavoured to evade the law by sailing nominally for the Cape instead of to Europe direct.

His demand for a pension higher than that of Member of Council had already been rejected, both by the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, in the most unqualified manner; nor had greater success attended his attempt to prove that the appointment of Lord Cornwallis was illegal, and that in consequence he himself was still Governor-General.

LIEUT.-GENERAL GRANT TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Sept., 1789.]

MY DEAR LORD, Sackville Street, March 18, 1789.

I have not had resolution to take up the pen for some months: the country has been in such a situation from the King's unfortunate state of health, and the consequences which might attend the continuance of that disorder were so uncertain, that it was impossible to form an opinion with any degree of precision, or to attempt with satisfaction to oneself to give an idea of what was likely to happen, to a friend at a distance. Reports varied by the hour; party ran higher than was ever seen or heard of; it would hardly have been safe—certainly not pleasant—to bring men of different sides to meet at dinners at a third place, if such a neutral place could have been found in London. The King's disorder was

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observed at Windsor the 22nd of October, by Sir George Baker,[1] but he did not mention it at the time, and has been blamed for allowing His Majesty to go to the levee when he was not fit to appear in publick. The levee was short; he said nothing improper, but everybody was struck with his looks, and the Foreign Ministers informed their respective Courts that the King was insane, and it was from abroad that his madness was first publicly mentioned. I was in Scotland at the time. We all believed him to be dangerously ill, and expected then to hear of his death by every post. Warren and Sir George Baker told their friends in conversation that the King had lost his senses, and that the madness was of such a nature as never to be cured, and that he certainly would remain in a state of insanity or idiotism during the remaining part of his life; their opinions, openly enough given, though they did not go so far when examined by Committees of the Lords and Commons, undoubtedly influenced the conduct of Opposition to the last moment; they would not bring themselves to believe that it was possible for the King ever to resume the Government. So much were they convinced of the fact, that notwithstanding the favourable reports from Kew, they fixed the members for the Regent's administration on Wednesday the 14th of February; and the very next day, February 15, the Chancellor moved for an adjournment in the House of Lords, and to postpone the further consideration of the Regency Bill, as the King's health was restored, and that his perfect recovery would probably in a very short time enable His Majesty to resume the Government. This happened critically about three or four days at most, before the Prince was to take possession of the Government as Regent: in that case Charles Fox and that party would have been fixed upon the Treasury Bench. Mr. Pitt and his adherents would every man of them have been turned out of office; and I do not pretend to tell you when the King would have *recovered*. Notwithstanding all the precautions which were taken, the resumption of regal power might have been attended with some difficulty. Indeed, Opposition might have had possession many weeks before, if they had not prolonged the business by long speeches in ill-timed debates, which could answer no purpose but to delay their getting into power—the object which they anxiously wished for. Much time was lost by Mr. Fox throwing out in the House, that the Prince might claim his right to the Regency without the concurrence of Parliament—a doctrine which was broached originally before the meeting of Parliament by Lord

[1] Sir George Baker, Bart., so created Aug. 26, 1776. President of the College of Physicians, and Physician to His Majesty, b. 1722, d. June 15, 1809; m. June 28, 1768, Jane, dau. of Roger Morris, Esq.

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Loughborough, when Fox was in Italy: that produced restrictions and long debates upon every one of them. Burke of course many hours every day upon his legs. For the good of the Minister, and the destruction of his friends, a second examination of physicians insisted upon, in hopes that it would appear that the King's recovery was improbable if not impossible, and that such a report might operate upon the minds and opinions of members of both Houses of Parliament, in which the majorities kept together in a most astonishing manner. Notwithstanding threats and promises in the most open and public manner, no impression was made upon the members; and during the course of the business, though the Opposition consisted of a strong party, with the Prince and Duke of York at their head, there were fewer rats than could have been expected, as the probability was that the whole power of the country, and particularly the patronage of the army and navy, would soon be vested in them. White's Club, which is now in great repute, was a great support to the Minister. Eighty-nine members of Parliament, who belong to the club, attended constantly and voted with Mr. Pitt. His friend Bankes,[1] indeed, took the wrong side upon one question, to limit the time of restriction for making Peers, but he came back again; the late Speaker's illness occasioned a few days' delay. In short, a multiplicity of blunders and a number of lucky circumstances, with the assistance of Dr. Willis, concurred to save this country, and particularly the army. . . .

The King is now at Windsor, does business as usual, and is as well as ever he was in his life. I think his recovery is in a great measure owing to a letter which Mrs. Harcourt[2] wrote to the Queen, recommending Dr. Willis, because several of her family, the cases of whom she stated fairly and openly, had recovered under his care; and Willis was certainly sent for in consequence of that information. The moment he saw the King he said, if he was a subject, he should not hesitate to declare that it was a favourable case, and that he would recover; but that he could not speak with such confidence about His Majesty, as he did not know in what manner a king might be treated; and that there were many things against him

[1] Henry Bankes, b. Jan. 17, 1757, d. Dec. 17, 1834; m. Aug. 18, 1784, Frances, dau. of William Woodley, Esq., of the Leeward Islands. M.P. for Corfe Castle from Oct. 1780, to Feb. 1826; then for Dorset to 1830.

[2] Mary, wife of Major-General the Hon. William Harcourt, afterwards 3rd and last Earl Harcourt, dau. of William Danby, Esq., and widow of Thomas Lockhart, Esq., b. 1750, d. Jan. 14, 1833; m. General Harcourt, Sept. 3, 1778. Both she and General Harcourt were on terms of great intimacy with the Royal Family. She was selected to accompany Princess Caroline of Brunswick to England.—See *Malmesbury Correspondence*, vol. iii. p. 151.

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which did not apply to a subject. The pulse, it seems, is not raised by insanity, and the King's was at 140; during his malady, whenever the pulse fell, he became quiet for a few hours at a time; and since the fever has gone off, and the pulse has fallen to 64, he is perfectly well, and all the physicians agree, even Dr. Warren, that the King's disorder was a fever, which occasioned a delirium, and not a madness, and that there is no more danger of a relapse than in the case of a common fever; but to guard against unexpected accidents, I fancy a Regency will be fixed in the course of this session, in case the calamity should again happen, and I rather think a dissolution of Parliament will follow.

Tuesday the 10th, when Commissioners were appointed by His Majesty, and the Chancellor in the King's name made a speech to both the Houses of Parliament, every house in London was illuminated, and the town from one end to the other a lamp of light; and all the villages round followed the example. There was no mob and no confusion, though every street and lane were so full of people that one might have walked upon their heads from Charing Cross into the City, or to Hyde-park Corner. I could not get to White's from my house in a carriage. There was a ball that night at Lord Sydney's,[1] and many of the company could not get there till morning. Mr. Pitt's carriage was stopped an hour and a half at the head of the Haymarket, in attempting to go to the ball; he got out and walked to White's, where he supped, and when he inquired at two o'clock about his carriage, the answer was, that the carriage was just where he left it. We were thirteen at supper that night, who agreed that the club should give a ball upon the King's recovery at the Pantheon. We subscribed and paid ten guineas a-piece, appointed Lords Chesterfield[2] and Coventry[3] managers, and directed the subscription to be opened for two hundred members, which was to be closed on Thursday the 19th, whether it was full or not. The expense must have fallen upon the original seventeen; four other gentlemen did not choose to

[1] Lord Sydney lived in Grosvenor Square.

[2] Philip, 5th Earl of Chesterfield, K.G., b. Nov. 28, 1755, d. Aug. 29, 1815; m. 1st, Sept. 16, 1777, Anne, dau. of the Rev. Thomas Thistlethwaite, D.D., of Norman Court; 2nd, May 2, 1799, Henrietta, dau. of Thomas, 1st Marquis of Bath. Joint Postmaster-General from March 13, 1790, to March 1, 1798, and then Master of the Horse till July 21, 1804. He was appointed Ambassador to Spain Dec. 31, 1783, which office he resigned in 1787, having never proceeded to Madrid.

[3] George William, 6th Earl of Coventry, b. April 26, 1722, d. Sept. 3, 1809; m. 1st, March 5, 1752, Maria, dau. of John Gunning, Esq., of Castle Coote. She and her sister, the Duchess of Argyle, were considered the two most beautiful women of the day.—See Walpole's Letters, *passim*, and other contemporary Memoirs. The Editor has often heard his grandfather, Sir Robert Gunning (a near relation of these ladies), say, that when they walked in the Mall, they were actually incommoded by the passers-by, who crowded round in admiration. Lord Coventry m. 2nd, Sept. 27, 1764, Barbara, dau. of John, 10th Lord St. John.

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follow their example. A good many subscribed next day and the day following, but some cautious gentlemen kept off, and the list was not full till Wednesday the 18th. A great many came upon the Thursday, and were much disappointed upon finding that the number of subscribers was complete, and that they were precluded. The ladies are all to be dressed in white and gold; on the front of their caps they are to have a motto of "God save the King," in gold letters. The Prince and Duke of York were offered tickets, which they refused, but desired to subscribe; that was agreed to, but they are not to come. The Opposition ladies follow the example; and decline coming to the ball; but there probably will be some exceptions. Mrs. Sawbridge[1] had ordered her dress, but upon finding that the Duchess of Devonshire was not to go to the ball, she thought it would be improper in her, and therefore countermanded her dress. I know the Queen had a wish, with the Princesses, to see the ball; but it was given by subscription, and was evidently a party ball. The idea was laid aside, and they are not to come.[2] The first drawing-room is to be on Thursday the 26th, which will be fuller than ever a birthday was; and all the Government great men are to give dinners, and they compare lists to enable them to include everybody. Sir John Macpherson will not be of the number: he has touched five-and-twenty thousand pounds from the Company, and took the opportunity of going over to the Rising Sun in the first boat; he is not in Parliament, but he carried off his namesake and Sir Samuel Hannay: so that Hastings was not mistaken in the opinion which he gave you of him.

. . . Your friends are all well, and we drink your health in a bumper at the Wednesday Club. It is time to drop the pen, and to assure you that I ever shall be most perfectly yours,

JAMES GRANT.

MAJOR-GENERAL GRENVILLE TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Sept., 1789.]

MY DEAR LORD, March, 1789.

. . . The news which I have to send you concerning a certain person about whom we both interest ourselves so much, and whom we most cordially love, will I hope be of a more comfortable nature than the last, as I have the consolation to think that we

[1] Anne, dau. of Sir William Stephenson, at one time Lord Mayor of London; m. June 16, 1766, John Sawbridge, Esq., of Olantigh, an Alderman, and a violent partisan of Fox. He was M.P. for Hythe, and afterwards for London.

[2] The ball took place April 16. In the newspapers of the day it is stated that there were 50 cooks, 50 butlers, 50 musicians, 200 waiters, and 14,000 coloured lamps.

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have in a great measure sown our wild oats, and begin to see things in a clearer light than we have hitherto done. In the first place I *understand* (for I see very little of him myself, excepting for half an hour or so in a morning) that we have totally given up gambling—I hope for ever. The purchase of Oatlands,[1] a measure which I was at first inclined to condemn, turns out much better than I imagined, and has met with His Majesty's approbation, who, though he sees very little of him, still retains a great affection for him, and likes the idea of having him so near a neighbour. The sale of the Yorkshire estate is not yet negotiated, though in a very fair way of being sold to a Mr. Tenuson,[2] a Genevese banker, for 20,000*l. more* than the Duke gave for it. If we can get the above sum, I shall look upon it as a great piece of good fortune, and shall think that H. R. H. has acted most wisely in having taken this resolution. I wish I could send you a better account of the manner in which we employ our time. That natural aversion to any application of a serious nature predominates as much as ever, though I must do him the justice to say that he is extremely attentive to the keeping up of good order and discipline in his own regiment; but could wish that he would enter a little more into the *general* concerns of the *whole* army, which would give him a certain weight amongst us, and show that his zeal is not confined to his own regiment alone, but that he interests himself for the *whole*. I have accordingly continually recommended it to him to get thoroughly acquainted with officers of a certain stamp, which he might do without any trouble or restraint whatever, by which means he would get a knowledge of the different merits and characters of the several officers in every branch of the profession, and make himself to be looked up to by the *whole* army. I shall endeavour if possible to gain this point with him in the course of the winter, by desiring him to set apart a day or two in the week for this purpose, and which, in reality, if he likes the profession, will be no sacrifice whatever. The weight which a certain person[3] had with him at his first coming over, is greatly gone off, and is exactly now what it should be. As I have acquainted H. R. H. with the opportunity that offers of sending his letter by a *safe* conveyance, I take for granted you will receive a letter from him

[1] Oatlands, in Surrey, where the Duke resided till his death.

[2] The name of Tenuson is evidently a mistake for Thelusson, and the person meant is Peter Isaac Thelusson, whose well-known will has given rise to so much litigation; b. 1735 at Paris, d. June 2, 1797; m. Jan. 6, 1761, Anne, dau. of Matthew Woodford, Esq. He was father of the 1st Lord Rendlesham. He did not buy Thornville Royal, which was subsequently, for a short time, in the possession of Colonel Thornton, of sporting notoriety: it is now (under the name of Stourton Castle) the property of Lord Stourton.

[3] The Prince of Wales.

by your brother. In regard to foreign and domestic politicks, I can only say that everything goes on perfectly well *here*. The Emperor[1] seems to have made but a poor campaign of it hitherto: where the fault lies I will not pretend to say. The King of Sweden[2] seems to have got into a scrape by having declared war against Russia, without having previously formed such alliances as would counterbalance the assistance which Denmark is obliged by treaty to give to Russia, and which she seems most ready and willing to grant to the very full extent of her stipulations. How far this may occasion the war to spread upon the Continent, I am not Politician enough to foresee. Our late treaty with Prussia,[3] offensive and defensive, is I believe confined to the maintaining the Dutch Constitution against any future attacks of any power whatever; so that if France keeps aloof, and does not openly meddle in the above disputes, which she is not likely to do from the very wretched state of her finances, and the deplorable condition to which she is reduced by her intestine commotions, which very nearly amount to a civil warfare, we shall remain quiet spectators of the war upon the Continent. I have been very much busied lately in preparing my regiment for the King's review at Windsor. It was to have taken place last Monday, but on account of the King's indisposition it has been deferred. I have however the satisfaction to acquaint you that His Majesty is much better. It has been a very severe attack of the rheumatism, attended with violent spasms and pains in the stomach, owing to His Majesty's imprudence in having got thoroughly wet in the feet, and not having changed his stockings the whole evening; in addition to which he eat a quantity of cold pears, and drank ice-water, so that I think he is very lucky to have escaped so well, and I flatter myself, from what he has suffered, that he will be more cautious for the future. . . .

We all look forward with great impatience for '91, when we hope you will keep your word. Adieu.

Believe me, &c.,

R. GRENVILLE.

[1] The Emperor took the immediate direction of the army, but in September was obliged to retreat, and a truce for three months was concluded.

[2] Gustavus III., b. Jan. 24, 1746, d. March 29, 1792, having been mortally wounded by Ankerstroem at a masqued ball on March 16 preceding; m. Nov. 4, 1766, Sophia Madeline, dau. of Frederick, 5th King of Denmark. He rashly involved himself in this war, and Sweden was saved from serious calamities only by the bold conduct of Mr. Elliot, the British minister at Copenhagen, who, without instructions, insisted on an immediate truce. The peace between Sweden and Russia was signed Aug. 14, 1790.

[3] This treaty was signed Aug. 13, 1788. It was only defensive, and renewed the obligations contracted April 15, 1788, to defend Holland.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO PELLEGRINE TREVES,[1] ESQ.

SIR, Calcutta, Oct. 3, 1789.

I received yesterday your letter dated the 26th ultimo, enclosing one from Sir Robert Sloper.

It is not easy for the Prince, nor perhaps even for Sir Robert Sloper, to conceive how much my hands are tied; but you, who know the present state of the service, and can see on the spot how the business of the country is carried on, will understand that I may wish you and Mrs. Treves very sincerely well, and yet not be able to carry my good offices further than to recommend prudence and application.

I beg you will present my respects to Mrs. Treves, and

Believe me, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO COLONEL MUSGRAVE.[2]

SIR, Fort William, Oct. 5, 1789.

I have been favoured with your letters dated the 30th of August, and 1st and 15th ultimo. I return the proceedings of the general court-martial, which was held at Trichinopoly for the trial of Lieut. —— of the Honourable Company's service, with my confirmation of the sentence of dismission which was passed upon that officer.

From the general tenour of those proceedings, I have seen reason to apprehend that it is a practice with officers on the Madras establishment, to engage in loans and in other pecuniary transactions with the natives of the country, at places where they possess an influence by being employed upon public duty; and as I look upon such practices to be highly improper for military men, as well as pernicious to the interests of the Company, I desire that you will take every means that may be in your power, to put a stop to them amongst the troops under your command.

I have also recommended this subject to the serious consideration of the Government of Fort St. George, and in order that they may be fully acquainted with the grounds upon which I have formed my opinion of the existence of those transactions, I desire

[1] Pellegrine Treves, d. Aug. 25, 1825, m. Sept. 7, 1785, Miss Kitty Stokes, a natural dau. of Sir R. Sloper. His father was well known in London as a money-lender, and in that capacity became acquainted with the Prince of Wales, with whom he was on terms of intimacy. The Prince asked him one day after dinner, how he defined a Gentleman. "He is one man," was the reply, "who has one guinea in each pocket, and does not care one d—n for you nor your father."

[2] Afterwards Sir Thomas Musgrave, Bart.

that you will be pleased to direct the Judge-Advocate to furnish the Board with an attested copy of the proceedings of the above-mentioned general court-martial. . . . I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE.

GENTLEMEN, Fort William, Nov. 1, 1789.

. . . I have received the highest satisfaction from the approbation that you have been pleased to express in your letter dated the 15th of April last, of the general political measures of this Government; and it has been in a peculiar manner flattering to me, that the line of conduct which I have pursued towards the Nizam since my arrival in India, and in particular that the steps which I recommended for obtaining from him the possession of the Guntoor Circar, have been considered by you as consonant with the rules of good policy, and entirely conformable to the spirit of your instructions. . . .

I must acknowledge that I am not sanguine enough to hope that by the cession of Salsette, or by any other important benefit or gratification which it may be in our power at any time to offer to the Peshwa, it will be possible to secure to the Company a revenue, which without the embarrassment and expense of continental establishments, or the odium of extending their territorial possessions, might enable them to defray any considerable part of their expenses on the western side of India.

So sensibly do I feel the weight of these expenses, and the ruinous consequences which the large annual remittances made to Bombay must produce to this country, that I should certainly not overlook an opening of that kind; but there are only two sources that I know of, from which revenue can be derived, viz. territory or annual subsidy; the former, even if there were no objections to the acquisition of it, unless it could be obtained to a very considerable extent indeed, would be more likely to increase than to diminish the demands upon Bengal, and if the Poona Government were inclined to offer a subsidy for Salsette, which is highly improbable, there could be no reliance upon their discharging it.

From the conviction, therefore, that we had nothing to gain on the Malabar side, it was natural for me, when I found how anxious Nana Furnavese was to recover possession of the island of Salsette restored to the Peshwa, to turn my thoughts to the important province of Cuttack; and although I admit that it is not likely that

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the Mahrattas, or any of the country powers, would cordially promote our acquisition of territory in any part of India, yet I did not think we were likely to excite their jealousy by holding out a possibility of ceding to them a part of our possessions on the western side of India, where alone they have anything to apprehend from us, in order to extend our boundaries in a part of the continent that is so distant from them.

I hold it to be absolutely impossible ever to obtain Cuttack directly from the Boosla family by any other means than by force, for they would be content with no reasonable sum of money, and we have no equivalent whatever in land, nor do I see a chance of our ever being in possession of any territory that we could offer in exchange for it. The Rajah of Berar is besides so dependent on the Mahratta Government, that he could make no exchange or alienation of the territory without their consent, and they would never agree to any bargain unless they were to get some advantage from it.

You will see by Mr. Foster's account that the strength and political circumstances of the Rajah of Berar are truly contemptible, and that the Company can derive no benefit from any farther alliance or connexion with him, than the convenience that may arise from an intercourse of the common offices of good neighbourhood and mutual civility.

The Mahratta chiefs, Madajee Scindia, Tuccojee Holkar, and Ali Bahauder, have had several differences amongst themselves, and Prince Acbar[1] has been declared presumptive successor to his father Shah Allum. But no incident has occurred lately in the Upper Provinces of Hindostan which can in any degree materially affect the interests of the Honourable Company.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Nov. 1, 1789.

Although I am sure you must admit that there was no ill-humour in my letter about Macpherson and Murray, and that it hardly required so serious an answer as you gave it, yet without being so serious as you were, or indeed without being at all serious about it, I cannot let you quite turn the tables upon me, and carry it off entirely in your own way.

[1] Prince Acbar, 2nd but eldest surviving son of Shah Alem, and his successor, Nov. 19, 1806; b. 1757, d. Sept. 28, 1837. His son, Suraj-ud-Din Mohammed Behauder Shah, was the late (1859) King of Delhi.

In the first letter that I wrote to you from this country in November, 1786, by the 'Swallow' packet, I think I spoke my mind pretty plainly about Macpherson's government, and I do not recollect when I afterwards said upon his going home that I wished him to be received with civility, that I retracted one syllable that I had said before in respect to his mal-administration.

We did not, nor indeed could we, without disobeying a positive order of the Court of Directors, let him embark professedly for Europe without his resigning the service; we considered his asking leave to go to the Cape of Good Hope as a dirty trick to cheat the Company of three months' pay; but, besides being very glad to get rid of him, we thought it would have been harsh in us to have refused him leave. We stopped his pay, however, as soon as we heard he had sailed from the Cape for England, and if the Court of Directors had supported their own order, "That the salaries of Supreme Counsellors shall cease on the day of their resignation, or on that of their embarkation for Europe, whichever shall happen soonest," he would have been understood to have been completely out of the service from the day of his embarkation from that place.

I am very far from having any personal ill-will to the man, for he is a very good-humoured fellow; but I think him weak and false to a degree, and he certainly was the most contemptible and the most contemned Governor that ever pretended to govern.

I am also very much persuaded that he is not of a disposition to do me an injury merely for the sake of mischief; but in pursuit of his own views or interests, I do not think that considerations about me or any other person would stand much in his way. I must own that I am still of opinion, that I must have appeared in a very unfavourable light not only to all deliberate-thinking people, but to the public at large, and that it was expected that I should do so, whilst it was believed that under all the circumstances of my time of life and my public situation, I had made a marriage, which, to say the least of it, would have been most ridiculously imprudent; and when I observed that the report had been propagated, or rather the assertion had been made, with infinite industry by procuring the insertion of it in several of the newspapers on the same day, at a season of the year when no arrival from India could for several months furnish any contradiction to it, and when I took notice that it was likewise reported about the same time that Sir A. Campbell was dead, I could view the whole in no other light than that of a concerted design, to give an impression to the public that your Indian affairs were in a very bad way, and in great want of some able assistance.

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Some of the means that Macpherson and his friends had taken to spread these stories had come to my knowledge with sufficient certainty, and as I looked upon it as a part of his plan for promoting the success of his intrigues during that season, and do not by any means like that my character should be sacrificed or sported with to answer such purposes, I confess I do not entirely forgive him for it.

I can laugh a little at the whole business now, but the foolish congratulations that I received from various quarters on this supposed event, did not a little ruffle my temper about the time that I wrote my last letter to you on the subject.

I certainly should in direct terms have desired you to have endeavoured to prevent Colonel Murray's coming out, if I had conceived the most distant idea that such an event was possible. I cannot, however, help thinking that my inclinations must have been pretty well guessed at, by what I said of my friend Robinson[1] in my letter by the 'Ravensworth.' I certainly feel much mortified that so deserving a man, and one who has been so very useful to me, should be reduced to be an assistant in his own office; but although I cannot repose the same confidence in Murray as in Robinson, I by no means think him a bad Auditor-General, nor could I with any degree of justice class him with ——, whose total ignorance of law, and incapacity in every point of his profession, besides his other demerits, would have been attended with the most serious bad consequences to the Company.

As to poor Scawen[2] he does neither good nor harm; he is good-natured and gentleman-like in his manners; but Lord Bathurst was guilty of a most unwarrantable act in carrying so gross a job with the Company, when he got him appointed to succeed to the important office of Military Auditor-General.

I avail myself of the advantage of a private correspondence in giving my sentiments freely on every subject that occurs between us. I think it a matter of very little consequence whether you show this and my former letter on the same topics to Mr. Pitt or not, nor even that you should think one instant more about them, except that for your own sake I would advise you never to trust Macpherson or the Murrays, for I do not think that any person

[1] Captain, afterwards Sir George Abercrombie Robinson, Bart., so created Nov. 11, 1823, b. 1759, d. Feb. 13, 1832; m. March 27, 1794, Margaret, natural dau. of Thomas, 14th Earl of Suffolk. He was Secretary to Lord Cornwallis during his second administration in India; an East India Director from 1808 to 1829, and Chairman 1820–1, 1826–7. M.P. for Honiton from 1812 to 1818.

[2] John Scawen, son of Robert Scawen, Esq., of Carshalton and Maidwell. He was first cousin to Tryphena, wife of Henry, 2nd Earl Bathurst; d. Oct. 1800.

ought to place much confidence in them, and I conceive that none of them are by any means particularly well disposed to you.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Calcutta, Nov. 2, 1789.

. . . The Board continued with unremitted attention, after the departure of the 'Swallow' packet, to form and issue the necessary instructions for making a settlement of the land revenues of the province of Bahar, according to the plan which was detailed to you in the revenue letter that was despatched in August last by that vessel, and the general principles of your orders contained in your revenue letter to this Government dated 12th April, 1786.

It has given me great pleasure to learn that the Zemindars and landholders of that province, have in general expressed the highest satisfaction and joy at receiving their lands on the tenure by which they will hold them by the present settlement; and as they will now be certain of enjoying the fruits of their own industry or ingenuity, after discharging the fixed public revenue, I trust that they will be animated to exertions which will not only improve their own situations, but will at the same time tend to increase the wealth and prosperity of these provinces.

Being fully persuaded that a similar plan would produce the same beneficial effects in the Zemindary of Benares, the Resident was directed by the Board to explain its principles to the Rajah, and recommend it to his consideration and adoption.

The Rajah, although sensible that a permanent or even a long settlement of the revenues of the province would put considerable restraints upon the capricious exercise of his own powers, could not avoid admitting that it was well calculated to promote his own real interest, as well as that of the inhabitants of his country; and he accordingly acquiesced with great cheerfulness in the making of a ten years' settlement of the revenue in the course of the ensuing season throughout the whole districts. . . .

The plan of settlement for the provinces of Bengal is in great forwardness; and I hope that in the course of a few months we shall make a considerable progress in the execution of it.

A general coinage of the whole of the current silver specie of these provinces into rupees of the same standard and denomination, will be productive of so many solid advantages to the Company's interest, and will afford so much relief from vexation and extortion

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to the most industrious and useful part of the inhabitants of their territories, that I should have been happy if it had been practicable for us to have effected it completely during the ensuing season of the heavy collections; but we have found it so difficult to procure skilful and experienced persons for conducting this delicate and important business, as well as the proper implements for coining and milling the rupees in the European manner, that we have been obliged to content ourselves with one additional temporary mint this year, which will shortly be established at Patna, where the exigency was particularly pressing on account of the recent settlement of the revenues of the Bahar province. . . .

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD SYDNEY.

MY LORD, Fort William, Nov. 4, 1789.

Colonel Ahmuty,[1] of the Honourable East India Company's service on this establishment, has lately presented to me a brevet commission under His Majesty's sign manual, and countersigned by your Lordship, in which rank is given to him in the King's army, without any other restriction than that of its being limited to the East Indies only; but as His Majesty has been pleased to signify, through the Secretary-at-War, his royal approbation of the form of the brevet commission which I have issued to the Company's officers, and by which their rank in the King's army is further limited to their continuance in the Company's service, I am led to apprehend that Colonel Ahmuty's commission may have been granted inadvertently in its present form.

I have therefore thought it right to bring the subject under your Lordship's observation, that you may, if you think proper, receive His Majesty's further commands on Colonel Ahmuty's present commission; and that in granting brevet commissions of King's rank in future, to any of the Company's officers who may apply for them in England, your Lordship may be pleased to advert to their being made out precisely in the form of the brevet commission which I had the honour to transmit to the Secretary-at-War for His Majesty's approbation, and which has been issued to all the Company's officers in this country.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Colonel Arthur Ahmuty, Bengal establishment; d. Dec. 6, 1793.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD SOUTHAMPTON.

MY DEAR LORD, Calcutta, Nov. 7, 1789.

I received, by the hands of Mr. Colebrooke, your letter dated the 20th of March, with the enclosed note from the Prince of Wales; and I can assure you that I read it with the greatest concern, as it made me apprehend, what would be very painful to me, that I should appear backward and disinclined to exercise any commands that His Royal Highness might think proper to honour me with.

I thought it had been long since universally known in England, that no man can hold an office in this country who is not in the service of the East India Company; and I asked Mr. Colebrooke how he could undertake such a voyage with his family, without making some inquiries about the country to which he was coming, adding that any person at all conversant with the affairs of India, would have informed him that it was utterly out of my power to give him anything, and that no recommendation, however great and powerful, could be of any material use to him.

You will easily judge of my surprise, when he told me he had not been so imprudent as I had imagined, that he had consulted what he conceived to be the best opinions, and that it was Sir John Macpherson who advised him to come to India, and who assured him that there was no doubt that with such a recommendation as he brought, I should provide for him.

If this is true, which I own I have some difficulty in believing, Sir John must have forgot everything that passed upon my first arrival in the country, when in his presence I tied up my hands against all the modes that used to be practised for providing for persons who were not in the Company's service, such as riding contracts, getting monopolies in Oude, extorting money for them from the Vizier, &c.

If I was to create offices, or extra-offices, which is a term I do not very well understand, I should not only disgrace myself, and undo everything I have been doing since I landed in Bengal, but I should render a very short-lived service to the person for whom they were created; for if I was to forget my duty, and betray the trust which is reposed in me, the Court of Directors would not forget theirs, and they would undoubtedly annul such appointments the instant they heard of them.

I must beg of you, my dear Lord, to state what I have said, in the strongest but most respectful terms to the Prince of Wales, who has so much goodness, that I am sure for my sake he would not wish me to do an act that would degrade my character; and

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for the sake of his country, he would not desire that I should set an example that would prove ruinous to the public interests, and lay a foundation for the renewal of those abuses, that had well nigh overset our Indian Empire.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

[Private.]

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Nov. 7, 1789.

. . . It may appear inhuman to find fault with the application made by the Duke of Dorset to M. de Luzerne,[1] to desire the Comte de Conway to intercede with Tippoo to release our prisoners, but it was certainly a very humiliating and impolitic step for us to take, for we admit by it, that we know that he has not on his part executed the last treaty of peace, and it cannot but lower us exceedingly in his estimation to observe that we dare not resent it. Although the Comte de Conway has offered him two French soldiers for every Englishman that he releases, I doubt whether we shall ever have the satisfaction of recovering any of our countrymen by this inadvertent measure.

No two opinions were ever more different than yours and mine have been this year about our possessions on the Malabar side, for whilst I have been desirous of giving everything up, you have been wishing for acquisitions.

I most sensibly feel the weight of sending 40 lacs of rupees a-year from Bengal to Bombay, but I greatly fear that any territory which you could obtain on the western side of India, either by negotiation (the possibility of which mode in time of peace I do not see) or by force, would be more likely to increase our remittance to 50 lacs than to reduce it to 30, unless indeed we could get the whole country of Guzerat; but the attempt to build that castle on a former occasion very nearly overset our whole fabric.

The inconvenience which you apprehend in your last letter, of keeping up any part of the Bombay establishment from the Madras treasury, is not likely soon to occur. I hope my letter, dated in March last, arrived in time to put you upon your guard against the very sanguine and erroneous statement contained in Sir Archibald's letter to General Medows, which I sincerely wish, for his sake, he had never written.

[1] Cesar Henri, Comte de la Luzerne, b. Feb. 23, 1737, d. March 24, 1799; m. Feb. 6, 1763, Mademoiselle Angrand. Minister of Marine from Oct. 1787, to Oct. 1790. He had previously served in the army, and was a Lieut.-General.

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It will require many years, and a succession of excellent Governors, before Madras will pay its own expenses and furnish a moderate investment; and I doubt whether it can ever happen, if the Nabob is permitted to oppress and ruin the country in the manner he does at present.

The revenue letter will give you an account of the most important part of our domestic business; you will see that there were two points on which Mr. Shore and myself have differed—the notification to the landholders that if the settlement was approved by the Court of Directors, it would be declared perpetual; and the taking the management of the Gunges into the hands of Government. We differed, however, with the most perfect good humour; and I had the satisfaction to find that J. Duncan, who did not know which side I had taken on either of the points, gave his opinion in my favour in both of them. You will of course read our minutes; I enclose to you a copy of mine, but Shore's is so long that you must get it from the India House.

Besides the impossibility of correcting the numberless abuses and oppressions in the Gunges, so long as they are left in the hands of the Zemindars, they may at some future period, when the effects of the permanent settlement and well-secured property have introduced wealth and luxury into the country, afford a supply to the exigencies of Government from a fair and moderate excise on the superfluities of the richer inhabitants.

The prospects which are held out to us of the advantages that are to be expected from the permanent settlement in Bahar by Brooke,[1] Law,[2] Seton,[3] and even by Bathurst,[4] who from being previously inimical to it, is now become an enthusiast in its favour, are highly satisfactory; but I am afraid that the total incapacity of poor —— will prevent any plan from operating much in favour of the valuable district of Sircar Saram.

My friend Duncan has accomplished more in two years in Benares, than I conceived it possible for any man to do; and he has contrived, by persuasion and address, to make the Rajah consent, though much against his real inclinations, to the happiness and prosperity of his country.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Thomas Brooke, d. April 28, 1838; m. Feb. 1, 1793, Anna Maria, dau. of —— Stunt, Esq. He was father of Sir James Brooke, Raja of Sarawak.

[2] Thomas Law, 8th son of Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle, b. 1756, d. Oct. 1834, in America, where he had resided for many years.

[3] Archibald Seton, b. 1758, d. March 30, 1818.

[4] Robert Bathurst, brother of the Bishop of Norwich, b. 1754, d. Nov. 4, 1821.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Nov. 7, 1789.

I transmit a letter of congratulation from the Nizam to His Majesty on the recovery of his health, and as I have ventured to promise that His Highness shall receive an answer to this letter, as well as to that which was transmitted through Mr. Hastings, I request that you will be pleased to remind His Majesty's Ministers of the necessity of returning answers to them both, as early as possible.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM FAWCETT.

DEAR FAWCETT, Calcutta, Nov. 8, 1789.

I received your letter of the 7th of April, and read with infinite pleasure your account of the good state of the King's health, which was confirmed to me by all the letters which I received that were dated in that month.

I am much obliged to you for the trouble you have been so good as to take about extending my powers to the granting of Commissions; I never have wished it from any personal consideration, and I now can have no inducement of that kind to desire it; but I really think that it is for the essential good of the service, that it should be given to the person who holds my station.

Colonel Musgrave has now the command of all the troops in the Carnatic, and seems very well satisfied with my situation; Tippoo has as usual, or at least as he has done the two former years, assembled troops near our frontiers, and many reports have been spread of his hostile intention, but I believe with as little foundation as heretofore; and indeed, unless he could have assistance from the French, of which he has now no prospect, it must be the height of madness in him to break with us.

You will be glad to know that our affairs here are going on perfectly well, and that our credit has risen so astonishingly, that our bonds, which three years ago bore a discount of 25 per cent., now sell at a small premium.

I wish Sir George had not crossed you about the appointment to the Chatham Depôt, for though Simcoe is a very good and respectable man, my friend Fox has a head much better arranged for business. . . .

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO NATHANIEL SMITH, ESQ.

[Private.]

SIR, Calcutta, Nov. 9, 1789.

I have been favoured since the despatch of the 'Swallow,' with your letter dated the 29th of March, and I feel particularly gratified at the approbation which you express of my conduct, as I know that you really attend to the business of this country, and are capable of judging of the merits of its Governors.

You will have such ample reading in the public letters, and I hope within a few days after the arrival of the 'Rose,' in those directed to the Secret Committee, that if I had time, I could hardly say anything that would not be repetition.

I will only observe, that I cannot conceive how it can be supposed that we are to acquire a revenue by negotiation on the Malabar side, or from whence it can possibly be expected to come.

The reports of Tippoo's hostile intentions, to which I never gave much credit, begin now to subside, as they usually do about this time of the year; and I think from the removal of the French, who have generally been unquiet neighbours, we have every reason to look forward to a long continuance of peace.

Amongst the daily proofs of the good effects that the *permanent*, for I will not call it *ten years* settlement, will produce, one of the principal persons at Poonah has informed Mr. Malet, that in consequence of what he had heard of the intended settlement of Bahar, he is desirous of purchasing lands for his sons in that province, and desired him to transmit a power of attorney for that purpose.

I have done my part faithfully, and have laboured hard for the Company's good; but you must now take your share in Leadenhall-street, and I do give it you as my opinion most sincerely and from my heart, that I do not think the Court of Directors can at present more effectually secure the prosperity of the Company's dominions under this Government, than by electing Mr. Duncan to succeed to Mr. Shore's seat in the Council; there are many good men before him, but believe me there are none equal to him, and who possess, besides good health, which is a very material article, so complete an union of the following qualifications—knowledge, application, integrity, and temper, which, although I have put it last, I can assure you is not the least useful.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD RAWDON.

MY DEAR LORD, Calcutta, Dec. 2, 1789.

I received your letters of the 2nd and 3rd of April, by the hands of Messrs. Purling and Burroughes.[1]

The former is a gentlemanlike good sort of man, without much ability or experience in the most essential part of the business of this country; I shall, however, endeavour to find some appointment for him in the course of this winter, though perhaps it may not be quite equal to the expectations he had formed from his high standing in the service. To Mr. Burroughes, I can probably do little more than show the most cordial civility, in which you may be assured I shall not be deficient.

I am much obliged to you for your friendly hint about William Burke.[2] Although I may perhaps suffer a little in the opinion of the great personage to whom you allude, for my predilection for what I think great qualities and eminent services to his country in Mr. Pitt, I should on all other points most earnestly wish to give every proof of the most sincere attachment and anxious desire to do what I should have every reason to believe would be agreeable to him.

I have ever since I have been in India treated William Burke with the greatest personal attention; and I have done little favours, such as Ensigncies in the King's service, &c., to his friends. But it is impossible for me to serve him essentially, that is, put large sums of money into his pocket, without a gross violation of my public duty, and doing acts for which I should deserve to be impeached.

He has himself suggested to me two modes of serving him, which I will explain to you. The first is, that he should receive money here, and be allowed to manage the remittances for the payment of the King's troops at Madras and Bombay.

I found him in possession of such a remittance to Madras when I first arrived, which was given to him by Macpherson (in order

[1] Mr., afterwards Sir William Burroughes, Bart., so created Dec. 1, 1804, d. June 1, 1839; m. June 19, 1782, Letitia, dau. of William Newburgh, Esq., of Ballyhaise. Advocate-General, and afterwards, 1806, a puisne judge in Calcutta. M.P. for Enniskillen from Dec. 1802 to Feb. 1806, Colchester from March, 1817, to June, 1818, and then for Taunton to May, 1819, when he was turned out on petition.

[2] William Burke, cousin of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, d. 1798. M.P. for Great Bedwin from June, 1766, to June, 1774. Under Secretary to Field-Marshal Conway from 1766 to Jan. 1768. Sent to Madras in 1777, with despatches to Lord Pigot; returned home as agent to the Raja of Tanjore. Was sent again to India in 1782 by Lord Rockingham, was made Paymaster-General, and remained there till 1793. The pecuniary transactions both of William and Edmund Burke, with which Lord Verney was deeply concerned, are involved in a mystery which has never been cleared up. He is commemorated in 'Retaliation' as—

"Here lies honest William, whose heart was a mint,
While the owner ne'er knew half the good that was in 't."

to pay his court to Edmund Burke), and fixed at the scandalous exchange of 410 Arcot rupees for 100 pagodas, by what he, Macpherson, called a committee of respectable merchants, consisting of William Burke himself (the Company's military Paymaster-General)—an intimate friend of Burke's, and a principal proprietor in the bank through which he remitted his money—and poor ——, who I believe to this day scarcely knows the difference of value between a rupee and a shilling.

Without my entering however, into the merits of such an exchange or such a committee, or without my stating that there is a positive order from the Court of Directors against a separate remittance for the payment of the King's troops, which was sent from England before it was known there that I had abolished it, you will I am sure easily see how objectionable the principle is, of establishing distinct funds, or rather treasuries, which are not subordinate to the respective governments, and of course not applicable to any extraordinary exigency that might occur; and it must likewise be obvious to you, that as the rate of exchange between this place and the other Presidencies, depends on the export of grain and other commercial circumstances, it must be liable to great fluctuation; and that consequently, if the terms allowed to a person who is to remit annually between two and three hundred thousand pounds were not very favourable to him, he would be full as likely to be ruined by it, as to make a fortune; and that if they were decidedly advantageous to him, they would not only affect the Company's interest in that particular instance, but would very materially operate to their prejudice in the remittance of much larger sums, which we are obliged to send every year to Madras and Bombay for other purposes.

The second proposition was so extraordinary, that I had great difficulty to persuade myself that he was in earnest when he made it; for he wished me to give him about eight hundred thousand pounds in Company's paper, bearing an interest of 8 per cent., that he might remit, with no loss to himself as you may suppose, to the Pay Office in England, what he called the balance due from the Company to the Crown, for the King's troops serving in India, over and above the subsistence which had been paid to them in this country.

It was in vain that I represented that such an addition to our certificate debt would depreciate our paper, and utterly ruin our credit; that to my knowledge a part of this balance was actually paid at home; that the Court of Directors would settle the account finally with the Pay Office; that it was our business to transfer,

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instead of increasing our debts; and lastly, that I was ordered not to pay any balance here to the King's Paymaster, unless the state of our treasury would admit of it. He paid very little attention to the preceding argument, and in answer to the last he said he did not understand how we could deny that the state of our treasury did admit of our making payments, when we had the power of issuing as many certificates as we pleased.

I have entered into this detail, trusting that if you should hear the subject mentioned before the Prince, you will be so kind as to give some explanation of it; and I can assure you, that the sending William Burke to India was a most unnecessary job, and that our having any King's paymaster in this country is a great embarrassment to us, and a material hindrance to the public business.

You will find by the public accounts, that everything remains quiet in this part of the world; that our bonds and certificates both bear a premium, and that the interest of the latter is reduced to 6 per cent.

It would be too extensive a field for a letter, to enter into an account of the interior business of this Government; but though I have not time to give you the true edition, I must caution you against receiving erroneous information upon that subject; and as it is possible you may see a good deal of Macpherson, I think it right to tell you that he is not esteemed here to be perfectly correct in his narrations, and I would therefore not have you take everything he says for gospel.

I am, my dear Lord, whether Pittite or Foxite, with very sincere esteem and regard, your most faithful and affectionate friend,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO LORD HOOD.

MY LORD, Calcutta, Dec. 4, 1789.

I have been honoured with your Lordship's letter dated the 31st of January, and I can assure you that it would at all times give me pleasure to have it in my power to manifest my personal esteem for you, and that I should be disposed to think favourably of those persons for whom you profess yourself to be interested.

The anxious concern, however, that you will easily believe I take in the future welfare and prosperity of this country led me long since to consider of what infinite importance it would be, that the seats at the Supreme Board should be properly filled; and for that purpose I named some men of whose abilities and integrity I had seen the clearest proofs, and strongly urged the Government at home to endeavour to procure their nomination.

So far, therefore, from being at liberty to assist Mr. —— on

the present occasion, your Lordship must be sensible that I am under the necessity of being his opponent; but I cannot help adding that if I was totally disengaged, and however favourably I might in other respects be disposed to think of Mr. ——'s character, and to feel for his misfortunes, I could never bring myself to assist any man in obtaining a seat in the Supreme Council of Bengal, who had dissipated his fortune at the gaming table.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Dec. 5, 1789.

Mr. Shore has taken his passage in the ship which will carry this letter, and I earnestly hope that both Mr. Pitt and yourself will receive him with the kindness and attention which are due to his meritorious services; no man can give you more useful or will give you more honest information. I must, however, beg of you to hear him with caution, on the two essential points of a permanent assessment, and the separation of the Gunges from the land-revenue; I never was more convinced of anything than that he is in the wrong on those points, and I can assure you that Duncan, Cowper, Law, Barlow,[1] and almost all of the most eminent and experienced men in the revenue line, are of the same opinion as myself.

I will not repeat the arguments which you will have read in my Minute; but I did not there mention, lest it should have too much the appearance of a personal controversy, that the five years' settlement which Shore himself made formerly in Bahar, far from rendering that province more flourishing, only contributed to accelerate its ruin. Shore is so much master of the subject, and argues so ably, that it is natural for me to apprehend his making an impression, but I trust that you will give me credit for not having adopted a light unreflected opinion in a matter of such serious moment.

Tippoo has moved from Coimbatore to Palacatcherry, and I should imagine is going to make nearly the same war as he did last year; the Rajah of Travancore however, and his minister, and I think our Resident too, are all so thoroughly alarmed, that although he is marching directly from the Travancore country,

[1] Mr., afterwards Sir George Barlow, Bart., so created June 29, 1803, K.B., b. 1762, d. Dec. 18, 1846; m. April, 1789, Elizabeth, dau. of Burton Smith, Esq., of Westmeath. Governor-General from the death of Lord Cornwallis, Oct. 5, 1805, to Dec. 1807, and then Governor of Madras to Nov. 1812. During that time the Madras mutiny took place, which gave rise to much discussion, and was ultimately the cause of his recall.

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they seem to be convinced that he means to attack it after he has taken Tellicherry, which, bad as that place is, if the interior line is in any forwardness, would be more than a breakfast for him. I cannot for my part believe that Tippoo has any intention of breaking with us; but if he should resolve to do it, he would be very unwise if he did not begin, as his father did, by overrunning the Carnatic, and ruining our resources.

The Rajah of Travancore was much to blame for concluding the purchase of Craiganore and Jacottah from the Dutch without the acquiescence of the Madras Government; he pretends that he had the consent of Sir A. Campbell; but as Sir A. never made any communication of the business either to me or his own Council,[1] I cannot believe it.

You will see by our correspondence with Fort St. George that we have put that transaction to a fair issue. If the Dutch have held those places under any tenure from the Rajah of Cochin since that Rajah has been tributary to the Mysore Government, the Rajah of Travancore is then positively directed to restore them to the Dutch, under pain of forfeiting all claim to protection from us; but if the Dutch, as the Rajah alleges, took Craiganore and Jacottah from the Portuguese, and have kept them ever since as independent possessions, and totally unconnected with the Rajah of Cochin, the restitution of them is not to be insisted on, nor can Tippoo have any shadow of right for demanding it.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY.

MY LORDS, Fort William, Bengal, Dec. 6, 1789.

Having understood that in some cases the Legislature has humanely granted compensation for the losses of American sufferers of a certain description, who remained resident upon their estates in the part of the country which was occasionally the seat of war, I think it a duty incumbent upon me to mention the situation of Mrs. Byrd,[2] of Westover in Virginia, whose respectable character and moderation in all matters of political concern, as well as the difficulties through which she struggled with a large family and reduced property, render her a proper object for the consideration of Government.

[1] It was afterwards ascertained that the Raja had communicated both with Sir Archibald Campbell and Mr. Hollond, neither of whom objected to the purchase. Lord Cornwallis accordingly altered his opinion.

[2] Her son had been an active Loyalist, and had raised a corps which had served under Lord Cornwallis. Her claim amounted to above 6600*l*.

She had, to my knowledge, reason to expect that she should receive reimbursement at New York for the supplies which were furnished from her plantation to the various corps of British troops which passed by Westover, but she was entirely disappointed.

If, consistent with the present regulations sanctioned by Parliament, Mrs. Byrd's claims can with propriety be submitted to investigation, I am of opinion that her case is particularly deserving of so favourable an attention.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Dec. 7, 1789.

. . . I have been relieved from some anxiety about the detachment that was sent to the assistance of our settlements on the island of Sumatra, by the arrival of the 'Chesterfield' a few days ago; and the account that I have received from the Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Marlborough of the good behaviour of the sepoys, as well as the report of their own officers of the good humour in which they have returned, and of the satisfaction they express at the whole of the treatment that they have met with during their absence, have given me very particular pleasure.

The readiness and alacrity with which a part of the detachment offered to remain a few months longer as volunteers for the protection of the settlement, is a convincing proof that they were far from being disgusted with the service, and the language which those men will hold to their companions when they join their respective battalions, will, I am persuaded, have the happiest effects in tending to remove, or at least lessen, the aversion to sea-voyages which so generally prevails amongst the Hindoo natives of this country.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

The alarms which had induced Lord Cornwallis to send this detachment for the protection of Bencoolen, had subsided before its arrival, and their services were not actually required. This was almost the first attempt made to induce sepoys of a high caste, to embark for a voyage of some duration. It proved eminently successful. The attention paid to their religious prejudices overcame their dislike to a sea-passage, and since that time, there has seldom been any difficulty in persuading the Hindoo sepoys to embark for foreign service.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY.

DEAR JAMES, Calcutta, Dec. 7, 1789.

I wrote to you so fully last month on all domestic concerns, that I shall now only, for fear of accidents, briefly recapitulate that I leave it to your discretion, either to confine yourself to the repair, or to make alterations in Culford House; that at all events I wished it not to be inhabited the last year, and would give 200*l.* to the Singletons for the hire of a house for that time; that William and Phillipson should come in for Eye, and, in case of the latter declining, Colonel Ross. I expressed my obligations to you for your attention to secure Stow,[1] which is a most desirable object.

Everything here is in as good a train as I think the most sanguine persons in England could expect, and I see no danger for this country so long as they can find proper Governors, and Ministers like the present who will not impose jobs upon them. Macpherson, with no good design to me I believe, persuaded the Prince of Wales to send out a Mr. Colebrooke to be provided for by me. I have stated fully to H. R. H. the impossibility of my being able to do anything for him, and I trust in a manner that cannot give offence; and Mr. Colebrooke returns to England, without any ill-humour towards me, in one of the ships of this season.

The Commodore never was better than during his residence here, and I think he liked Calcutta very much, and was sorry to leave us. I expect to see him again in July. He has made a contract for the supply of provisions for his squadron, at a very different rate from what any fleet was ever before victualled in India, and has rendered it very difficult for his successors to revive the shameful peculation which formerly existed. I have only time to repeat my grateful acknowledgments for your great kindness to Brome, and for your attention to all my affairs.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL TO C. W. MALET, ESQ.

Dec. 18, 1789.—*See* Appendix, No. 28.

[1] Stow belonged to Mr. Rushbrooke, and was a most desirable acquisition, as it ran close up to the park pales of Culford.

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The following letters were not addressed to Lord Cornwallis, but they are inserted, as they contain some further interesting details of the King's illness. They were written by Mr. Digby (Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen, and a confidential friend of the Royal Family) to Miss Isabella Gunning, who afterwards married General Ross, and whose sister became Mr. Digby's second wife. Mr. Digby had been Equerry to the Prince of Wales when his establishment was first formed in 1780, and he left it in 1782, to become Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen.

Queen's Lodge, Windsor, Thursday, Nov. 20, 1788.

I cannot regret the offices I am now fulfilling; painful indeed they are, but of much consequence to Him the Country ought to love. I would not write before this day, being that of my hoped-for crisis, and I have ground to flatter myself it is a hopeful one. From ten this morning till past two I was with Him; He took me by the hand, which he held till half-past eleven, when He got up. He was more quiet and his conversation of a different cast. He had slept indeed by the help of opiates more than six hours. His want of reason was only apparent in talking of things improper to be mentioned, and before people he never, if right, would have suffered himself to do. I underwent a very severe trial, as the subject He chose was your Sister and me. It began with taxing me as well as the Equerries with sitting long after dinner, drinking he supposed more wine than we ought. "No, not you, Mr. Digby, but you I know like the company of learned women—he likes to drink tea with Miss Burney." From thence to your Sister, and all the reports that had prevail'd, the sources of his intelligence, the instruments employed; he gave (not only me) a very circumstantial account of things I had never known; think of what I must have suffered! He was kind in his expressions, but I was not in cue to relish these. When he was dress'd I spent two hours alone with Him, the conversation infinitely *plus suivie*, His voice more low, His manner more gentle, with many indications which confirm my opinion of returning health; may the God of Mercy realize my hope! The shutters were all shut; He went from the window, as knowing he ought not to look, bid me look out and see if any of His children were in the garden. "Do you see any of their little faces at the windows of the lower lodge?" Indeed I do not. "Well then, shut the shutters again." He was so pathetic upon the Christian virtues, He made me shed tears. . . . . People were apt to be severe upon the conduct of others, He thought in the examination of themselves they could not be too much so, but to their neighbours they should be indulgent; He knew many (and named some very correct

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people) who err in this, the recollection of his own failings prevented this in Him. . . . . .

5 o'clock, Friday.

He has not had much continued sleep, consequently not so calm and refreshed as we had hoped. It has hitherto seem'd to be only a caution properly delicate not to publish to the World the exact state of His health. Yesterday the Parliament met, and tho' it would not be necessary for Mr. Pitt's information, who has often been and was here Wednesday, the Physicians sent to him this account—"His health was much mended, but his reason in no degree return'd," or to that purport. It has been suspected Opposition was *informed* that the Minister was in possession of such a report of the Physicians,—if he, being call'd upon to declare what he knew to be the state, had been foolish enough to fall into the snare (which whether he has or not at this hour I do not know) He would have been abused for being the publisher of what ought not (till the very last moment) to be declared, but the report having gone, will answer some purposes of Opposition. . . . . I feel my indignation rise; if the film of doubt could be cleared and motives laid open to our conviction, no personal consideration of interest or safety should deter me from a more forward part than otherwise I can be justified in taking. . . . . .

Burlington Street, Tuesday, Nov. 25, 1788.

I have only to tell you my reason for not writing since Thursday has been, that we have not been in a mending state. I have spent several hours—between four and five—alone with Him each day till yesterday, when He did not call for me. On Sunday, having been with Him from half-past ten till two, he permitted me to go and dine at St. Leonards. He called several times for me afterwards, and when I went to Him about eight, he attack'd me with much asperity, said I never remained with Him, that I was always going to Mr. Harcourt's; He dared to say my friend Miss G..... was there, or I should not go so often, tho' He knew I prefer'd my son's company to His. I wish that had been all He had spoken unlike Himself in the course of the day. Yesterday was altogether as bad a day, and my hopes, which were progressively rising, are rapidly sunk. The question now seems to be, the moving Him to Kew, and adopting a very different kind of treatment; of the necessity of this, the Physicians are the best Judges; the Chancellor is going down this morning, probably upon this business. I am going to return immediately, being told my presence is absolutely necessary. I have taken the measure of acquainting H. R. H. myself, with the particulars of my leaving His service: He fancied He knew them, but when I told Him I believed not, and asked if He knew they had proceeded from myself, He seem'd startled, and said

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No. I then told Him in the most delicate way I could, what my feelings with respect to H. R. H. and the knowledge of myself dictated, and those dictates had prompted me.

Burlington Street, Monday, Dec. 1, 1788.

The King came quietly to Kew Saturday. I will not say the case is hopeless, 'tis all I can think. Harcourt, Goldsworthy, and Greville came in the Coach with Him—his talk continued in a good-humoured strain all the way—no gentlemen are now admitted. I cannot dwell upon this subject. I see the Queen and Princesses every day.

Kew, Friday, Dec. 5, 1788.

I thought I had very handsomely got clear of this melancholy scene, but yesterday morning received a note with Her M.'s commands, that I should come and remain here.

Dr. Willis, who has had much experience, having long had patients so afflicted under his own management, is arrived, and is just come from the K.... He was saluted by, "I know who you are, Dr. Willis, from whence you come, and much about you, how many patients have you now?" &c. &c.; "are you in the Church?" "I have been, Sir." "I am sorry you have changed a profession I love, for one I detest," &c. He is in no degree better, little or no sleep last night, often laughing, singing, and dancing; at no time of his life more active. The testimony of the Physicians before the Privy Council delivered upon oath, is the most comfortable ground of hope.

Thursday, Dec. 11, 1788.

If Dr. Willis's plan is suffered by His M.'s Physicians wholly to be adopted, I have no doubt of His Majesty's recovery in two months. He is an honest, sensible, plain man, means, as he thinks every one else ought to do, His M.'s recovery. He is *therefore* accused of being a strong party man. I wish none of His M.'s Physicians were politicians, we might have had Dr. Willis in His M.'s employ a fortnight ago, or perhaps a month; to bring this about I have remained at Kew, go there to-morrow, have risked my health, and to procure the happy issue of his endeavours, would most willingly my life. Dr. Willis (I find thro' other channels) has the greatest hopes, thinks His M. dwelling upon no one subject in particular a most favourable symptom, treats the case more as a nervous disorder, brought on by excess of temperance, excess of exercise, an anxious mind, the throbbings of which perhaps He has too much suppressed; these causes naturally shake the nerves, collectively induce madness. His medicines (the reverse of the Phy. tribe) have been cordials, and have answered to his expectation. 'Tis a sad thing to think a K... cannot have the same advantages, an equal chance of recovery with any Gentleman or Labourer in his realms. The readiness with which lyes are propagated

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to His disadvantage, and the indecent joy at the state of His disorder, deemed by such evil-minded men hopeless, is indecent beyond measure, beyond sufferance. . . . . Humanity would plead in favour of a good man, but for a moral, religious, and good K... uttering expressions of the tenderest concern for His people and his country. . . .

Monday (probably Dec. 15), 1788.

You will hear reports of the K... being one day much worse than another, of His having seen the P^n^, then the Q...., and may like to hear what you can depend upon, so shall, tho' in the greatest haste and being far from collected, briefly tell you, on Friday, the last day He walked out, the Princesses Mary and Amelia (Sophia not being well) were situated at a window up-stairs, for Him, as He came into the house, to have a glimpse of; when He had fixed His eyes upon them, He pulled off His hat, which in His agitation he flung one way, His gloves and cane another, and ran into the house. This has variously been interpreted as everything He does and says is, but you are as competent to form a judgement; some imputed it to being quite frantic, others to reflection and a power of combining, and a sensibility to the privation of all He so dearly loves. He burst into tears which did not however last. On Saturday evening Dr. Willis wished to try the experiment of bringing Princess Amelia to Him about Her bedtime, hoping thereby to soften Him and produce tears in abundance. The scene was truly tragic without the desired effect. That little innocent of Her own accord said, "Papa, shall I go and bring Mama?" "Yes my little Angel do go." Dr. W. could not refuse, and the Q.... had the courage to come to Him, nothing material passed. He was totally calm, refrained from tears, and when it was time to go and He was reminded of His promise, to continue the game He was playing at Baggammon, "How can I be said to break my promise, when such guests as these come to my interruption?" . . . .

I will not comment upon the good sense of this, but it was spoken in a tone the most affecting, and brought tears into eyes unapt to overflow: Her M. overwhelm'd, choak'd, but could not with every inclination cry. He had a disturbed night, Sunday less calm and well, but this day was as forward as before the above experiment. Her M. has seen the Chancellor and Mr. P. yesterday; I hope it is as I hear, that She has declared how much she has His M.'s interest at heart, that the prerogative of the Crown sh^d^ be defended, and that when it shall please the Almighty to restore His health, and enable Him to resume the functions of His High Office, He may find it unembarrass'd and unincumber'd.

I am particularly requested to remain at Kew, at least this week.

. . . . .

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Wednesday, Dec. 17, 1788.

Our good Dr. Willis meets with many obstructions. . . . . Yesterday morning a dispute arose between Sir G. Baker and the Dr., about the word *very* being put into the report. Sir G., not upon the spot, and hearing the opinion of the Pages who had sat up and declared He had had a good night, still objected. Dr. Willis was firm, would not put his name, unless the truth of the case is stated. Sir G. said in all his practice, all his consultations, he had never known two Physicians, himself and Sir Lucas Pepys, give up their opinions to one; however they did; this only shews their extreme jealousy of Dr. Willis, who came at the request of His M.'s Phy., but has too much character to act a subservient part, feeling as he must, with great experience in twenty-eight years' practice, how much more of this disorder he knows, than all who have not made this malady their peculiar study. I have disliked our leading Phy., he is a Politician, an intriguing, artful, ill-behaved man, and we should go on much better without him. We flatter ourselves we are making a progress. . . . . God bless the means of His recovery, and confound every evil intention against a blessing so envied.

Saturday, Dec. 20, 1788, Kew.

You will hear there is not the greatest harmony amongst the Physicians. I wish we had got rid of His M.'s Physicians, and that the good old man Dr. Willis had the sole direction, for while it continues with Dr. Warren at the head, we are likely to have disputes and quarrels every day; for instance yesterday, he chose to attack Dr. Willis upon having written a letter to Mr. P., which he averr'd to have been delivered in the morning during the debate, congratulating Mr. P. upon the recovered state of His M., that he had done so with a political view, said he was *ashamed* of him, and warn'd him to beware of interfering in politics. Now did you ever hear anything so impudent, so impertinent? If you knew his whole behaviour, the decided political line he has taken, you would indeed think it so; you may imagine my blood has boil'd within me. To observe, to counteract, and to support the good old Man, has been one cause of my remaining. . . . .

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CHAPTER XII.

Tippoo attacks the Raja of Travancore — Negligence of the Madras Government — Gross misconduct of Mr. Hollond — Preparations for the War — Negotiations for the coöperation of Maratha States — Affairs in Europe — Letter from the Prince of Wales — Campaign of 1790 — General Medows — Difficulties of an Indian campaign — Lord Cornwallis proceeds to Madras — Assumes the military command and marches against Tippoo.

THE attack upon the lines of Travancore by Tippoo, put a stop to all the endeavours of Lord Cornwallis to diminish the expenses of Government and improve the revenues of the country. He was compelled to turn his whole attention to the approaching war, which cannot be said to have been quite unexpected, since early in 1788 Lord Cornwallis had anticipated such a possibility; and his correspondence, especially with Captain Kennaway and Mr. Malet, shows that he was laying the ground for a closer alliance with the Nizam and the Peshwa than was permitted by the then existing Act of Parliament.

In the course of 1789 he repeatedly urged, or rather commanded, the Government of Madras to make ample preparation for war. How pertinaciously these orders were neglected, his despatches sufficiently show; and the estimation in which he held such false economy is evident from a letter dated March 30, 1790, where he says, "I think it very possible that every cash (2½*d.*) of that ill-judged saving may cost the Company a crore of rupees (1,000,000*l.*)."

Before entering upon a detail of the military operations in the Mysore, it may be advisable to advert to a few of the civil questions which engrossed the attention of Lord Cornwallis. Prominent among these was the land settlement. Upon this subject he had in the preceding year drawn up two long and able Minutes.[1] Mr. Shore dissented in one material point—the perpetuity of the settlement—but in other respects agreed generally with Lord Cornwallis.

The abolition of a smaller branch of the revenue was also effected this year—the Sayer-duties, consisting mainly of what may be termed excise-duties, and tolls on the entry and transit of goods by land and water. The charges of collection absorbed so great a portion

[1] See the Appendix for these Minutes.

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of the receipts that the net produce was trifling, while commerce was greatly impeded. A duty was afterwards imposed upon spirituous liquors, which nearly compensated for the loss incurred.

The separation of the judicial duties from those belonging to the collection of the revenue occupied much of his attention. The whole system for the administration of justice was faulty in the extreme. In one of his letters to the Court, Lord Cornwallis says, "Your possessions in this country cannot be said to be well governed, nor the lives and property of your subjects to be secure, until the shocking abuses and the wretched administration of justice in the Foujdarry department can be corrected."[1] But though he endeavoured in this year to remedy some of these evils, it was not till 1793 that he was able to promulgate his regulations on the subject.

As the time was approaching when the renewal of the East India Charter would necessarily come under the discussion of Parliament, Mr. Dundas applied confidentially to Lord Cornwallis for his views on this subject. Lord Cornwallis entertained no high opinion of the Court of Directors as a body, which, while professing great respect for him, and declaring their anxiety to carry out his views, thwarted him in many instances, especially in the nomination of members of the Supreme Council. He had recommended several persons, whom, from his knowledge of their characters, he considered eminently qualified for such a post. Among these were Mr. Charles Grant and Mr. Jonathan Duncan; but they were both set aside on the plea that there were senior servants whose claims the Court could not pass over; the truth however being, that private jobbing and personal feeling had more influence than talent and merit. In such cases the Board of Control had no directing power; they could only give advice, which the Court disregarding, appointed in succession three persons who, as Lord Cornwallis remarked more than once in bitter terms to Mr. Dundas, were totally incompetent for their duties. His opinions on the general subject are embodied in a long despatch to Mr. Dundas.[2]

These were the principal subjects of a civil nature which, besides the ordinary business of Government, occupied the attention of Lord Cornwallis during the year 1790. Others of minor consequence were necessarily neglected, as the paramount importance of the war with Tippoo obliged him to devote himself almost exclusively to military affairs.

The origin of the war, and the grounds on which Tippoo justified his attack on the lines of Travancore, have already been men-

[1] See Letter to Court of Directors, Nov. 17, in the Appendix.
[2] See Despatch, March 4.

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tioned. That he was encouraged in this attempt by the worse than negligence of the Madras Government was evident; but not till some time after the event did the extent of Mr. Hollond's misconduct become known in Bengal. It was at length ascertained that before the Raja of Travancore entertained the proposition of purchasing Cranganore and Jacotta from the Dutch, he had consulted Sir Archibald Campbell; that Mr. Hollond was apprised of the intention some time before the transaction took place; and that neither of them expressed any disapprobation of the proceeding. The bad state of Sir Archibald's health was probably the cause of his not having communicated with Bengal, but there can be no doubt that Mr. Hollond's omission was intentional.[1] When the pecuniary charges, brought against him by the Nabob of Arcot in the summer of 1790, were investigated, there appeared little doubt that he expected to receive large sums from the Raja of Travancore, in return for the British support claimed by the Raja. It was evident that the only means of extorting this sum was to keep the British force in such an inefficient state as to encourage Tippoo to terrify the unfortunate Raja. The alarm created in Calcutta by Mr. Hollond's conduct was so great, that Lord Cornwallis had determined to go at once to Madras to supersede him, and take upon himself the supreme authority, both Civil and Military; but he relinquished this intention, so agreeable to his feelings as a Military man, when he heard of the expected arrival of General Medows, because he felt that the Governor-General would be more usefully employed in Bengal, from whence he could better control the conduct of the Allies, with whom the negotiations were principally carried on through Captain Kennaway and Mr. Malet, as Sindia was not so ready as the others to take any prominent part.

The animosity, more or less active, of all the Maratha states against Tippoo, enabled the Peshwa, or rather his Minister Nana Furnaveze, to co-operate heartily with the British Government; and this feeling, notwithstanding the long subsisting jealousy between the Nizam and the Peshwa, induced the former cordially to join the alliance. Several years before, both these princes had been anxious to unite with the English on terms very favourable to the latter, and though the provision of the Act of Parliament then interfered, there now existed no impediment to the conclusion of these treaties. Sindia was not a party to them, but he promised to use all his influence to induce the Peshwa honestly to perform his engagements. These political arrangements having been successfully

[1] See Minute of Lord Cornwallis, April 2, 1790, on Mr. Hollond's proceedings.

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completed, the only other duty remaining for Lord Cornwallis to perform was to place, as far as possible, the resources of Bengal at the disposal of General Medows. Stores and ammunition to a great extent, with a certain number of men, mostly gun lascars, were accordingly sent by sea from Calcutta; and as the prejudices of the high-caste Brahmins rendered it difficult to embark the whole, a strong corps was at the same time despatched by land, under the command of Colonel Cockerell. The expected arrival of these troops tempted General Medows to open the campaign on the plan Colonel Musgrave had intended to adopt. Lord Cornwallis did not consider this course judicious, especially as he felt convinced that the troops could not pass the Ghauts, which separate the Coimbatore and Mysore countries, until the cessation of the rains in the latter district, so that the Carnatic would mean time be exposed to the incursions of Tippoo's cavalry. The treaties with the Peshwa and the Nizam were signed respectively on the 5th and 29th of July, both powers promising faithfully to send large armies to support the British force, but they did not during this campaign fulfil their engagements. They had been offended at Lord Cornwallis having repudiated the illegal engagements entered into by Sir John Macpherson; and it required all the influence derived from his character, combined with their fear and hatred of Tippoo, to induce them now to accede to the proposed stipulations.

To enable the armies to move with facility, it was necessary to provide ample supplies of money. The treasury of the Company was nearly exhausted, that of the Nabob of the Carnatic was well supplied. Lord Cornwallis therefore imperatively demanded the immediate payment of the large arrears due to the Company, and which had been allowed to accumulate. He further insisted that the Nabob should either appropriate the greater part of his revenue towards defraying the expenses of the war, or should allow the Company to take possession of his territories, granting him a liberal income. The latter course was ultimately adopted, both in the case of the Nabob of the Carnatic and the Raja of Tanjore.

Somewhat later in the year the French possessions became the scene of violent commotion and tumult. The revolutionary spirit of the mother country had spread to her colonies, and the lives of the Governor of Chandernagore and of several of his officers were saved only by the vigorous interposition of Lord Cornwallis. These internal dissensions were however productive of one good result: they relieved Lord Cornwallis from any apprehension that Tippoo could receive essential aid from France.

The death of Colonel Cathcart put an end to the intended mis-

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sion to China. It was proposed that Lord Cornwallis should select a successor from among the civil servants of the Company; but legal difficulties interposed, and the Court of Directors being adverse to the plan, it was dropped, not to be revived till Lord Macartney went to China in 1792.

As Lord Cornwallis did not personally take any part in the campaign of 1790, his despatches contain no details of the operations, which practically began about June 15. It is therefore necessary to give a slight sketch of them, and to show why he considered it imperative upon him to take the command of the army himself towards the close of the year. The first object General Medows had in view was the capture of Coimbatore, commanding those rich and open plains which bear the same name, and to make the place his principal depôt for stores and provisions. To estimate the difficulties of a campaign in Hindustan, and especially in Mysore, it is necessary to consider the effect of the periodical rains which fall in that country. The south-western monsoon pours torrents over the Malabar Coast in the month of June, while part of Mysore does not feel its effects till later in the year, owing to the range of the Ghauts, which separate the higher from the lower districts. The ignorance of the British as to the epochs of the wet seasons was a source of great embarrassment to Colonel Stuart's detachment. The streams which he had crossed on his march to besiege Palgaut became so swollen, that he could with difficulty rejoin the main army, without having been able to effect his object. Dindigul, a place of some strength and considerable importance, soon after fell into his hands, though he had been repulsed when he endeavoured to storm the fort; but such was the terror inspired by the gallantry of the troops, both European and native, that the garrison offered to surrender next morning, on terms which were readily granted, as Colonel Stuart had exhausted his ammunition. To Europeans the strength of forts like Dindigul may appear overrated, but in fact, by natives, they are almost inexpugnable. In general they are situated on the summit of granite rocks, rising directly from the plain and not commanded in any direction, with at least two sides perpendicular, and the others so easily scarped as to make it difficult for persons to clamber up, even when unopposed. The summit of these rocks is usually flat, sometimes of considerable extent, and almost always well supplied with water. Palgaut was again attacked on September 21, and the garrison surrendered after two days of open trenches. Meantime Sattimungul had been reduced by Colonel Floyd, and Eroad by Colonel Oldham, and their two corps then united. A chain of depôts was thus occupied, and

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General Medows hoped he should by this means be enabled to ascend the pass of Gujelhutty early in October.

The army was as yet divided into three corps: General Medows at Coimbatore, Colonel Floyd nearly sixty miles in advance, and Colonel Stuart about thirty miles in the rear. Early in September Tippoo made arrangements to attack Colonel Floyd, and on the 13th he crossed the river Bakvany, and encountered a detachment of cavalry sent to reconnoitre.[1] Tippoo's force far outnumbered them, and but for the judgment and gallantry of the commanding officer the corps would have suffered severely. It was however indispensable to effect a retreat, which was done in admirable order. On the 14th they were overtaken by Tippoo, and an action ensued, to the advantage of the English, whose success may be partially attributed to an unfounded report that General Medows had joined them. Two days after the junction was actually effected, to the great relief of Colonel Floyd, whose men were in total want of supplies, and even of surgeons, of whom two had been killed in the action.[2] The army being now all united at Coimbatore, marched in pursuit of the enemy; but General Medows found it impossible to overtake them, and he moved to Eroad, from whence Tippoo had turned to the southward, having it in contemplation to double back on Coimbatore, in hopes of capturing the stores in that place; but Colonel Hartley having thrown in a large reinforcement, the Sultan took the direction of Darapooram, which surrendered October 8, after a very slight resistance.

Having placed Coimbatore in a respectable state of defence, General Medows again proceeded in pursuit of Tippoo, forded the Caveri, and encamped on the high ground overlooking Baramahal. He was most anxious to effect a junction with Colonel Maxwell, who had earlier in the year brought a very considerable corps from Calcutta, a distance of 1200 miles, and had since been occupied in watching the passes which lead directly from Mysore into the Carnatic. Several weeks had elapsed since any intelligence of him had been received; and when (November 15) General Medows arrived on his ground, and saw an encampment six miles off, no doubt was entertained that Colonel Maxwell was in sight. It proved however to be Tippoo at the head of his army, who had had some hope of attacking the two corps separately; but when he found that they were so near to each other (about thirty miles), he struck his tents, and by a rapid march secured the pass of Palicode. As soon

[1] Colonel Floyd's corps consisted of 1100 cavalry, European and Native, 1700 infantry, and 11 guns. The detachment consisted of 3 troops of the 19th, and a regiment of Native cavalry.

[2] The loss had been 436 killed and wounded, European and Native, and six guns were lost.

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as the two English Generals had effected their junction, which they did the following day near Caveripatam, they resolved to move towards the pass of Tapoor. On the 18th they overtook Tippoo, and possibly had they attacked at once they might have gained important advantages; but the ground was very rough, many ravines impeded the movements of the troops, and though Colonel Stuart anxiously requested permission to intercept the enemy as they were entering the pass in great confusion, less energetic counsels prevailed, and Tippoo was allowed to ascend the pass almost without loss. Availing himself of this immunity, the Sultan rapidly moved towards Trichinopoly, a very weak post, but containing extensive stores. Owing to the sudden rising of the Caveri, an immediate attack could not take place; and the approach of General Medows compelled Tippoo to abandon his enterprise.

The danger of Trichinopoly had prevented General Medows from carrying the war into the enemy's country, which he had proposed to do. Lord Cornwallis arrived at Madras December 12, took the command, and ordered the whole army to march towards that place. The retreat of Tippoo was marked by acts of cruelty and destruction. His troops suffered most severely from the rains, which fell with great violence in the district through which they were moving, while the English, though at no great distance, entirely escaped their injurious effects. His repulse from Tiagar, and his capture of Trinomalee, which was attended with circumstances of most horrid barbarity, were the last events of this campaign. Chronologically speaking they belong more properly to 1791.

Though the supercession of General Medows might naturally have been expected to give him much annoyance, nothing could exceed his cordiality, his affectionate regard for Lord Cornwallis, and his anxiety to carry out the orders he received. It reflects the highest credit both on him and on Lord Cornwallis that they should have acted together throughout the rest of the war on terms of the utmost confidence and most sincere friendship.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY.

DEAR JAMES, Calcutta, Jan. 6, 1790.

It gives me great pleasure to date a letter in the year 1790, for I hope and trust that will be the last year in which I shall date letters from Bengal. I am however anxious to hear that a successor is appointed; for although I have declared positively, and have authorised Mr. Shore to confirm it, that I will not stay here longer than the beginning of 1791, yet I have too much patriotism

to leave the government of this country in the weak hands of ——, who in six months would undo all I have been doing for upwards of four years. I hope this matter will be decided before the last ship of the season is to sail, but if it should not I will write to you fully on the subject. You may perhaps smile at my scruples, but I am much in earnest where the interests of my country are at stake. It is needless to trouble you with a recapitulation of what I said in my two last letters about my private affairs, but I cannot too often repeat how much I feel myself obliged to you for your kind attention to them. . . .

I have sent you a pipe of Madeira by the 'Earl of Oxford' Indiaman, which I believe to be very good. I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

MAJOR-GENERAL GRENVILLE TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

[Received Jan. 1790.]

MY DEAR LORD, Windsor, Oct. y^e^ 4th, 1789.

. . . I have the pleasure to acquaint you that His Majesty is at present in perfect good health and spirits. His expedition to Weymouth and the sea-bathing has had the desired effect in bracing him up and restoring him to his former good state of health. He is returning by degrees to all his old habits and amusements, with a fixed determination to avoid all excess of fatigue and abstinence, &c., which were certainly in great measure the cause of his late illness. . . . As I have an opportunity of seeing a great deal of His Majesty, your Lordship may depend upon the above good account of him being perfectly true and just in every particular. In short, I think he is now so thoroughly re-established in his health, that there is not the smallest ground for any apprehension of a relapse.

The accounts I have to send you of another great personage are pretty much the same as when I last wrote. You will most likely have heard before this of the famous duel between him and Lennox.[1] I shall not pretend to enter into the particulars of it; and I believe the less that is said about it so much the better for both parties. The spirit of party and politicks was so extremely high at that moment, and people's passions so much on the *qui vive*, that what at other times

[1] The Duke of York had said, that expressions had been used to Colonel Lennox (the late Duke of Richmond) at Daubigny's Club, to which no gentleman ought to submit. The duel took place May 26; Lord Rawdon was second to the Duke, and Lord Winchilsea to Colonel Lennox. Lord Rawdon always said, that by delaying the signal for firing, and thus rendering Colonel Lennox's aim unsteady, he had saved the life of the Duke, whose curl was carried away by his opponent's ball.

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might have been looked upon as nothing more than some unguarded expressions, and which, as I understand, had often passed before this unnoticed, were now regarded as of too serious a nature to be overlooked, and not to be put up with from one gentleman to the other. The Duke's behaviour in the field was certainly such as did him honour for coolness and personal courage. How far he was right in the first instance I shall not pretend to say, and have always refrained from giving any opinion, or even talking upon the subject.

In regard to foreign and domestic news I have but little to communicate. Everything goes on here as well as we can wish, and as bad as we can wish in France, in a political view; for in another light it would be shocking to human nature to wish so ill even to our worst enemies. It is imagined things cannot possibly go on much longer without its coming to some violent crisis; famine and bankruptcy stare them in the face; no man's life or property is secure; how it will end the Lord knows; at all events it will take a very considerable time before the country can possibly recover from the blow it has received. The misery of the poor individuals is beyond all description, and highly deserving our pity and commiseration. I have however the consolation to think that it has most likely been the means of preventing a general war, as I believe had France been in any tolerable situation, she would, either openly or underhand, have taken some part in the present war upon the Continent. . . .

Ever yours, &c.,

R. GRENVILLE.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO CAPTAIN KENNAWAY.

SIR, Calcutta, Jan. 28, 1790.

From your being in the neighbourhood of the Carnatic, you will have been informed before now that Tippoo has committed hostilities against our Ally, the Rajah of Travancore; and as this act is a flagrant violation of the late treaty of peace with the Company, we consider ourselves called upon by a regard for our interest and honour, to take immediate and vigorous measures to exact the fullest reparation for it.

I have so much confidence in your vigilance and zeal, as to be persuaded that you have already used your endeavours to inspire the Nizam and his Minister, with a disposition to enter into engagements to co-operate heartily with us in this war, and I desire that you will obtain an audience of both of them as soon as possible, to notify the infraction of the treaty, and that you will on that, as

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well as all other proper occasions, spare no pains to paint in its proper colours the faithless character of Tippoo, and to explain to them the great advantages which they may derive upon this occasion, by forming a close connexion with this Government.

Should they suppose that we are diffident of our own strength, no arguments of yours would be sufficient to induce them to embark with us in the war. You will therefore, at the time you invite his Highness to give an unequivocal proof of the sincerity of his attachment and friendship for the Company, inform him, that as the powers of this Government will be immediately exerted to support the war in the Carnatic, we entertain no doubt of our being able to bring it to a speedy and honourable issue, but that it would be highly grateful to us, if he would determine to make an early declaration in our favour. And as an inducement for him to adopt that resolution, you are at liberty to stipulate with him in the name of this Government, that we will not conclude a peace with Tippoo without securing to him a full participation of the advantages that may be obtained by the war; and that being now set at liberty by Tippoo's breach of the treaty, we will enter into defensive alliance with him, for the mutual guarantee against Tippoo, of the territories that may be possessed by the respective parties when the war shall be terminated.

Your own good sense, and your knowledge of the dispositions and characters of his Highness and his Minister, will suggest to you the proper arguments to be made use of upon this occasion; amongst others you will state, that should his Highness decline or delay to make the above-mentioned declaration, it cannot be expected by him, that we shall take a concern about his interests in any negotiation with Tippoo; and, after reminding him of the general spirit of justice and moderation by which all our conduct has been actuated, you will particularly offer to his attention the circumstances of the present quarrel, which must appear to him as the clearest evidence of our thinking it incumbent upon us to discharge our engagements with our Allies, with the strictest honour and punctuality.

I am not at present prepared to decide on the mode in which his Highness could co-operate with us in the most beneficial manner, for promoting the success of the common cause, even if he should be prevailed upon to make the declaration that we wish; but I am inclined to think that he would most effectually assist us by furnishing a body of his best cavalry to act with our army; and by employing the remainder of his force, either in attacking some of the most defenceless parts of Tippoo's dominions, or in supporting

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any of his subjects or tributaries who may resolve to take that opportunity to shake off their dependence on him.

In addition to the other steps that you are to take upon this occasion, I desire that you will encourage every advance that may be made to you by any of Tippoo's tributaries or subjects, to form connexions with the Company; and that you will employ Meer Zein Alabadien Cawn (who came from Poonah), or any other person that you may judge capable of rendering useful services, either in procuring intelligence of Tippoo's designs, or in persuading any of his ministers or principal officers to abandon him, and to act under our directions in endeavouring to overturn his power; and whatever engagements you shall contract with persons of that description, shall be punctually fulfilled.

Considerable reinforcements of troops will be despatched immediately to Madras, and it is also my determination to repair there in person, with as much expedition as circumstances will admit, to take a temporary charge of the Civil and Military affairs at that Presidency. You are therefore in future to despatch two copies of all your public letters—one directed to me, and to be forwarded under cover to the Secretary of Government at Madras, and the other directed to the Governor-General in Council at Bengal; and you are from time to time to communicate everything that you may think of consequence to be known by them, to the Resident at Poonah, and with Madagee Scindia, and to the Governments of Madras and Bombay.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

A letter was written the same day to Mr. Malet, desiring him to urge upon the Peshwa the advantage he would derive from joining cordially in hostilities against Tippoo, and informing him that Captain Kennaway was instructed to press the Nizam to take a similar course, and Major Palmer to endeavour to obtain assistance from Sindia and Holkar.

MINUTE OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Feb. 5, 1790.

The Members of the Board were apprised on the day after the accounts arrived from Madras, that Tippoo Sultan had committed actual hostilities against our ally the Rajah of Travancore; that in the critical situation in which the Company's affairs appeared to be in the Carnatic, I looked upon it as a duty which I owed to my country, to lay aside all considerations of my own personal ease

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or responsibility, or even of what the existing laws might specifically authorise, and to determine immediately to proceed to the coast as soon as might be possible, to take a temporary charge of the Civil and Military affairs at the Presidency of Fort St. George.

I have already communicated to the Board that, exclusive of other reasons, I thought myself called upon to take so decided a step, from its being consistent with my knowledge that there was not a sufficient harmony and mutual confidence between the Civil and Military departments, and that there was an evident backwardness in the Civil part of the Government to consult the officer commanding the troops under that Presidency, or to avail itself of his experience and opinions in making preparations and arrangements for carrying on a war.

It is a justice due to the zeal and attention of Colonel Musgrave, and it is equally necessary, in explanation of the grounds on which I had formed my belief of the want of vigour and union in conducting the public affairs in the Carnatic, that I should lay before the Board the four accompanying letters dated the 26th and 31st of December, and 5th and 10th of January last, which I lately received from Colonel Musgrave, and from which I was led to apprehend that jealousies and distrusts between the Civil and Military powers might soon arrive at such an height as to occasion a renewal of calamities, which, under similar circumstances, happened at the beginning of the last war with Tippoo's father, and were so ruinous in their consequences to the general interests of Britain, as well as to those in particular of the Honourable Company.

The Board will likewise be sensible, that the inattention, almost amounting to disregard, which has been shown by the Madras Government to some of our late instructions on points of great importance, is highly deserving of our severe reprehension, and could not fail to operate as an additional reason in my mind for entertaining great doubts of the good disposition or ability of that Government to support and maintain the public interests and honour at this critical period.

Under the impressions that I have described, I thought myself called upon by a sense of duty to the Company, as well as by an attention to the general interests of my country, to stand forth and endeavour to avert the misfortunes with which negligence and misconduct, or jealousies between the Civil and Military departments might be attended.

With that view, and upon the ground of state necessity, it was my intention to take the responsibility of an irregular measure upon myself, and to propose that the Board should invest me with

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full powers to take a temporary charge of the Civil and Military affairs at the Presidency of Fort St. George, by exercising the functions of Governor as well as those of Commander-in-Chief.

I have been highly gratified with the warm approbation which the members of the Board bestowed upon that determination, and with the ready concurrence which they gave to its being communicated to the Government of Bombay, and to the Residents at the Courts of the country powers, before the hurry of other business would admit of its being put in any other form upon our public records.

It is, however, with great satisfaction, that I congratulate the Board upon the arrival, in the mean time, of the advices by the 'Vestal' frigate, by which we have been informed that the Commission appointing General Medows to be Governor of Fort St. George was on board that vessel; and as the 'Vestal' proceeded from Ajengo to Bombay on the 3rd ultimo, there is every reason to hope that he will be able to take charge of his Government before, or at least as soon as, it would have been possible for me to have reached Madras.

The grounds upon which I formed my first resolution are therefore in a great measure, or perhaps entirely, done away. For as it would have been incompatible with the station which I hold in this country to have rendered myself in any way subordinate to the Government of Madras,—and as General Medows is a man of acknowledged ability and character, and regularly invested by the Court of Directors with the offices of Governor and Commander-in-Chief at the Presidency of Fort St. George—I will not venture to say that by relinquishing the immediate direction of the Supreme Government after a knowledge of the appointment of General Medows, I should not be justly exposed to blame and censure for executing a determination, which had been made a few days before, under the belief of the existence of very different circumstances; and which from the motives that had actuated me in the first instance, might have been entitled to commendation. As it will appear upon other parts of our proceedings, that I had adopted the above-mentioned resolution, and that the measure had received the sanction of the other members of Government, I have thought that it would be regular on this occasion to record the reasons which prompted me to do it, as well as the considerations which have induced me to lay it entirely aside, unless new circumstances should arise to call upon me to resume it.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Feb. 7, 1790.

The face of affairs in this country is much changed since I wrote to you on the 9th ultimo. I then did not believe that Tippoo would commit actual hostilities either against the Company or the Rajah of Travancore; nor do I still think that he would have ventured to do it, if he had not been encouraged by the weakness of the Madras Government.

The severe and unexpected check he met with on the 29th of December (for he certainly ought, according to all military rules, to have succeeded), if it had been followed up with spirit on our part, might have been attended with the happiest consequence; but such conduct was not to be expected from a Governor like Mr. Hollond, who, although we told him in explicit terms on the 29th of August and 13th of November last, that if Tippoo committed any act of hostility against the Nabob of Arcot, or the Rajah of Travancore, he should immediately consider himself at war with that Prince, has since the attack of the Rajah's lines remained in a state of perfect inactivity. Nor has Musgrave been able to prevail upon him to take that most necessary measure of securing draught and carriage bullocks, the neglect of which, if Tippoo's horse break into the country, will put it out of the power of any General to carry on an offensive war.

However irregular or inconvenient it might be for me to leave Bengal, especially in such hands as I have formerly described, I determined not to wait patiently here for the account of the loss of the Carnatic, and was preparing to embark in the 'Houghton' Indiaman for Madras, when I heard that the 'Vestal' frigate had touched at Ajengo on the 3rd of January on her way to Bombay, and that it carried General Medows's appointment to the Government of Fort St. George.

If I could have thought myself at liberty to have followed my own private inclinations, you may easily conceive that it would have led me to have taken the field against Tippoo, instead of remaining here at the daily and constant drudgery of conducting the business of this country, in which, after the loss of Mr. Shore and Mr. Charles Grant, I really have very little official assistance; but I did not think that such a step could have been justified either in point of duty to my country or delicacy to Medows, whom I must of course have superseded as a Governor both in his Civil and Military capacity.

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You will see by my public letters the measures that we have already adopted, and you may be assured that no exertion shall be wanting on my part to bring this business to a happy issue, and that if it should appear that the public service would be essentially benefited by my going to the coast, I shall not be alarmed at incurring the responsibility of so irregular an act. In the mean time, I have the mortification of seeing the fruits of the labour of three years and a half likely to be destroyed in a few months by the increase of our debt, and the rise of the discount on our paper, &c.

We shall transmit by this ship the orders for the Bengal settlement, and I must beg that you will read with attention my second minute on this subject, as well as the letters annexed in an appendix; it is too long to admit of my sending you a private copy of it by this conveyance. I am on this point really an enthusiast, from a perfect conviction that the future happiness of this country depends on a fixed and unalterable assessment of the land revenue, without which it cannot prosper. I understand from a variety of quarters, that Hollond is despised and execrated by the whole settlement of Fort St. George, and accused of the grossest peculation and corruption. It is always difficult in this country to obtain proof of pecuniary delinquency against any man in power, as such transactions are conducted in the name of native servants or agents, who, although they are great rogues in other respects, make it a point of honour on these occasions not to betray their master. I have however had some overtures made to me on this head, and I shall spare no pains to procure the means of bringing such an offender to justice. I should now be inclined to say you had better stick to your plan of Military Governors, and have done with the Civil line, if I did not remember that there have been some military characters in this country that have not been very correct. I hope however at all events, that Medows will be my successor,—not that I mean to run away whilst the house is on fire, for, much as I wish to return to England next year, I would not do it unless the Company's possessions were in a state of security.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Calcutta, Feb. 8, 1790.

. . . Should any new events occur on the coast to produce an appearance of a necessity of my going there, I shall still

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think it incumbent upon me to execute my first intention, and you will have an opportunity of observing by the proceedings of the Board, that I have in the mean time recommended all the Military and Political measures which seem to be calculated to exact ample reparation from Tippoo for his flagrant breach of the treaty of peace, and so bring the contest with him to a speedy and an honourable issue.

An equal attention to efficiency and economy has been observed in the plan for augmenting your troops at the different Presidencies, and the reinforcements and supplies which will proceed immediately from hence to Madras, will I trust put it in General Medows's power to act offensively against Tippoo with promptitude and success. . . .

You will observe from our Proceedings, that we conceived that we have had reason to disapprove of some parts of the late conduct of the Government of Fort St. George; but as we have required explanations from that Government of some of those acts which we have considered as principally blameable, I shall defer giving any decided opinion upon them, until those explanations shall be laid before the Supreme Board.

Much of my time and attention has been occupied in directing the variety of arrangements which the late occurrences have required, but I have been anxious at the same time that the measures which have been long in agitation for preparing the best plans in our power to make a ten years' settlement of the land revenues of these provinces, should suffer no material interruption. . . .

The different objects with which I am at present occupied, do not admit of my touching upon any of the other heads of the public business; but I cannot conclude this letter without assuring you, that notwithstanding the notice that I gave you last year of my intention to resign this Government in the course of the ensuing season, and the many reasons that press me to execute that determination, I shall think it my duty to waive all personal considerations, and to remain in my present station whilst I can see any good reason to suppose that my presence in this country would essentially contribute to the security of your possessions, or materially to promote the general prosperity of your affairs.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL TO THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL, FORT ST. GEORGE.

HONOURABLE SIR, Feb. 8, 1790.

We shall forbear on this occasion to declare any decided opinion on the subjects which we shall state, but the duty which we owe to our country as well as to the Honourable Company, obliges us to call upon you for explanations of certain parts of your late conduct, which we must acknowledge appear to us in a very disadvantageous light.

From the general situation of the political affairs of this country, it seemed to be highly improbable a short time ago that Tippoo would venture to force us into a war; but upon the supposition of that event being possible, we prescribed a line for your conduct under certain contingencies that were specified, in terms which we conceived to be so clear as not to admit of misconstruction.

We directed in our letter dated the 29th of August last, that if you should receive certain information that Tippoo had invaded any part of the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot, or of the Rajah of Travancore, you were to consider him from that moment as at war with the Company.

These directions were repeated in our letter dated the 13th of November, and the instructions contained in both letters were also explicit, that from the day on which it appeared that we should be under the necessity of engaging in a war with Tippoo, in consequence of his committing actual hostilities against either of our above-mentioned allies, the payments to the Nabob of Arcot's private creditors, and all steps for the provision of an investment for Europe at your Presidency should immediately cease, in order that those funds might, with the other pecuniary resources of the Carnatic, be applied according to the intention of the Court of Directors to defray the exigencies of the war.

We likewise gave our sentiments fully in our letter dated the 13th of November, on the circumstances that had been laid before us respecting the Rajah of Travancore's purchase of the forts of Cranganore and Jacottah from the Dutch, and our orders were positive, that if those forts belonged originally to the Portuguese and were made over by them to the Dutch, and if the Dutch held the independent possession of them without any reserve of allegiance or stipulations of dependence upon the Rajah of Cochin, who is tributary to Tippoo, the transfer of them by the Dutch to the

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Rajah of Travancore should be deemed valid and just, and the Rajah's possession maintained and defended.

Notwithstanding the above instructions, you thought proper in your letter dated the 3rd of January, to lay down principles as being in your opinion founded on the laws of nations, respecting the transaction between the Rajah and the Dutch, which militate against the spirit of our orders, and which we conceive it was not regularly within your province to discuss, as you are not responsible for the measure that was directed.

We were also surprised to observe by the enclosures which accompanied that letter, that what you wrote to Tippoo in consequence of our instructions of the 13th of November is only in part conformable to them; as you do not acquaint him that we had determined to assist the Rajah of Travancore in the defence of the forts of Cranganore and Jacottah, if it should appear upon investigation that the Dutch did possess an independent right to dispose of them.

But it gave us the most serious concern to find that the letters which you sent at the same time to Mr. Powney, the Resident of Travancore, and to the Rajah himself, are not only silent on the above determination which we had communicated to you, but are couched in terms calculated to discourage a faithful ally in the defence of his own country against an enemy who was within a few miles of his frontiers, and with the insolence and violence of whose character you have long been fully acquainted.

It has also come under our observation, that posterior to the time of your having received information that Tippoo had committed actual hostilities against the Rajah of Travancore, by attacking his lines on the northern frontier of his dominions on the 29th of December last, you have continued to advertise in the public newspapers for proposals for furnishing you with certain articles to a very considerable amount, for an investment for Europe; and by letters which the Commander-in-Chief has received from the commanding officers of the troops under your Presidency, and laid before this Board, it appears to us, that although you had issued orders for a large body of troops to hold themselves in readiness to take the field at the shortest notice, and that a considerable detachment should march from the centre, for the purpose of reinforcing the southern division of your army, you had, after Tippoo's flagrant infraction of the late treaty of peace was known at your Presidency, informed Colonel Musgrave that it was to be understood that bullocks were not to be provided for the Ordnance at Wala-

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jabad till further orders, and we saw that restriction with the more surprise, as it had been so recently verified by the military operations of the late war in the Carnatic, that a disappointment in that branch of supply would render all other preparations for active field service nearly nugatory and useless.

After having thus enumerated the parts of your late public conduct which have appeared to us in a disadvantageous light, we have now to require that you will assign your reasons for withholding the information from the Resident at Travancore, and from the Rajah himself, that we should assist in maintaining and defending the forts of Cranganore and Jacottah, if it should be proved upon investigation that those forts had been independent Dutch possessions before the country of Cochin became tributary to the Mysore Government; for continuing to take steps for promoting an investment for Europe; and for delaying to order a sufficient number of draught and carriage bullocks, for the purpose of enabling the troops to act with vigour in the field, after it was known to you that Tippoo had attacked the Rajah of Travancore's lines on the 29th of December last: being measures in which you seem to have acted in disregard or contradiction of our repeated instructions, by which you were directed to look upon Tippoo, if he should commence hostilities against either of our allies, the Nabob of Arcot or the Rajah of Travancore, as at war with the Company.

We have the honour to be, &c.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

DEAR SIR, Calcutta, Feb. 12, 1790.

I have had so frequent occasions to express my sentiments to you with regard to Mr. Charles Grant, that I need not repeat upon introducing him to you, how much I am personally obliged to him, or how much the East India Company and his country are indebted to his zealous services and superior abilities.

I must beg of you for my sake to receive him with all possible kindness and attention, and I should recommend it to you for your own, to converse with him frequently upon every part of the business of this country.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY.

DEAR JAMES, Calcutta, Feb. 13, 1790.

The unprovoked attack which Tippoo has made upon our ally the Rajah of Travancore has, much against my inclination, forced us into a war, and I was preparing to take the command upon the coast when we received the account of General Medows's appointment to the Government of Fort St. George. I wish it had arrived either three months sooner or three months later; in the first case I believe we should have had no war, for I am convinced that Tippoo was encouraged by the weakness and corruption of Mr. Hollond's Government; and in the second, without any disparagement to Medows, whose character and abilities I highly respect, I think I could for a time have conducted the Civil and Military business of the Carnatic with more ease and advantage than he could, from the greater experience I have had in the general affairs of India. I must now be satisfied with being Medows's commissary, to furnish him with men, money, and stores; to get no share of credit if things go well, and a large proportion of blame if they do not succeed. All this I feel severely, but I could not think it justifiable to leave my own Government in order to supersede such a man as Medows.

This misfortune is likely to keep me another year in this country, and I should wish everything to be sent out as usual, unless I should have an opportunity of contradicting it. Some letters, newspapers, and magazines may, by way of precaution, be sent to St. Helena.

If I should not come home, Brome might stay at Eton till he is seventeen and a half, which will be about Easter, 1792, and then if war still keeps me in India, for nothing else shall, he might go abroad with his tutor in the manner you proposed. . . .

It is a *melancholy task* to write all this, and to see all the effects of my economy, and the regulations of the finances *which cost me so much labour, destroyed in a few months.* But I am pretty well inured to the crosses and vexations of this world, and so long as my conscience does not reproach me with any blame, I have fortitude enough to bear up against them. . .

Yours, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO COLONEL MUSGRAVE.

DEAR MUSGRAVE, Calcutta, Feb. 17, 1790.

Captain Maitland[1] was so desirous to go to the coast, that if it had been thought necessary at present to have continued the establishment of a Major of Brigade to the King's troops in Bengal, I am sure he would have resigned the office rather than have remained here; but as there is a vacancy of a Major of Brigade at Madras, I have an opportunity of indulging his ardour for service without its occasioning the loss of his office, and have accordingly appointed him.

With every good disposition towards Sir George Leith,[2] I could not have brought myself to consent to his having the office, as I have great reason to believe that there was a pecuniary agreement between him and the late Major of Brigade, and being convinced that a more ruinous practice cannot be introduced into the service than that of buying and selling the Staff appointments, I shall ever think it my duty to set my face in the most determined manner against such a traffic. . . .

What a precious time have we lost! If every exertion had been used to put the army in motion from the moment that you heard of the commencement of hostilities, as our repeated orders in the clearest manner directed, it is possible that by this time Tippoo might have written in an humbler strain.

There has been no apathy on our part, for besides the three companies of your regiment, we have embarked a battalion of artillery, completed with healthy and chosen men, and in addition to former supplies and remittances, the two Indiamen carry eight lacs of rupees in specie, and your friend Cockerell[3] will be at Masulipatam by the latter end of April, with six fine battalions of sepoys completed to ten companies each. I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

[1] Captain, afterwards the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Maitland, G.C.B., a General, and Colonel 10th Regt. Son of James, 7th Earl of Lauderdale, b. 1760, d. July 17, 1824. He served in India by land, as well as by sea in the actions between Sir Edward Hughes and Suffrein, and was subsequently much employed on various other occasions. M.P. for the Haddington boroughs from Nov. 1774 to Nov. 1779, from Nov. 1790 to May, 1796, and from 1800 to Jan. 1805, when he was made Governor of Ceylon, where he remained till Oct. 1811. He was a Commissioner of the Board of Control for a few months, 1804-5. In 1816 he went out as Lord High Commissioner to the Ionian Islands, where by his firm and perhaps somewhat peremptory conduct (although tempered with much real kindness), he acquired the sobriquet of "King Tom." He retained that situation till his death.

[2] Sir George Alexander Leith, Bart., then a Lieutenant, 71st Regt., afterwards a Major-General, and K.C.B., b. 1766, d. Jan. 25, 1842; m. Dec. 10, 1798, Albinia, dau. of Thomas Wright Vaughan, Esq., of Moulsey.

[3] Lieut.-Colonel Cockerell, b. Aug. 10, 1752, d. July 6, 1798, unmarried. He entered the army at the early age of 12.

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EARL CORNWALLIS TO C. W. MALET, ESQ.

SIR, Fort William, Feb. 28, 1790.

Some considerable advantages have no doubt been experienced by the system of neutrality, which the Legislature required of the Governments in this country, but it has at the same time been attended with the unavoidable inconvenience of our being constantly exposed to the necessity of commencing a war, without having previously secured the assistance of efficient Allies.

The late outrageous infraction of the treaty of peace by Tippoo, furnishes a case in point.

We could not suffer the dominions of the Rajah of Travancore, who was included by name as our Ally in that treaty, to be ravaged or insulted, without being justly charged with pusillanimity or a flagrant breach of faith, and without dishonouring ourselves by that means, in the view of all the powers in India; and as we have been almost daily obliged for several years past, to declare to the Marattas and to the Nizam, that we were precluded from contracting any new engagements with them for affording them aid against the injustice or ambition of Tippoo, I must acknowledge that we cannot claim as a right, the performance of those promises which the Marattas have repeatedly made to co-operate with us, whenever we should be forced into a war with that Prince.

My dependence upon the support of both those powers upon the present occasion, is founded solely upon the expectation of their being guided by the common influence of passions, and by considerations of evident interest, which ought to dispose them to seize a favourable opportunity with eagerness, to reduce the power of a Prince whose ambition knows no bounds, and from whom both of them have suffered numberless insults and injuries.

Notwithstanding these inducements to engage readily with us in the war, I conceive it very possible that the Marattas in particular, will endeavour to extort unreasonable stipulations from us for their co-operation. But if Tippoo shall receive no European support, it will be the less necessary for us to comply with demands of that description, as I trust that our own force will be sufficient to exact a full reparation from him for the violation of peace.

But at the same time, as the speedy termination of the war is not only a matter of the utmost consequence to the finances of the Company, but will almost preclude a possibility of Tippoo being assisted or even encouraged, in consequence of any orders that this war may produce from France, I thought it right, in order to obtain the aid of the Marattas, to offer them a defensive alliance

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against Tippoo, to which they would in reason and equity have a good title, if they were to take an active part with us, without having made such a previous engagement.

I have no reason to believe that Tippoo has on this occasion acted in concert with the French Government in this country; and the convulsed state of the affairs of that nation in Europe renders it at least highly improbable that they will be inclined to come to an open rupture with us, by supporting a Prince who has been notoriously the aggressor.

To provide however as much as may be possible against that contingency, I have requested of the Commodore, who has luckily the superiority in naval force, to keep a watchful eye upon all the motions of the French in those seas, and I have also solicited a friendly attention to the same object, of the Dutch Governor of Ceylon, who resents the behaviour of Tippoo to the settlement of Cochin, and has shown a disposition to take some concern about the Rajah of Travancore. But should the French, contrary to all present expectation, determine to assist Tippoo, the co-operation of the Marattas would then become of so much more value to us, that it would be necessary on our part to be less difficult in assenting to conditions which might be required for our obtaining it, and with the instructions already in possession, I shall rely with great confidence on your ability and discretion, for conducting the negotiation with the Poonah Ministers, upon either of the above suppositions.

I cannot bring myself to imagine that either the Marattas or the Nizam could be persuaded to take an active part against us in conjunction with Tippoo; though it does not appear entirely improbable that they may at first receive our propositions for their declaring in our favour with some degree of coldness, either with the view to obtain more favourable conditions than we may be disposed to offer, or with that of allowing two Powers who must be the objects either of their enmity or jealousy, to exhaust their strength in a struggle between themselves. And as we have uniformly professed that unless Tippoo should violate the late treaty of peace, we were not at liberty to contract any alliances of an hostile tendency to him, I do not think it absolutely impossible that the Marattas may have taken some steps, or have made some professions of friendship, for the purpose of encouraging him to disengage us from the restraints that we have described, by attacking our ally the Rajah of Travancore.

I shall defer entering into an examination of the most judicious mode of co-operating with, or directing the exertions of, the

Marattas against the common enemy, until I can hear from you in answer to my letter dated the 27th of January, because I should think it incumbent upon me to agree to almost any conditions of that nature, which they might appear determined to annex to their decision for making an immediate declaration in our favour.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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APPENDIX.

AMERICA.

No. I.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Charlestown, June 30, 1780.

IN my letter from Camden of the 2nd instant I had the honour to inform you that I was employed in regulating the militia, and establishing some kind of government in this province; and I likewise mentioned the state and the steps that I had taken relative to our friends in North Carolina. I will first proceed with the affairs of South Carolina. As the different districts submitted, I, with all the despatch in my power, formed them into militia, and appointed field-officers, according to the old divisions of the province. I invested these field-officers with civil as well as military power, as the most effectual means of preserving order and re-establishing the King's authority in this country. I divided the militia into two classes; the first to consist of men above forty, and of certain property, family, or service. This class to be depended upon for the preservation of order in their respective districts, and to do the patrole duty, but never to be called out, except in case of an insurrection or an actual invasion of the province. The second class composed of younger men, not only to assist in the home duties, but liable to be called out for six of each twelve months to serve in either of the Carolinas or Georgia; promising, however, to call upon this class in such proportions as to occasion the least distress possible to the country. This militia, both officers and soldiers, is composed of men either of undoubted attachment to the cause of Great Britain, or whose behaviour has always been moderate; and the field-officers of the Rebel Militia, members of their council, assembly men, and acting magistrates, were ordered to go on their paroles to the islands on the coast between Charlestown and Beaufort, to remain there until their conduct and character could be inquired into, and that their presence in the country might not awe those that were inclined to return to their duty, and our friends from assuming the authority necessary to give vigour to our Government. The rest of those that were notoriously disaffected, I ordered to be disarmed, and to remain at home on their parole, but subject, in lieu of personal services, to furnish moderate contributions of provisions, waggons, horses, &c., towards carrying on the war. About this time I readily agreed to a proposal made by a Mr. Harrison to raise a provincial corps of 500 men with the rank of major, to be composed of the natives of the country between the Pedee and Wateree, and in which it is at present extremely probable that he will succeed.

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I had advanced thus far when I was met on the 11th of this month by two gentlemen, one of whom had been in an high station, and both principally concerned in the rebellion, who said they were come to surrender, upon the proclamation of the Commissioners of the 1st of June. However extraordinary it might appear to them, I was forced to acknowledge that no proclamation of that date had been communicated to me, and that consequently I could not acquiesce in the terms of their proffered submission; and indeed, when I saw that proclamation, as well as your Excellency's of the 3rd of June, which was soon after transmitted to me, I found that those gentlemen had overstrained the meaning of the first, for, after considering both, I thought myself at liberty to persevere in sending on parole to the islands the field-officers of militia, the members of council, assembly men, acting magistrates, &c., the first as falling under the exception of the military line in your Excellency's proclamation, and the remainder as under the description of those polluted with the blood of their fellow subjects, excepted by the proclamation of the Commissioners. This measure appeared absolutely necessary for the security of the province, especially as our hold is much loosened of a considerable number of people, who, being notoriously disaffected, cannot with prudence be trusted with arms, and admitted into the militia, but are disengaged from their paroles by the proclamation of the 3rd instant. The submission of General Williamson at Ninety-Six, whose capitulation I inclose with Captain Paris' letter, and the dispersion of a party of Rebels, who had assembled at an iron work on the north-west border of the province, by a detachment of dragoons and militia from Lieut.-Colonel Turnbull, put an end to all resistance in South Carolina.

After having made the following disposition of the troops, I arrived in town on the 25th. Major M'Arthur with the 71st Regiment, a troop of dragoons, and a six-pounder, on the Cheraw Hill, with orders to cover the raising of Major Harrison's corps, and to establish the militia in the districts on the Pedee; the remainder of Lieut.-Colonel Webster's brigade, and the provincials that marched with me and Brown's corps remain at Camden, and Lieut.-Colonel Turnbull's, with some cavalry, at Rocky Mount; the whole under the command of Lord Rawdon. Lieut-Colonel Balfour's detachment is dispersed from the Forks of Santee by the Congarees to Ninety-Six; whilst he and Lieut.-Colonel Innes, and Major Graham, are giving orders for the militia of those districts. I have ordered Major Ferguson to visit every district in the province as fast as they get the militia established, to procure lists of each, and to see that my orders are carried into execution. I apprehend that his commission of major-commandant of a regiment of militia, can only take place in case a part of the 2nd class should be called out for service, the home duty being more that of a justice of peace than of a soldier. I have given to the militia regiments temporary commissions, which perhaps your Excellency will find more convenient to confirm by a line in your next despatch, than to take the trouble of signing, as the number for the whole province will amount to some hundreds. I have had some conversations with Brigadier-General Patterson and Mr. Simpson, and have made a little progress in the arrangement of this place.

In regard to North Carolina, I have established the most satisfactory correspondence, and have seen several people of credit and undoubted fidelity from that province; they all agree in assurances of the good disposition of a considerable body of the inhabitants, and of the impossibility of subsisting a body of troops in that country till the harvest is over. This reason, the heat of the summer, and the unsettled state of South Carolina, all concurred to convince me

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of the necessity of postponing offensive operations on that side until the latter end of August or beginning of September, and in consequence I sent emissaries to the leading persons amongst our friends, recommending in the strongest terms that they should attend to their harvest, prepare provisions, and remain quiet until the King's troops were ready to enter the province. Notwithstanding these precautions, I am sorry to say that a considerable number of loyal inhabitants of Tryon county, encouraged and headed by a Colonel Moore, whom I know nothing of, and excited by the sanguine emissaries of the very sanguine and imprudent Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, rose on the 18th instant without order or caution, and were in a few days defeated by General Rutherford, with some loss. I still hope that this unlucky business will not materially affect the general plan, or occasion any commotions on the frontiers of this province. The force of the enemy in North Carolina consists of about 1000 militia at Cross Creek, under General Caswell, 400 or 500 militia under General Rutherford, at or near Salisbury, and 300 Virginians in that neighbourhood under General Porterfield. Mons. Treville returned with information that he saw 2000 Maryland and Delaware troops at Hillsborough under Major-General De Kalbe; other accounts have corresponded with his, but I have since heard that the greatest part of the last have returned to Virginia.

After having thus fully stated the present situation of the two Carolinas, I shall now take the liberty of giving my opinion with respect to the practicability and the probable effect of further operations in this quarter, and my own intentions, if not otherwise directed by your Excellency.

I think that with the force at present under my command (except there should be a considerable foreign interference) I can leave South Carolina in security, and march about the beginning of September with a body of troops into the back part of North Carolina, with the greatest probability of reducing that province to its duty; and if this be accomplished, I am of opinion that (besides the advantage of possessing so valuable a province) it would prove an effectual barrier for South Carolina and Georgia, and could be kept, with the assistance of our friends there, by as few troops as would be wanted on the borders of this province, if North Carolina should remain in the hands of our enemies; consequently, if your Excellency should continue to think it expedient to employ part of the troops at present in this province in operations in the Chesapeake, there will be as many to spare as if we did not possess North Carolina. If I am not honoured with different directions from your Excellency before that time, I shall take my measures for beginning the execution of the above plan about the latter end of August or beginning of September, and shall apply to the officer commanding his Majesty's ships for some co-operation by Cape Fear, which at present would be burdensome to the navy, and not of much importance to the service.

I have seen a letter from St. Augustine, which mentions that two officers had arrived there from Pensacola, who reported that Don Galvez was at Mobile when they came away, and short of provisions, and that the 'Mentor' had taken three Spanish victuallers on their passage from the Havannah to Mobile, and brought them into Pensacola.

I shall immediately, in compliance with the directions contained in your letter of the 8th of June, order proper people to examine the receipts granted for cattle previous to the taking of Charlestown, and to certify such as they think ought to be paid. A great number of claims are likewise made for provisions delivered to the troops through the Commissary of Captures, and for which no receipts were given. These claims shall undergo the same examina-

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tion as the receipts, and shall depend upon similar certificates. You will be pleased to direct from what fund the whole sum, when ascertained, is to be paid.

I opened the inclosed letter from Governor Tryon, but as the point appears to me to be out of the common line of Indian business, and the service suffers no inconvenience from a little delay, I herewith send Mr. Moore's letter to General Patterson on the subject, and have likewise directed Mr. Moore to transmit his other papers to New York for your Excellency's determination. Mr. Graham, Lieut.-Governor of Georgia, has presented an account of money advanced to refugees, to which is added a charge of twenty shillings per diem to the 24th of June, as Inspector of Refugees in Georgia; but as he informs me that his commission for that office is not signed, I beg to know your pleasure whether his account is to be allowed. I must likewise know whether the pay is to be continued to the Commissary of Captures, and if it is, to what fund it is to be charged; or, if your intention is that it should cease whilst the troops are inactive, whether you wish that when the troops take the field the office should be revived in the persons of the present Commissioners.

Judge Pendleton, who, in his judicial character, committed a number of barbarous murders on the persons of his Majesty's loyal subjects, has escaped from his parole, and I find by returns which I called for that not less than 500 continental prisoners have made their escape since the town was taken. I have now taken measures which I hope will enable us to keep those that remain until an exchange can take place.

Brigadier-General Patterson showed me a letter which he received from Major André relative to the general court-martial left with him, in which he expressed your desire that I should give my opinion of the proper objects of mercy or severity. I must lament the fate of those unhappy people who have been and must remain so long confined; but as all those under sentence of death are convicted of desertion and carrying arms against their country, I cannot bring myself to say that they are proper objects of mercy.

The morning that I left Camden I had the honour to receive your Excellency's despatches and instructions that had been left in charge of Brigadier-General Patterson. Your Excellency may depend on my utmost attention to them, and on my zeal in fulfilling your wishes in every respect. The detachment of the 17th Dragoons will sail for New York with the first convoy, which Captain Henry informs me will be in a week or ten days; and now I think, having completely tired both your Excellency and myself, I shall only add that

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Cornwallis.

No. II.

Earl Cornwallis to Lord George Germain.

My Lord, Camden, Aug. 20, 1780.

Your Lordship will have been informed by Sir Henry Clinton of everything that passed in the province of South Carolina from the reduction of Charlestown to the defeat of the corps under Colonel Burford by the great exertion and valour of Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton.

Sir Henry soon afterwards embarked for New York, and appointed me to the

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command of his Majesty's forces in the southern provinces. I was then at Camden, but the corps with me being totally destitute of military stores, clothing, rum, salt, and other articles necessary for troops in the operations of the field, and provisions of all kinds being deficient, almost approaching to a famine, in North Carolina, it was impossible for me to penetrate into that province before the harvest: I therefore employed myself in fixing posts of troops from the Pedee to the Savannah Rivers, to awe the disaffected and encourage the loyal inhabitants, and I took every measure in my power to raise some provincial corps, and to establish a militia as well for the defence, as for the internal government of South Carolina. One provincial corps, to consist of 500 men, was put in commission to be raised between the Pedee and the Wateree, to be commanded by Mr. Harrison with the rank of Major; and another of the same number was ordered to be raised in the district of Ninety-Six, to be commanded by Mr. Cunningham, to whom, on account of his active loyalty for many years past, I gave the rank of Lieut.-Colonel; and there appeared to be great reason to expect that both these corps would be soon completed, as well as the first South Carolina regiment, which was composed of refugees who had now returned to their native country.

In the district of Ninety-Six, by far the most populous and powerful of the province, Lieut.-Colonel Balfour by his great attention and diligence, and by the active assistance of Major Ferguson, who was appointed Inspector-General of the militia of this province by Sir Henry Clinton, had formed seven battalions of militia consisting of above 4000 men, and entirely composed of persons well affected to the British Government, which were so regulated that they could with ease furnish 1500 men at a short notice for the defence of the frontier, or any other home service. But I must take this opportunity of observing that this militia can be of little use for distant military operations, as they will not stir without a horse, and on that account your Lordship will see the impossibility of keeping a number of them together without destroying the country. Many battalions were likewise formed by myself and other officers, on the very extensive line from Broad River to Cheraws, but they were in general either weak, or not much to be relied on for their fidelity.

In order to protect the raising of Harrison's corps, and to awe a large tract of disaffected country between the Pedee and Black River, I posted Major M'Arthur with the 71st Regiment and a troop of dragoons at Cheraw Hill on the Pedee, where his detachment was plentifully supplied by the country with provisions of all kinds. Other small posts were likewise established in the front and on the left of Camden, where the people were known to be ill disposed; and the main body of the corps was posted at Camden, which, for this country, is reckoned a tolerably healthy place, and where the troops could most conveniently subsist, and receive the necessary supplies of various kinds from Charlestown. I likewise had settled good channels of correspondence with our friends in North Carolina, and had given them positive directions to attend to their harvests, and to remain quiet until I could march to their relief. In this business I was greatly assisted by Governor Martin, from whose abilities and zeal for the service, I have on many occasions derived great advantages, and which I must beg that your Lordship will please to represent in the strongest terms to his Majesty.

Having made the above arrangements, and everything wearing the face of tranquillity and submission, I set out on the 21st of June for Charlestown, leaving the command of the troops on the frontier to Lord Rawdon, who was, after Brigadier-General Patterson, the Commandant of Charlestown, the next officer of rank to me in the province.

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About this time I heard that 2000 of the Maryland and Delaware Continental troops were entering North Carolina under Major-General Baron de Kalbe, and that he meant to take his quarters at Hillsborough. There was then in that country a corps of 300 Virginia Light Infantry under Colonel Porterfield, some militia at Salisbury and Charlottetown under Generals Rutherford and Sumpter, and a large body of militia at Cross Creek under General Caswell. As all these corps were at a great distance from us, and as I knew it to be impossible to march any considerable body of men across the province of North Carolina before the harvest, I did not expect that our posts on the frontier would be much disturbed for two months, and by that time I hoped to be able to undertake offensive operations.

I had much business to do at Charlestown in regulating the civil and commercial affairs of the town and country, in endeavouring to form a militia in the lower districts, and in forwarding the preparations for taking the field at the time intended. The business of the country was particularly difficult, for many parts of the lower districts are extremely rebellious, and this climate (except in Charlestown) is so bad within a hundred miles of the coast, from the end of June until the middle of October, that troops could not be stationed among them during that period, without a certainty of their being rendered useless for some time for military service, if not entirely lost; and our principal friends, for the same reasons, were extremely unwilling to remain in the country during that period, to assist in forming the militia and establishing some kind of government. However, under all these difficulties the business was going on when our tranquillity was first disturbed by the accounts of a premature rising of our friends in Tryon county, North Carolina, in the latter end of June, who having assembled without concert, plan, or proper leaders, were two days after surprised and totally routed by the son of General Rutherford. Many of them fled into this province, where their reports tend much to terrify our friends and encourage our enemies; and about the same time, notwithstanding my injunctions to the contrary, another body of Loyalists rose at the forks of the Yadkin, under Colonel Bryan (driven to it, as they said, by the most barbarous persecution), and, after a long and difficult march, joined Major M'Arthur at the Cheraws to the amount of upwards of 700 men.

Baron de Kalbe moved early in July to Deep River, where he was joined first by General Caswell from Cross Creek, and about the 25th by General Gates, who took the command of the army. But as he was still above a hundred miles from Major M'Arthur, which was the nearest post to him, Lord Rawdon did not think it necessary to make any material alteration in the disposition of the troops. From this time until the 20th of July many skirmishes happened on the frontiers of Ninety-Six, and towards Waxhaw, but none of any material consequence. The enemy had, however, in the mean time filled this province with their emissaries, and in all the eastern part of it were planning a general revolt, which our lenity had left but too much in their power. The Cheraw Hill was a post of great consequence, and had the appearance of being healthy, but it proved so much the contrary, and sickness came on so rapidly, that in nine days at least two-thirds of the 71st Regiment were taken ill of fevers and agues, and rendered unfit for service. About this time the enemy were known to be in motion, but the rigour of their government (many of our principal friends in North Carolina being confined in dungeons, loaded with irons, and several having been put to death) had so intimidated those on whose good-will and ability to give the most accurate intelligence we had the greatest reason to depend, that Lord Rawdon could obtain no certain accounts of them.

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The salvation of the 71st Regiment, as well as every other consideration, determined his Lordship to withdraw the post at Cheraw Hill; this the active incendiaries of the enemy represented as an act of fear, and so encouraged the disaffected, and terrified the wavering, that the whole country between Pedee and Black River openly avowed the principles of rebellion, and collecting in parties commenced acts of hostility.

Our Cheraw militia having seized and bound their field-officers, attacked and took some boats on the Pedee, in which Major M'Arthur was sending near 100 of his sick to Georgetown, I was greatly alarmed for a small detachment which I had sent under Major Wemyss to reduce the people of Georgetown to some order, and for my water-communication on the Santee, on which at that time a large quantity of rum, salt, arms, and military stores were moving in boats up to Camden.

At this time General Sumpter, whose numbers were much augmented by the present prospect of affairs, attacked our post at Rocky Mount, but was repulsed by the steady and gallant defence of Lieut.-Colonel Turnbull, and the small corps under his command. It now appeared that General Gates was advancing with his whole force from North Carolina, and Lord Rawdon (whose capacity and zeal for the service I cannot too much commend) saw the necessity of contracting his posts, and securing Camden, where we had all our stores, and above 700 sick; but he could not immediately withdraw his whole force to that place, without a certainty of losing his communication with Charlestown, and exposing the posts dependent on the Ninety-Six command to be surrounded and cut off. He therefore continued Lieut.-Colonel Turnbull at Rocky Mount, reinforced his post at Hanging Rock, and placed himself with the principal force at Robertson's on the west branch of Linches Creek. The post at Hanging Rock was attacked by General Sumpter a few days after his repulse from Rocky Mount, and very nearly carried. The bravery of Captain M'Cullough (since dead of his wounds) and of the infantry of the Legion preserved it. Lord Rawdon waited for Gates at Robertson's with the 23rd, 33rd, 71st, and Volunteers of Ireland, who came up, but did not think proper to attack him; in the mean time his Lordship performed the arduous task of removing the sick of the 71st Regiment to Camden. General Gates showing no disposition to attack the corps at Robertson's, Lord Rawdon wisely apprehending that his intention might be either to reinforce Sumpter and make a more vigorous attack on the posts at Rocky Mount or Hanging Rock; or, by getting round his right, destroy his stores and take his sick at Camden, retired from Robertson's to that place, where he was joined by the corps which had been before moved from Hanging Rock to Rugeley's Mill, and directed Lieut.-Colonel Turnbull to quit Rocky Mount, and either come down the west side of the Wateree to Camden, or fall back on the militia-posts commanded by Major Ferguson on Broad River.

All these incidents and movements on both sides were regularly reported to me while at Charlestown by Lord Rawdon, and I shall have the honour of informing your Lordship of the consequences in my next despatch, which will be written to-morrow.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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No. III.

Earl Cornwallis to Lord George Germain.

My Lord, Camden, Aug. 21, 1780.

It is with great pleasure that I communicate to your Lordship an account of a complete victory obtained on the 16th instant by his Majesty's troops under my command over the rebel southern army commanded by General Gates.

In my despatch No. 1, I had the honour to inform your Lordship that while at Charlestown, I was regularly acquainted by Lord Rawdon with every material incident or movement made by the enemy or by the troops under his Lordship's command. On the 9th two expresses arrived with an account that General Gates was advancing towards Linches Creek with his whole army, supposed to amount to 6000 men, exclusive of a detachment of 1000 men, under General Sumpter, who, after having in vain attempted to force the posts at Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock, was believed to be at that time trying to get round the left of our position, to cut off our communication with the Congarees and Charlestown; that the disaffected country between Pedee and Black River had actually revolted; and that Lord Rawdon was contracting his posts, and preparing to assemble his force at Camden.

In consequence of this information, after finishing some important points of business at Charlestown, I set out on the evening of the 10th, and arrived at Camden on the night between the 13th and 14th, and there found Lord Rawdon with our whole force, except Lieut.-Colonel Turnbull's small detachment, which fell back from Rocky Mount to Major Ferguson's posts of the militia of Ninety-Six on Little River.

I had now my option to make, either to retire or attack the enemy, for the position at Camden was a bad one to be attacked in, and by General Sumpter's advancing down the Wateree, my supplies must have failed me in a few days.

I saw no difficulty in making good my retreat to Charlestown, with the troops that were able to march; but in taking that resolution I must have not only left near 800 sick and a great quantity of stores at this place, but I clearly saw the loss of the whole province except Charlestown, and of all Georgia except Savannah, as immediate consequences, besides forfeiting all pretensions to future confidence from our friends in this part of America.

On the other hand, there was no doubt of the rebel army being well appointed, and of its number being upwards of 5000 men, exclusive of General Sumpter's detachment, and of a corps of Virginia militia of 1200 or 1500 men, either actually joined or expected to join the main body every hour; and my own corps, which never was numerous, was now reduced by sickness and other casualties to about 1400 fighting men of regulars and provincials, and 400 or 500 militia and North Carolina refugees. However, the greatest part of the troops that I had being perfectly good, and having left Charlestown sufficiently garrisoned and provided for a siege, and seeing little to lose by a defeat, and much to gain by a victory, I resolved to take the first good opportunity to attack the rebel army. Accordingly, I took great pains to procure good information of their movements and position, and I learned that they had encamped, after marching from Hanging Rock, at Colonel Rugeley's, about 12 miles from hence, on the afternoon of the 14th. After consulting some intelligent people well acquainted with the ground, I determined to march at ten o'clock on the night of the 15th, and to attack at daybreak, pointing my principal force against their continentals, who from good intelligence I knew to be badly posted close to Colonel Rugeley's house. Late in

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the evening I received information that the Virginians had joined that day; however, that having been expected, I did not alter my plan, but marched at the hour appointed, leaving the defence of Camden to some provincials, militia, and convalescents, and a detachment of the 63rd regiment, which, by being mounted on horses which they had pressed on the road, it was hoped would arrive in the course of the night.

I had proceeded nine miles, when about half an hour past two in the morning, my advanced guard fell in with the enemy. By the weight of the fire I was convinced they were in considerable force, and was soon assured by some deserters and prisoners that it was the whole rebel army on its march to attack us at Camden. I immediately halted and formed, and the enemy doing the same, the firing soon ceased. Confiding in the discipline and courage of his Majesty's troops, and well apprised by several intelligent inhabitants, that the ground on which both armies stood being narrowed by swamps on the right and left, was extremely favourable for my numbers, I did not choose to hazard the great stake for which I was going to fight, to the uncertainty and confusion to which an action in the dark is so particularly liable. But having taken measures that the enemy should not have it in their power to avoid an engagement on that ground, I resolved to defer the attack till day—the division of the right consisting of a small corps of light infantry, the 23rd and 33rd regiments, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Webster, the division of the left consisting of the volunteers of Ireland, infantry of the Legion, and part of Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton's North Carolina regiment, under the command of Lord Rawdon, with two 6 and two 3-pounders, which were commanded by Lieut. M'Leod. The 71st regiment, with two 6-pounders, was formed as a reserve, one battalion in the rear of the division of the right, the other of that of the left, and the cavalry of the Legion in the rear, and (the country being woody) close to the 71st regiment, with orders to seize any opportunity that might offer to break the enemy's line, and to be ready to protect our own in case any corps should meet with a check.

This disposition was just made when I perceived that the enemy, having persisted in their resolution to fight, were formed in two lines opposite and near to us, and, observing a movement on their left, which I supposed to be with an intention to make some alteration in their order, I directed Lieut.-Colonel Webster to begin the attack, which was done with great vigour, and in a few minutes the action was general along the whole front. It was at this time a dead calm, with a little haziness in the air, which, preventing the smoke from rising, occasioned so thick a darkness, that it was difficult to see the effect of a very heavy and well-supported fire on both sides. Our line continued to advance in good order, and with the cool intrepidity of experienced British soldiers, keeping up a constant fire or making use of bayonets as opportunities offered, and, after an obstinate resistance for three quarters of an hour, threw the enemy into total confusion, and forced him to give way in all quarters.

At this instant I ordered the cavalry to complete the rout, which was performed with their usual promptitude and gallantry, and after doing great execution on the field of battle, they continued the pursuit to Hanging Rock, 22 miles from the place where the action happened, during which many of the enemy were slain, a number of prisoners, near 150 waggons (in one of which was a brass cannon, the carriage of which had been damaged in the skirmish of the night), a considerable quantity of military stores, and all the baggage and camp equipage of the rebel army fell into our hands.

The loss of the enemy was very considerable, a number of colours and seven pieces of brass cannon (being all their artillery that were in the action), with all

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their ammunition-waggons, were taken; between 800 and 900 were killed, among that number Brigadier-General Gregory; and about 1000 prisoners, many of them wounded, of which number were Major-General Baron de Kalbe, since dead, and Brigadier-General Rutherford.

I have the honour to enclose a return of killed and wounded on our side; the loss of so many brave men is much to be lamented, but the number is moderate in proportion to so great an advantage.

The behaviour of his Majesty's troops in general was beyond all praise—it did honour to themselves and to their country. I was particularly indebted to Colonel Lord Rawdon, and to Lieut.-Colonel Webster, for the distinguished courage and ability with which they conducted their respective divisions; and the capacity and vigour of Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton at the head of the cavalry, deserve my highest commendations. Lieutenant M'Leod exerted himself greatly in the conduct of our artillery. My aide-de-camp, Captain Ross, and Lieutenant Haldane, of the engineers, who acted in that capacity, rendered me most essential service, and the public officers, Major of Brigade England, who acted as Deputy Adjutant-General, and the Majors of Brigade Manby and Doyle, showed the most active and zealous attention to their duty; Governor Martin became again a military man, and behaved with the spirits of a young volunteer.

The fatigue of the troops rendered them incapable of further exertions on the day of the action; but as I saw the importance of destroying or dispersing, if possible, the corps under General Sumpter, as it might prove a foundation for assembling the routed army, on the morning of the 17th I detached Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton with the Legion cavalry and infantry, and the corps of light infantry, making in all about 350 men, with orders to attack him wherever he could find him, and at the same time I sent orders to Lieut.-Colonel Turnbull and Major Ferguson, at that time on Little River, to put their corps in motion immediately, and on their side to pursue and endeavour to attack General Sumpter. Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton executed this service with his usual activity and military address. He procured good information of Sumpter's movements, and by forced and concealed marches, came up with, and surprised him in the middle of the day on the 18th, near the Catawba Fords. He totally destroyed or dispersed his detachment, consisting then of 700 men, killing 150 on the spot, and taking two pieces of brass cannon and 300 prisoners, and 44 waggons. He likewise re-took 100 of our men, who had fallen into their hands, partly at the action at Hanging Rock, and partly in escorting some waggons from Congarees to Camden, and he released 150 of our militia-men or friendly country people, who had been seized by the rebels. Captain Campbell, who commanded the light infantry, a very promising officer, was unfortunately killed in this affair; our loss otherwise was trifling. This action is too brilliant to need any comment of mine, and will, I have no doubt, highly recommend Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton to his Majesty's favour.

The rebel forces being at present dispersed, the internal commotions and insurrections in the province will now subside. But I shall give directions to inflict exemplary punishment on some of the most guilty, in hopes to deter others in future from tampering with allegiance, with oaths, and with the lenity and generosity of the British Government.

On the morning of the 17th I despatched proper people into North Carolina, with directions to our friends there, to take arms and assemble immediately, and to seize the most violent people, and all the military stores and magazines belonging to the rebels, and to intercept all stragglers from the routed army; and I have promised to march without loss of time to their support. Some necessary

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supplies for the army are now on their way from Charlestown, and I hope that their arrival will enable me to move in a few days.

My aide-de-camp, Captain Ross, will have the honour of delivering this despatch to your Lordship, and will be able to give you the fullest account of the state of the army and country. He is a very deserving officer, and I take the liberty of recommending him to your Lordship's favour and patronage.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

No. IV.

LORD RAWDON TO THE HON. MAJOR-GENERAL LESLIE.

Camp near the Indian Lands, West of the Catawba River, South Carolina, Oct. 24, 1780.

SIR,

Lord Cornwallis not being sufficiently recovered from a severe fever which lately attacked him, to be able to write to you, his Lordship has desired that I should have the honour of communicating with you, upon the subject of the present service. The Commander-in-chief has transmitted to Lord Cornwallis a copy of the instructions under which you are to act. At the time when Petersburgh was suggested as an advisable point for a diversion, which might co-operate with our intended efforts for the reduction of North Carolina, it was imagined that the tranquillity of South Carolina was assured; and the repeated assurances which were sent to us by the Loyalists in North Carolina, gave us reason to hope that their number and their zeal would not only facilitate the restoration of His Majesty's government in that province, but might also supply a force for more extensive operations. Events, unfortunately, have not answered to those flattering promises. The appearance of General Gates' army unveiled to us a fund of disaffection in this province of which we could have formed no idea; and even the dispersion of that force did not extinguish the ferment which the hope of its support had raised. To this hour the majority of the inhabitants of that tract between the Pedee and the Santee are in arms against us, and when we last heard from Charlestown they were in possession of Georgetown, from which they had dislodged our militia.

It was hoped that the rising which was expected of our friends in North Carolina might awe that district into quiet; therefore, after giving them a little chastisement by making the 7th Regt. take that route in its way to the army, Lord Cornwallis advanced to Charlotteburg. Major Ferguson, with about 800 militia collected from the neighbourhood of Ninety-Six, had previously marched into Tryon County to protect our friends, who were supposed to be numerous there, and it was intended that he should pass the Catawba River, and endeavour to preserve tranquillity in the rear of the army. A numerous army now appeared on the frontiers, drawn from Notachuckie and other settlements beyond the mountains whose very names had been unknown to us. A body of these, joined by the inhabitants of the ceded lands in Georgia, made a sudden and violent attack upon Augusta. The post was gallantly defended by Lieut.-Colonel Brown till he was relieved by the activity of Lieut.-Colonel Cruger. But Major Ferguson, by endeavouring to intercept the enemy in their retreat, unfortunately gave time for fresh bodies of men to pass the mountains and to unite into a corps far superior to that which he commanded. They came up with him, and after a sharp action entirely defeated him. Ferguson was killed, and all his party either slain or taken.

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By the enemy having secured all the passes on the Catawba, Lord Cornwallis (who was waiting at Charlotteburg for a convoy of stores) received but confused accounts of the affair for some time; but at length the truth reached him, and the delay, equally with the precautions the enemy had taken to keep their victory from his knowledge, gave Lord Cornwallis great reason to fear for the safety of Ninety-Six. To secure that district was indispensable for the security of the rest of the province, and Lord Cornwallis saw no means of effecting it but by passing the Catawba River with his army, for it was so weakened by sickness that it would not bear detachments. After much fatigue on the march, occasioned by violent rains, we passed the river three days ago. We then received the first intelligence respecting our different posts in this province, which had reached us for near three weeks, every express from Camden having been waylaid, and some of them murdered by the inhabitants. Ninety-Six is safe; the corps which defeated Ferguson having, in consequence of our movement, crossed the Catawba and joined Smallwood on the Yadkin. In our present position we have received the first intimation of the expedition under your command. From the circumstances which I have detailed we fear that we are too far asunder to render your co-operation very effectual. No force has presented itself to us whose opposition could have been thought serious against this army. But then we have little hopes of ever bringing the affair to the issue of an action. The enemy are mostly mounted militia, not to be overtaken by our infantry, nor to be safely pursued in this strong country by our cavalry. Our fear is that, instead of meeting us, they would slip by us into this province, were we to proceed far from it, and might again stimulate the disaffected to serious insurrection. This apprehension you will judge, sir, must greatly circumscribe our efforts. Indeed, Lord Cornwallis cannot hope that he shall be able to undertake anything upon such a scale as either to aid you, or to benefit from you, in your present situation. The Commander-in-chief has signified to Lord Cornwallis that his Lordship is at liberty to give you any directions for further co-operation, which may appear to him expedient. But his Excellency has complied so very fully and completely with Lord Cornwallis's request, by sending so powerful a force to make a diversion in the Chesapeake, that his Lordship fears he should require too much, were he to draw you into the more immediate service of this district. His Lordship is likewise delicate on this point because he does not know how far, by drawing you from the Chesapeake, he might interfere with any other purposes to which the Commander-in-chief may have destined your troops. Under those circumstances Lord Cornwallis thinks himself obliged to leave you at liberty, to pursue whatsoever measures may appear to your judgment best for His Majesty's service, and most consonant with the wishes of the Commander-in-chief. No time is specified to Lord Cornwallis as the limitation of your stay to the southward. Should your knowledge of Sir Henry Clinton's desires prompt you to make a trial upon North Carolina, Cape Fear River appears to us the only part where your efforts are at present likely to be effectual. A descent there would be the surest means of joining and arming the friends of government, as well as of co-operating with this army. This, therefore, would naturally be the point to which Lord Cornwallis would bring you, did he conceive himself at liberty so absolutely to dispose of you. It must be remarked, however, that there are two difficulties in this plan: the first is, that the country from Cape Fear to Cross Creek—the Highland settlement—produces so little, it would be requisite, in penetrating through it, to carry your provisions with you; the second is, that no vessel larger than a frigate can pass the Bar of Cape Fear Harbour. Whatsoever you decide, Lord Cornwallis desires earnestly to hear from you as soon as pos-

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sible. It is uncertain yet what steps this army, if left to itself, must pursue, but it will be ready at least to act vigorously in aid to any plan which you may undertake. Lord Cornwallis begs that you will inform the Commander-in-chief of our circumstances, and that you will have the goodness to mention how highly sensible his Lordship is, to the very effectual manner in which his Excellency has endeavoured to ease the operations of this army. The measure must have been attended with the most favourable consequences, had not accidents, which no foresight could expect, so greatly altered the complexion of our affairs in this province. Lord Cornwallis desires me to add how much satisfaction he should feel in having your assistance upon this service, did it promise more favourably for you; but should the intentions of the Commander-in-chief have left you at liberty to make an attempt at Cape Fear, the success which would probably attend that essential service, would be doubly pleasing to Lord Cornwallis from the opportunity which it would most likely give him of congratulating you in person. Allow me to add my hopes that the course of the service would put it in my power to assure you personally how much

I have the honour to be, &c.,

RAWDON.

No. V.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

SIR, Camp at Wynnesborough, Dec. 3, 1780.

I am just honoured with your letters of the 5th and 6th of last month. Lord Rawdon, during my illness, informed your Excellency in his letters of the 28th and 31st of October, of the various causes which prevented my penetrating into North Carolina. I shall not trouble you with a recapitulation, except a few words, about poor Major Ferguson. I had the honour to inform your Excellency that Major Ferguson had taken infinite pains with some of the militia of Ninety-Six; he obtained my permission to make an incursion into Tryon County whilst the sickness of my army prevented my moving. As he had only militia and the small remains of his own corps, without baggage or artillery, and as he promised to come back if he heard of any superior force, I thought he could do no harm, and might help to keep alive the spirits of our friends in North Carolina, which might be damped by the slowness of our motions. The event proved unfortunate, without any fault of Major Ferguson's. A numerous and unexpected enemy came from the mountains; as they had good horses their movements were rapid. Major Ferguson was tempted to stay near the mountains longer than he intended, in hopes of cutting off Colonel Clarke on his return from Georgia. He was not aware that the enemy was so near him, and in endeavouring to execute my orders of passing the Catawba, and joining me at Charlottetown, he was attacked by a very superior force and totally defeated on King's Mountain.

Wynnesborough, my present position, is a healthy spot, well situated to protect the greatest part of the northern frontier, and to assist Camden and Ninety-Six. The militia of the latter, on which alone we could place the smallest dependence, was so totally disheartened by the defeat of Ferguson, that of that whole district we could with difficulty assemble 100; and even those, I am convinced, would not have made the smallest resistance if they had been attacked. I determined to remain at this place until an answer arrived from General Leslie, on which my plan for the winter was to depend, and to use every

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possible means of putting the province into a state of defence, which I found to be absolutely necessary, whether my campaign was offensive or defensive. Bad as the state of our affairs was on the northern frontier, the eastern part was much worse. Colonel Innes, who commanded the militia of the high hills of Santee, and who was posted on Black River, was surprised and taken, and his men lost all their arms. Colonel Marion had so wrought on the minds of the people, partly by the terror of his threats and cruelty of his punishments, and partly by the promise of plunder, that there was scarce an inhabitant between the Santee and Pedee that was not in arms against us. Some parties had even crossed the Santee and carried terror to the gates of Charlestown. My first object was to reinstate matters in that quarter, without which Camden could receive no supplies. I therefore sent Tarleton, who pursued Marion for several days, obliged his corps to take to the swamps, and, by convincing the inhabitants that there was a power superior to Marion, who could likewise reward and punish, so far checked the insurrection, that the greatest part of them have not dared openly to appear in arms against us since his expedition. The 63rd Regiment, under Major Wemyss, had been mounted on indifferent horses of the country for the purpose of reducing and disarming the Cheraws. It had afterwards been sent by Lord Rawdon for the security of Ninety-Six.

When I sent Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton to the low country I ordered Major Wemyss to come down to Broad River, to keep constantly moving on either side of the river he might think proper, for the protection of the mills from which the army subsisted, and for the preservation of the country. Sumpter then lay, with about 300 men, partly of the militia and partly of the banditti who have followed him ever since the reduction of this province, near Hill's Iron Works, between the Catawba and Broad River, about forty miles in our front. Branan, Clarke, and others, had different corps plundering the houses and putting to death the well-affected inhabitants between Jyger River and Pacolet. Major Wemyss, who had just passed Broad River at Brierley's Ferry, came to me on the 7th of last month and told me that he had information that Sumpter had moved to Moore's Mill, within five miles of Fishdam Ford, and about twenty-five miles from the place where the 63rd then lay—that he had accurate accounts of his position and good guides—and that he made no doubt of being able to surprise and rout him. As the defeating so daring and troublesome a man as Sumpter, and dispersing such a banditti, was a great object, I consented to his making the trial on the 9th at daybreak, and gave him forty of the dragoons which Tarleton had left with me, desiring him, however, to put them neither in the front, nor to make any use of them during the night. Major Wemyss marched so early and so fast on the night of the 8th that he arrived at Moore's Mill soon after midnight. He then had information that Sumpter had marched that evening to Fishdam Ford, where he lay with his rear close to Broad River, on a low piece of ground. The Major immediately proceeded to attack him in his new position, and succeeded so well as to get into his camp, whilst the men were all sleeping round the fires ; but as Major Wemyss rode into the camp at the head of the dragoons, and the 63rd followed them on horseback, the enemy's arms were not secured, and some of them, recovering from the first alarm, got their rifles, and with the first fire wounded Major Wemyss in several places, and put the cavalry into disorder. The 63rd then dismounted and killed and wounded about seventy of the rebels, drove several over the river, and dispersed the rest. The command, however, devolving on a very young officer, who neither knew the ground, nor Major Wemyss' plan, nor the strength of the enemy, some few of which kept firing from the wood on our people who remained in the enemy's camp, and who were

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probably discovered by their fires, our troops came away before daybreak, leaving Major Wemyss and twenty-two serjeants and rank and file at a house close to the field of action. In the morning those who were left with a flag of truce with the wounded, found that the enemy were all gone, but on some of their scouting parties discovering that our people had likewise retired, Sumpter returned, and took Major Wemyss' parole for himself and the wounded soldiers. Major Wemyss is gone to Charlestown, and is in a fair way to recovery.

The enemy on this even cried victory, and the whole country came in fast to join Sumpter, who passed the Broad River and joined Branan, Clarke, &c. I detached Major M'Arthur with the 1st battalion of the 71st and the 63rd Regiment, after having sent my aide-de-camp, Lieut. Money, to take the command of it, to Brierley's Ferry, on Broad River, in order to cover our mills, and to give some check to the enemy's march to Ninety-Six. At the same time I recalled Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton from the low country. Tarleton was so fortunate as to pass, not only the Wateree, but the Broad River, without General Sumpter's being apprised of it, who, having increased his corps to 1000, had passed the Ennoree, and was on the point of attacking our 100 militia at Williams's House, fifteen miles from Ninety-Six, and where, I believe, he would not have met with much resistance. Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton would have surprised him on the south of Ennoree had not a deserter of the 63rd given notice of his march. He, however, cut to pieces his rear guard in passing that river, and pursued his main-body with such rapidity, that he could not safely pass the Tyger, and was obliged to halt on a very strong position at a place called Black Stocks, close to it. Tarleton had with him only his cavalry and the 63rd mounted; his infantry and 3-pounders being several miles behind. The enemy not being able to retreat with safety, and being informed of Tarleton's approach and want of infantry, by a woman who passed him on the march, and contrived by a nearer way to get to them, were encouraged by their great superiority of numbers, and began to fire on the 63rd, who were dismounted. Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton, to save them from considerable loss, was obliged to attack, although at some hazard, and drove the enemy with loss over the river. Sumpter was dangerously wounded; three of their colonels killed; and about 120 men killed, wounded, or taken. On our side about 50 men were killed and wounded. Lieutenants Gibson and Cope of the 63rd were amongst the former, and my aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Money, who was a most promising officer, died of his wounds a few days after. Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton, as soon as he had taken care of his wounded, pursued and dispersed the remaining part of Sumpter's corps, and then, having assembled some militia under Mr. Cunningham, whom I appointed Brigadier-General of the militia of that district, and who has by far the greatest influence in that country, he returned to the Broad River, where he at present remains, as well as Major M'Arthur, in the neighbourhood of Brierley's Ferry.

It is not easy for Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton to add to the reputation he has acquired in this province, but the defeating 1000 men posted on very strong ground, and occupying log houses, with 190 cavalry and 80 infantry, is a proof of that spirit and those talents which must render the most essential services to his country. Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton commends much the good behaviour of the officers and men under his command, and he particularly mentions Lieut. Skinner, of the 16th regiment of infantry, who does duty with the Legion, as having distinguished himself. Lieut.-Colonel Balfour, by putting the prisoners on board ship, is enabled to spare the 64th Regiment from Charlestown, and sent them to secure the navigation of the Wateree from Nelson's Ferry and to communicate with Camden. This is the present state of our affairs.

Smallwood had been encamped from the beginning of last month with about 1300 militia, a corps of 250 continentals under Morgan, and 70 dragoons commanded by Washington, about twelve miles on this side of Charlottetown, his front guarded by Davie and other irregular corps, who have committed the most shocking cruelties, and the most horrid murders on those suspected of being our friends that I ever heard of. Gates joined him the week before last with about 1200 continentals and six and eighteen-months men, and 300 cavalry under White and Armand. Morgan's infantry, and Washington with 100 cavalry, came down on the 1st, in the evening, to attack a block-house built by Colonel Rugeley, in which he had placed himself with 100 militia. Lord Rawdon, who commands at Camden, and had notice of their approach, sent to Rugeley to order him to retire to Camden, but he answered that, as the enemy had no cannon, he was determined to defend himself to the last extremity, and had no fear of being taken. The enemy's infantry did not advance within six miles of his block-house, but the cavalry surrounded it and summoned him, and he instantly surrendered without firing a shot. I am informed that Green is expected in a few days to relieve Gates.

As it will be necessary to drive back the enemy's army, and at the same time to maintain a superiority on both our flanks, and as I thought the co-operation of General Leslie, even at the distance of the Cape Fear River, would be attended with many difficulties, I have sent cruisers off the Fryingpan, to bring him into Charlestown, and I hourly expect his arrival. After everything that has happened I will not presume to make your Excellency any sanguine promises.

The force you have sent me is greater than I expected, and full as much as I think you could possibly spare, unless the enemy detached in force to the southward: the utmost exertion of my abilities shall be used to employ them to the best advantage. Whenever our operations commence your Excellency may depend on hearing from me as frequently as possible, and it is from events alone that any future plan can be proposed.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

No. VI.

LORD RAWDON TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, Camden, Dec. 5, 1780.

I have been honoured with your Lordship's letter, inclosing the copy of one under my signature addressed to Mr. Rugeley. Your Lordship tells me that it has been the subject of complaint from General Washington, and that upon that account the Commander-in-chief requires information of its authenticity. I must avow the letter fully to your Lordship; but as the loose manner in which it is worded may subject it to misconstruction from those who are ignorant of the circumstances under which it was written, it is necessary that I should explain its purpose.

Soon after your Lordship had first taken possession of Camden, you detached me to Waxhaw with my own regiment, thinking that as it was an Irish corps it would be received with the better temper by the settlers of that district, who were universally Irish and universally disaffected. My conduct towards the inhabitants, and the extraordinary regularity of the troops under my command, I

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must assert to have been such as ought to have conciliated their firmest attachment; yet I had the fullest proofs that the people who daily visited my camp, not only held constant correspondence with the rebel militia then assembling at Charlotteburg, and with those who were harassing Lieut.-Colonel Turnbull's detachment, but also used every artifice to debauch the minds of my soldiers, and persuade them to desert from their colours. The encouragement which they gave to the men, and the certain means of escape with which they furnished them, succeeded to a very alarming degree, and the rage of desertion was not stopped by our return to Camden.

When your Lordship left me to command in the Back Country, you left me in the territory of an enemy, awed solely by apprehension of our force from open opposition. I soon found (as your Lordship's experience since will readily lead you to believe) that I was betrayed on every side by the inhabitants. Several small detachments from me, were attacked by persons who had the hour before been with them as friends in their camp. As the rebels, however, had not strength to assail the body of the army, they endeavoured to weaken it by treachery. I had the clearest conviction that the militia who swarmed daily in our camp, not only held forth every allurement that could entice the soldiers to desert, but actually furnished horses to such as would go off, and forwarded them from house to house till they were beyond the reach of pursuit. Several of the country-people were apprehended upon this charge. But from my unwillingness to hold too rigid a jurisdiction, and from the fear that the soldiers to obtain reward for their fidelity, might wrest the discourse of any ignorant inhabitant beyond its real sense, no person so accused ever suffered any severer punishment than confinement for a few days.

It was my duty, however, to stop an evil which the circumstances of the army rendered most serious. Our numbers were originally small; we were miserably reduced by sickness; we were surrounded by enemies, and the temper of the troops was somewhat tried both by the badness of the climate, and by the restraint which attention to the protection of the inhabitants imposed. The particularity of my situation required exertion, though there might not be precedent to justify it. I represented the matter to Mr. Rugeley and to other field-officers of the neighbouring militia. They agreed that the threat of some formidable penalty was necessary. In consequence the letter in question was written to Mr. Rugeley, to be read by him to the companies under his command.

The impracticability of carrying into execution the menace of sending the delinquents to the West Indies, may prove that the letter was calculated to act upon the fears and prejudices of the vulgar, who in these parts form a dreadful idea of the West India climate. I have reason to believe that these threats were of material service. The Volunteers of Ireland were marked more strongly than others, partly because it was my own regiment, and partly because incitement to desertion had been (as I have related) more particularly applied to them.

I am not surprised that an enemy should take occasion to complain of the measure. General Washington had many purposes to answer by it. The rebels have by the rigour of their administration, reaped too many advantages over our forbearance to wish that we should affect more energy; and they have well experienced that when a man has everything to fear if he takes one part, and nothing if he decides for the other, he will naturally pursue the course in which he can proceed without apprehension. The timely remonstrance also precludes, in some measure, our representations of the atrocious barbarity with which the war has been waged against us, for our detail of cruelties committed by the rebels in this country would now appear to be merely a recrimination for the charge advanced

against us. The complaint may have other views, but as they are illiberal, I will not, on suspicion, attribute them to General Washington.

To finish a subject upon which I perhaps have dwelt too long, I will say to your Lordship that the expression of the letter is such as I am sorry should meet the eye of those for whom it was not calculated. Its intent I must feel as having been the duty of my station. Your Lordship left me in no idle command; however I may otherwise have acquitted myself, I hope at least that my conduct is unstained with any wanton abuse of authority—tinctured though, I trust, with something of that firmness which the difficulty of our affairs demanded.

For, my Lord, I felt it a dishonest weakness to consult private appearance, when I stood intrusted with the interests of my country; and when an exertion appeared to me requisite for the service, I should have betrayed the public confidence reposed in me, had I omitted it because it might in future be condemned by a jury unacquainted with my necessities.

I have, &c.,

Rawdon.

No. VII.

Earl Cornwallis to Lord George Germain.

My Lord, Guildford, March 17, 1781.

Having occasion to despatch my aide-de-camp, Captain Brodrick, with the particulars of the action of the 15th, in compliance with general directions from Sir Henry Clinton, I shall embrace the opportunity to give your Lordship an account of the operations of the troops under my command previous to that event, and of those subsequent, until the departure of Captain Brodrick.

My plan for the winter's campaign was to penetrate into North Carolina, leaving South Carolina in security against any probable attack in my absence. Lord Rawdon, with a considerable body of troops, had charge of the defensive, and I proceeded about the middle of January upon the offensive operations. I decided to march by the upper, in preference to the lower roads leading into North Carolina, because fords being frequent above the forks of the rivers, my passage there could not easily be obstructed; and General Greene having taken post on the Pedee, and there being few fords in any of the great rivers of this country below their forks, especially in winter, I apprehended being much delayed, if not entirely prevented from penetrating by the latter route.

I was the more induced to prefer this route, as I hoped in my way to be able to destroy or drive out of South Carolina, the corps of the enemy commanded by General Morgan, which threatened the valuable districts of Ninety-Six; and I likewise hoped by rapid marches to get between General Greene and Virginia, and by that means force him to fight without receiving any reinforcement from that province; or, failing of that, to oblige him to quit North Carolina with precipitation, and thereby encourage our friends to make good their promises of a general rising to assist me in re-establishing his Majesty's Government.

The unfortunate affair of the 17th of January was a very unexpected and severe blow; for, besides reputation, our loss did not fall short of 600 men. However, being thoroughly sensible that defensive measures would be certain ruin to the affairs of Britain in the southern colonies, this event did not deter

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me from prosecuting the original plan. That General Greene might be uncertain of my intended route as long as possible, I had left General Leslie at Camden until I was ready to move from Wynnesborough, and he was now within a day's march of me. He employed the 18th in forming a junction with him, and in collecting the remains of Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton's corps, after which great exertions were made by part of the army, without baggage, to retake our prisoners, and to intercept General Morgan's corps on its retreat to the Catawba; but the celerity of their movements, and the swelling of numberless creeks in our way, rendered all our efforts fruitless.

I therefore assembled the army on the 25th at Ramsoure's Mill, on the south fork of the Catawba, and as the loss of my light troops could only be remedied by the activity of the whole corps, I employed a halt of two days in collecting some flour, and in destroying superfluous baggage and all my waggons, except those loaded with hospital stores, salt, and ammunition, and four reserved empty in readiness for sick or wounded. In this measure, though at the expense of a great deal of officers' baggage, and of all prospect in future of rum, and even a regular supply of provisions to the soldiers, I must, in justice to this army, say that there was the most general and cheerful acquiescence.

In the mean time the rains had rendered the North Catawba impassable, and General Morgan's corps, the militia of the rebellious counties of Rowan and Mecklenburg under General Davidson, or the gang of plunderers usually under the command of General Sumpter, not then recovered from his wounds, had occupied all the fords in a space of more than forty miles upwards from the fork. During its height I approached the river by short marches, so as to give the enemy equal apprehensions for several fords; and after having procured the best information in my power, I resolved to attempt the passage at a private ford (then slightly guarded) near M'Cowan's Ford, on the morning of the 1st of February.

Lieut.-Colonel Webster was detached with part of the army and all the baggage to Beattie's Ford, six miles above M'Cowan's, where General Davidson was supposed to be posted with 500 militia, and was directed to make every possible demonstration, by cannonading and otherwise, of an intention to force a passage there, and I marched at one in the morning with the brigade of guards, regiment of Bose, 23rd, 200 cavalry, and two 3-pounders, to the ford fixed upon for the real attempt.

The morning being very dark and rainy, and part of our way through a wood where there was no road, one of the 3-pounders in front of the 23rd regiment and the cavalry, overset in a swamp, and occasioned those corps to lose the line of march, and some of the artillerymen belonging to the other gun (one of whom had the match) having stopped to assist, were likewise left behind. The head of the column in the mean while arrived at the bank of the river, and the day began to break. I could make no use of the gun that was up, and it was evident from the number of fires on the other side, that the opposition would be greater than I had expected. However, as I knew that the rain then falling would soon render the river again impassable, and I had received information the evening before that General Greene had arrived in General Morgan's camp, and that his army was marching after him with the greatest expedition, I determined not to desist from the attempt, and, therefore, full of confidence in the zeal and gallantry of Brigadier-General O'Hara, and of the brigade of guards under his command, I ordered them to march on,

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but, to prevent confusion, not to fire until they gained the opposite bank. Their behaviour justified my high opinion of them; for a constant fire from the enemy, in a ford upwards of 500 yards wide, in many places up to their middle, with a rocky bottom and strong current, made no impression on their cool and determined valour, nor checked their passage. The light infantry, landing first, immediately formed, and in a few minutes killed or dispersed everything that appeared before them, the rest of the troops forming and advancing in succession. We now learned that we had been opposed by about 300 militia that had taken post there only the evening before, under the command of General Davidson. Their general and two or three other officers were among the killed; the number of wounded was uncertain, and a few were taken prisoners. On our side Lieut.-Colonel Hall and three men were killed, and 36 men wounded, all of the light infantry and grenadiers of the Guards. By this time the rear of the column had joined, and the whole having passed with the greatest despatch, I detached Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton with the cavalry and 23rd regiment, to pursue the routed militia. A few were soon killed or taken, and Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton, having learned that 300 or 400 of the neighbouring militia were to assemble that day at Tarrant's house, about 10 miles from the ford, leaving his infantry, he went on with the cavalry, and, finding the militia as expected, he, with excellent conduct and great spirit attacked them instantly, and totally routed them with little loss on his side, and on theirs between 40 and 50 killed, wounded, or prisoners. This stroke, with our passage of the ford, so effectually dispirited the militia, that we met with no further opposition on our march to the Yadkin, through one of the most rebellious tracts in America.

During this time, the rebels having quitted Beattie's Ford, Lieut.-Colonel Webster was passing his detachment and the baggage of the army; this had become tedious and difficult by the continuance of the rain and the swelling of the river, but all joined us soon after dark, about six miles from Beattie's Ford. The other fords were likewise abandoned by the enemy; the greatest part of the militia dispersed, and General Morgan with his corps marched all that afternoon and the following night towards Salisbury. We pursued next morning in hopes to intercept him between the rivers; and, after struggling with many difficulties arising from swelled creeks and bad roads, the Guards came up with his rear in the evening of the 3rd, routed it, and took a few waggons at the trading ford of the Yadkin. He had passed the body of his infantry in flats, and his cavalry and waggons by the ford, during that day and the preceding night, but at the time of our arrival the boats were secured on the other side, and the ford had become impassable. The river continued to rise, and the weather appearing unsettled, I determined to march to the upper fords, after procuring a small supply of provisions at Salisbury. This and the height of the creeks in our way detained me two days, and in that time Morgan having quitted the banks of the river, I had information from our friends, who crossed in canoes, that General Greene's army was marching with the utmost despatch to form a junction with him at Guildford. Not having had time to collect the North Carolina militia, and having received no reinforcement from Virginia, I concluded that he would do everything in his power to avoid an action on the south side of the Dan, and, it being my interest to force him to fight, I made great expedition and got between him and the upper fords; and, being assured that the lower fords are seldom practicable in winter, and that he could not collect many flats at

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any of the ferries, I was in great hopes that he would not escape me without receiving a blow. Nothing could exceed the patience and alacrity of the officers and soldiers under every species of hardship and fatigue in endeavouring to overtake him. But our intelligence upon this occasion was exceedingly defective, which, with heavy rains, bad roads, and the passage of many deep creeks, and bridges destroyed by the enemy's light troops, rendered all our exertions vain, for upon our arrival at Boyd's Ferry on the 15th, we learned that his rear-guard had got over the night before, his baggage and main body having passed the preceding day at that and a neighbouring ferry, where more flats had been collected than had been represented to me as possible.

My force being ill suited to enter by that quarter so powerful a province as Virginia, and North Carolina being in the utmost confusion, after giving the troops a halt of one day, I proceeded by easy marches to Hillsborough, where I erected the King's standard, and invited by proclamation all loyal subjects to repair to it, and to stand forth and take an active part in assisting me to restore order and constitutional government. As a considerable body of friends were said to reside between the Haw and Deep rivers, I detached Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton on the 23rd, with the cavalry and a small body of infantry, to prevent their being interrupted in assembling. Unluckily, a detachment of the rebel light troops had crossed the same day, and by accident fell in with about 200 of our friends, under Colonel Pyle, on their way to Hillsborough, who, mistaking the rebels for Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton's corps, allowed themselves to be surrounded, and a number of them were most inhumanely butchered, when begging for quarter without making the least resistance. The same day I had certain intelligence that General Greene, having been reinforced, had re-crossed the Dan, which rendered it imprudent to separate my corps, occasioned the recal of Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton's detachment; and forage and provisions being scarce in the neighbourhood of Hillsborough, as well as the position too distant (upon the approach of the rebel army) for the protection of the body of our friends, I judged it expedient to cross the Haw, and encamped near Allemance Creek, detaching Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton with the cavalry, light company of the Guards, and 150 men of Lieut.-Colonel Webster's brigade, a few miles from me on the road to Deep River, more effectually to cover the country.

General Greene's light troops soon made their appearance; and on the 2nd, a patrol having reported that they had seen both cavalry and infantry near his post, I directed Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton to move forward with proper precautions, and endeavour to discover the designs of the enemy. He had not advanced far when he fell in with a considerable corps, which he immediately attacked and routed, but being ignorant of their force, and whether they were supported, with great prudence desisted from pursuit. He soon learned from prisoners that those he had beaten were Lee's legion, 300 or 400 Back-Mountain men, under Colonel Preston, with a number of militia, and that General Greene, with a part of his army, was not far distant. Our situation for the former few days had been amongst timid friends, and adjoining inveterate rebels; between them I had been totally destitute of information, which lost me a very favourable opportunity of attacking the rebel army. General Greene fell back to Thompson's House, near Boyd's Ford, on the Reedy Fork, but his light troops and militia still remained near us, and, as I was informed that they were posted carelessly at separate plantations for the convenience of subsisting, I marched on the 6th to drive them in, and to attack General Greene if an opportunity offered. I succeeded

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completely in the first, and at Weitzell's Mill, on the Reedy Fork, where they made a stand, the Back-Mountain men and some militia suffered considerably, with little loss on our side; but a timely and precipitate retreat over the Haw prevented the latter. I knew that the Virginia reinforcement were upon their march, and it was apparent that the enemy would, if possible, avoid risking an action before their arrival.

The neighbourhood of the fords of the Dan in their rear, and the extreme difficulty of subsisting my troops in that exhausted country, putting it out of my power to force them, my resolution was to give our friends time to join us, by covering their country as effectually as possible consistent with the subsistence of the troops, still approaching the communication with our shipping in Cape Fear River, which I saw it would soon become indispensably necessary to open, on account of the sufferings of the army from the want of supplies of every kind; at the same time I was determined to fight the rebel army if it approached me, being convinced that it would be impossible to succeed in that great object of our arduous campaign, the calling forth the numerous Loyalists of North Carolina, whilst a doubt remained on their minds of the superiority of our arms. With these views I had moved to the Quaker Meeting, in the forks of Deep River, on the 13th, and on the 14th I received the information which occasioned the movement that brought on the action at Guildford, of which I shall give your Lordship an account in a separate letter.

I have, &c.,

Cornwallis.

No. VIII.

Earl Cornwallis to Lord George Germain.

My Lord, Guildford, March 17, 1781.

I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship that his Majesty's troops under my command obtained a signal victory on the 15th instant over the rebel army commanded by General Greene.

In pursuance of my intended plan, communicated to your Lordship in my despatch (No. 7), I had encamped on the 13th instant at the Quaker Meeting between the forks of the Deep River. On the 14th I received information that General Butler, with a body of North Carolina militia and the expected reinforcements from Virginia, said to consist of a Virginia State regiment, a corps of Virginia eighteen-months' men, 3000 Virginia militia, and recruits for the Maryland line, had joined General Greene, and that the whole army, which was reported to amount to nine or ten thousand men, was marching to attack the British troops. During the afternoon intelligence was brought, which was confirmed in the night, that he had advanced that day to Guildford about twelve miles from our camp. Being now persuaded that he had resolved to hazard an engagement, after detaching Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton with our waggons and baggage, escorted by his own regiment, a detachment of 100 infantry and 20 cavalry, towards Bell's Mills, on Deep River, I marched with the rest of the corps at daybreak on the morning of the 15th to meet the enemy, or to attack them in their encampment. About four miles from Guildford our advanced guard, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton, fell in with a corps of the enemy, consisting of Lee's Legion, some Back-Mountain men and Virginia militia, which

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he attacked with his usual good conduct and spirit, and defeated; and, continuing our march, we found the rebel army posted on rising ground, about a mile and a half from the Court-house. The prisoners taken by Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton having been several days with the advanced corps, could give me no account of the enemy's order or position, and the country-people were extremely inaccurate in their description of the ground. Immediately between the head of the column and the enemy's line was a considerable plantation, one large field of which was on our left of the road, and two others, with a wood of about 200 yards broad between them, on our right of it; beyond these fields the wood continued for several miles to our right. The wood beyond the plantation in our front, in the skirt of which the enemy's first line was formed, was about a mile in depth, the road then leading into an extensive space of cleared ground about Guildford Court-house. The woods on our right and left were reported to be impracticable for cannon; but, as that on our right appeared the most open, I resolved to attack the left wing of the enemy; and, whilst my disposition was making for that purpose, I ordered Lieutenant Macleod to bring forward the guns and cannonade their centre. The attack was directed to be made in the following order.

On the right, the regiment of Bose and the 71st Regiment, led by Major-General Leslie, and supported by the first battalion of Guards; on the left, the 23rd and 33rd Regiments, led by Lieut.-Colonel Webster, and supported by the Grenadiers and second battalion of Guards commanded by Brigadier-General O'Hara; the Yagers, and light infantry of the Guards, remained in the wood on the left of the guns, and the cavalry in the road, ready to act as circumstances might require. Our preparations being made, the action began about half-an-hour past one in the afternoon. Major-General Leslie after been obliged, by the great extent of the enemy's line, to bring up the first battalion of Guards to the right of the regiment of Bose, soon defeated everything before him. Lieut.-Colonel Webster, having joined the left of Major-General Leslie's division, was no less successful in his front, when, on finding that the left of the 23rd was exposed to a heavy fire from the right wing of the enemy, he changed his front to the left, and being supported by the Yagers and light infantry of the Guards, attacked and routed it, the grenadiers and second battalion of Guards moving forward to occupy the ground left vacant by the movement of Lieut.-Colonel Webster.

All the infantry being now in the line, Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton had directions to keep his cavalry compact, and not to charge without positive orders, except to protect any of the corps from the most evident danger of being defeated. The excessive thickness of the woods rendered our bayonets of little use, and enabled the broken enemy to make frequent stands with an irregular fire, which occasioned some loss, and to several of the corps great delay, particularly on our right, where the first battalion of the Guards and regiment of Bose were warmly engaged in front, flank, and rear, with some of the enemy that had been routed on the first attack, and with part of the extremity of their left wing, which by the closeness of the woods had been passed unbroken. The 71st Regiment and Grenadiers, and second battalion of Guards, not knowing what was passing on their right, and hearing the fire advance on their left, continued to move forward, the artillery keeping pace with them on the road, followed by the cavalry. The second battalion of Guards first gained the clear ground near Guildford Court-house, and found a corps of Continental infantry, much superior in number, formed in the open field on the left of the road.

Glowing with impatience to signalise themselves, they instantly attacked and

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defeated them, taking two 6-pounders, but, pursuing into the wood with too much ardour, were thrown into confusion by a heavy fire, and immediately charged and driven back into the field by Colonel Washington's dragoons, with the loss of the 6-pounders they had taken. The enemy's cavalry was soon repulsed by a well-directed fire from two 3-pounders just brought up by Lieutenant Macleod, and by the appearance of the grenadiers of the Guards, and of the 71st Regiment, which, having been impeded by some deep ravine, were now coming out of the wood on the right of the Guards, opposite to the Court-house. By the spirited exertions of Brigadier-General O'Hara, though wounded, the second battalion of Guards was soon rallied, and, supported by the grenadiers, returned to the charge with the greatest alacrity. The 23rd Regiment arriving at that instant from our left, and Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton having advanced with part of the cavalry, the enemy were soon put to flight, and the two 6-pounders once more fell into our hands; two ammunition-waggons and two other 6-pounders, being all the artillery they had in the field, were likewise taken. About this time the 33rd Regiment and light infantry of the Guards, after overcoming many difficulties, completely routed the corps which was opposed to them, and put an end to the action in this quarter. The 23rd and 71st Regiments, with part of the cavalry, were ordered to pursue; the remainder of the cavalry was detached, with Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton, to our right, where a heavy fire still continued, and where his appearance and spirited attack contributed much to a speedy termination of the action. The militia with which our right wing had been engaged, dispersed in the woods; the continentals went off by the Reedy Fork, beyond which it was not in my power to follow them, as their cavalry had suffered but little. Our troops were excessively fatigued by an action which lasted an hour and a half, and our wounded, dispersed over an extensive space of country, required immediate attention. The care of our wounded, and the total want of provisions in an exhausted country, made it equally impossible for me to follow the blow the next day. The enemy did not stop until they got to the iron-works on Troublesome Creek, eighteen miles from the field of battle.

From our observation, and the best accounts we could procure, we did not doubt but the strength of the enemy exceeded 7000 men; their militia composed their line, with parties advanced to the rails of the fields in their front; the continentals were posted obliquely in the rear of their right wing. Their cannon fired on us whilst we were forming, from the centre of the line of militia, but were withdrawn to the continentals before the attack.

I cannot ascertain the loss of the enemy, but it must have been considerable; between 200 and 300 dead were left upon the field. Many of their wounded that were able to move, whilst we were employed in the care of our own, escaped, and followed the routed enemy; and our cattle-drivers and forage parties have reported to me that the houses in a circle of six or eight miles round us are full of others. Those that remained we have taken the best care of in our power. We took few prisoners, owing to the excessive thickness of the wood facilitating their escape, and every man of our army being repeatedly wanted for action.

The conduct and actions of the officers and soldiers that compose this little army will do more justice to their merit than I can by words. Their persevering intrepidity in action, their invincible patience in the hardships and fatigues of a march of above 600 miles, in which they have forded several large rivers and numberless creeks, many of which would be reckoned large rivers in any other country in the world, without tents or covering against the climate, and often

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without provisions, will sufficiently manifest their ardent zeal for the honour and interests of their Sovereign and their country.

I have been particularly indebted to Major-General Leslie for his gallantry and exertion in the action, as well as his assistance in every other part of the service. The zeal and spirit of Brigadier-General O'Hara merit my highest commendations, for, after receiving two dangerous wounds, he continued in the field whilst the action lasted; by his earnest attention on all other occasions, seconded by the officers and soldiers of the brigade; his Majesty's Guards are no less distinguished by their order and discipline than by their spirit and valour: the Hessian regiment of Bose deserves my warmest praises for its discipline, alacrity, and courage, and does honour to Major Du Buy, who commands it, and who is an officer of superior merit. I am much obliged to Brigadier-General Howard, who served as a volunteer, for his spirited example on all occasions. Lieut.-Colonel Webster conducted his brigade like an officer of experience and gallantry. Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton's good conduct and spirit in the management of his cavalry was conspicuous during the whole action; and Lieutenant Macleod, who commanded the artillery, proved himself upon this, as well as all former occasions, a most capable and deserving officer. The attention and exertions of my aides-de-camp, and of all the other public officers of the army, contributed very much to the success of the day.

I have constantly received the most zealous assistance from Governor Martin, during my command in the southern districts. Hoping that his presence would tend to incite the loyal subjects of this province to take an active part with us, he has cheerfully submitted to the fatigues and dangers of our campaign; but his delicate constitution has suffered by his public spirit, for, by the advice of the physicians, he is now obliged to return to England for the recovery of his health.

This part of the country is so totally destitute of subsistence, that forage is not nearer than nine miles, and the soldiers have been two days without bread; I shall therefore leave about seventy of the worst of the wounded cases at the New Garden Quaker-Meeting-House, with proper assistance, and move the remainder with the army to morrow morning to Bell's Mills. I hope our friends will heartily take an active part with us, to which I shall continue to encourage them, still approaching our shipping by easy marches, that we may procure the necessary supplies for further operations, and lodge our sick and wounded where proper attention can be paid to them.

This despatch will be delivered to your Lordship by my aide-de-camp, Captain Brodrick, who is a very promising officer, and whom I beg leave to recommend to your Lordship's countenance and favour.

I have, &c.

CORNWALLIS.

No. IX.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

SIR, York, in Virginia, October 17, 1781.

I propose a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, and that two officers may be appointed by each side, to meet at Mr. Moore's house, to settle terms for the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CORNWALLIS.

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No. X.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, Camp before York, Oct. 17, 1781.

I have had the honour of receiving your Lordship's letter of this date.

An ardent desire to spare the further effusion of blood will readily incline me to listen to such terms for the surrender of your posts and garrisons at York and Gloucester as are admissible.

I wish, previous to the meeting of commissioners, that your Lordship's proposals in writing, may be sent to the American lines, for which purpose a suspension of hostilities during two hours from the delivery of this letter will be granted.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. WASHINGTON.

No. XI.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

SIR, York, in Virginia, Oct. 17. 1781, 4½ P.M.

I have this moment been honoured with your Excellency's letter, dated this day.

The time limited for sending my answer will not admit of entering into the detail of articles; but the basis of my proposals will be, that the garrisons of York and Gloucester shall be prisoners of war, with the customary honours. And, for the conveniency of the individuals which I have the honour to command, that the British shall be sent to Britain, and the Germans to Germany, under engagements not to serve against France, America, or their allies, until released or regularly exchanged. That all arms and public stores shall be delivered up to you; but that the usual indulgence of side-arms to officers, and of retaining private property, shall be granted to officers and soldiers; and that the interest of several individuals, in civil capacities and connected with us, shall be attended to.

If your Excellency thinks that a continuance of the suspension of hostilities will be necessary, to transmit your answer, I shall have no objection to the hour that you may propose.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CORNWALLIS.

No. XII.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO EARL CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD, Camp before York, Oct. 18, 1781.

To avoid unnecessary discussions and delays, I shall at once, in answer to your Lordship's letter of yesterday, declare the general basis upon which a definitive treaty of capitulation may take place.

The garrisons of York and Gloucester, including the seamen, as you propose, shall be received prisoners of war. The condition annexed of sending the British and German troops to the parts of Europe to which they respectively belong, is

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inadmissible. Instead of this, they will be marched to such parts of the country as can most conveniently provide for their subsistence, and the benevolent treatment of the prisoners, which is invariably observed by the Americans, will be extended to them. The same honours will be granted to the surrendering army as were granted to the garrison of Charlestown.

The shipping and boats in the two harbours, with all their guns, stores, tackling, furniture, and apparel, shall be delivered, in their present state, to an officer of the navy appointed to take possession of them.

The artillery, arms, accoutrements, military chest, and public stores of every denomination, shall be delivered unimpaired to the heads of the departments to which they respectively belong.

The officers shall be indulged in retaining their side-arms, and the officers and soldiers may preserve their baggage and effects, with this reserve, that property taken in the country will be reclaimed.

With regard to the individuals in civil capacities, whose interest your Lordship wishes may be attended to, until they are more particularly described, nothing definitive can be settled.

I have to add, that I expect the sick and wounded will be supplied with their own hospital stores, and be attended by British surgeons, particularly charged with the care of them.

Your Lordship will be pleased to signify your determination, either to accept or reject the proposals now offered, in the course of two hours from the delivery of this letter, that Commissioners may be appointed to digest the articles of capitulation, or a renewal of hostilities may take place.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

G. WASHINGTON.

No. XIII.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

SIR, York, in Virginia, Oct. 18, 1781.

I agree to open a treaty of capitulation upon the basis of the garrisons of York and Gloucester, including seamen, being prisoners of war, without annexing the condition of their being sent to Europe; but I expect to receive a compensation in the articles of capitulation, for the surrender of Gloucester in its present state of defence.

I shall, in particular, desire, that the 'Bonetta' sloop-of-war may be left entirely at my disposal from the hour that the capitulation is signed, to receive an aide-de-camp to carry my despatches to Sir Henry Clinton. Such soldiers as I may think proper to send as passengers in her, to be manned with 50 men of her own crew, and to be permitted to sail without examination, when my despatches are ready: engaging, on my part, that the ship shall be brought back and delivered to you, if she escapes the dangers of the sea; that the crew and soldiers shall be accounted for in future exchanges; that she shall carry off no officer without your consent, nor public property of any kind; and I shall likewise desire that the traders and inhabitants may preserve their property, and that no person may be punished or molested for having joined the British troops.

If you choose to proceed to negotiation on these grounds, I shall appoint two

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field officers of my army to meet two officers from you, at any time and place that you think proper, to digest the articles of capitulation.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

No. XIV.

Copy of the Articles of Capitulation.

Article I.

The garrisons of York and Gloucester, including the officers and seamen of his Britannic Majesty's ships, as well as other mariners, to surrender themselves prisoners of war to the combined forces of America and France. The land-troops to remain prisoners to the United States—the navy to the naval army of his Most Christian Majesty.

Granted.

Article II.

The artillery, arms, accoutrements, military chest, and public stores of every denomination, shall be delivered unimpaired to the heads of departments appointed to receive them.

Granted.

Article III.

At twelve o'clock this day the two redoubts on the left flank of York to be delivered, the one to a detachment of American infantry, the other to a detachment of French grenadiers.

Granted.

The garrison of York will march out to a place to be appointed in front of the posts, at two o'clock precisely, with shouldered arms, colours cased, and drums beating a British or German march. They are then to ground their arms, and return to their encampments, where they will remain until they are despatched to the places of their destination. Two works on the Gloucester side will be delivered at one o'clock to a detachment of French and American troops appointed to possess them. The garrison will march out at three o'clock in the afternoon; the cavalry with their swords drawn, trumpets sounding, and the infantry in the manner prescribed for the garrison of York. They are likewise to return to their encampments until they can be finally marched off.

Article IV.

Officers are to retain their side-arms. Both officers and soldiers to keep their private property of every kind; and no part of their baggage or papers to be at any time subject to search or inspection. The baggage and papers of officers and soldiers taken during the siege, to be likewise preserved for them.

Granted.

It is understood that any property obviously belonging to the inhabitants of these States in the possession of the garrison, shall be subject to be reclaimed.

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ARTICLE V.

The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania, and as much by regiments as possible, and supplied with the same rations of provisions as are allowed to soldiers in the service of America. A field-officer from each nation, to wit, British, Anspach, and Hessian, and other officers on parole, in the proportion of one to fifty men, to be allowed to reside near their respective regiments, to visit them frequently, and be witnesses of their treatment, and that their officers may receive and deliver clothing and other necessaries for them, for which passports are to be granted when applied for.

Granted.

ARTICLE VI.

The General, staff, and other officers not employed, as mentioned in the above articles, and who choose it, to be permitted to go on parole to Europe, to New York, or to any other American maritime posts at present in the possession of the British forces, at their own option, and proper vessels to be granted by the Count de Grasse to carry them under flags of truce to New York, within ten days from this date, if possible, and they to reside in a district, to be agreed upon hereafter, until they embark.

The officers of the civil department of the army and navy to be included in this article. Passports to go by land to be granted to those to whom vessels cannot be furnished.

Granted.

ARTICLE VII.

Officers to be allowed to keep soldiers as servants, according to the common practice of the service. Servants not soldiers are not to be considered as prisoners, and are to be allowed to attend their masters.

Granted.

ARTICLE VIII.

The 'Bonetta' sloop-of-war to be equipped, and navigated by its present Captain and crew, and left entirely at the disposal of Lord Cornwallis from the hour that the capitulation is signed, to receive an aide-de-camp to carry despatches to Sir Henry Clinton; and such soldiers as he may think proper to send to New York, to be permitted to sail without examination, when his despatches are ready. His Lordship engages on his part that the ship shall be delivered to the order of the Count de Grasse, if she escapes the dangers of the sea, and that she shall not carry off any public stores. Any part of the crew that may be deficient on her return, and the soldiers passengers, to be accounted for on her delivery.

Granted.

ARTICLE IX.

The traders are to preserve their property, and to be allowed three months to dispose of or remove them; and those traders are not to be considered as prisoners of war.

The traders will be allowed to dispose of their effects, the allied army having the right to pre-emption. The traders to be considered as prisoners of war upon parole.

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Article X.

Natives or inhabitants of different parts of this country at present in York or Gloucester are not to be punished on account of having joined the British army.

This article cannot be assented to, being altogether of civil resort.

Article XI.

Proper hospitals to be furnished for the sick and wounded. They are to be attended by their own surgeons on parole; and they are to be furnished with medicines and stores from the American hospitals.

The hospital-stores now in York and Gloucester shall be delivered for the use of the British sick and wounded. Passports will be granted for procuring them further supplies from New York, as occasion may require; and proper hospitals will be furnished for the reception of the sick and wounded of the two garrisons.

Article XII.

Waggons to be furnished to carry the baggage of the officers attending the soldiers, and to surgeons when travelling on account of the sick, attending the hospitals at public expense.

They are to be furnished if possible.

Article XIII.

The shipping and boats in the two harbours, with all their stores, guns, tackling, and apparel, shall be delivered up in their present state to an officer of the navy appointed to take possession of them, previously unloading the private property, part of which had been on board for security during the siege.

Granted.

Article XIV.

No article of capitulation to be infringed on pretence of reprisals; and if there be any doubtful expressions in it, they are to be interpreted according to the common meaning and acceptation of the words.

Granted.

Done at Yorktown, in Virginia, October 19th, 1781.

Cornwallis.
Thos. Symonds.

Done in the trenches before Yorktown, in Virginia, October 19, 1781.

G. Washington.
Le Comte de Rochambeau.
Le Comte de Barras,
en mon nom et celui du
Comte de Grasse.

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INDIA.

No. XV.

Earl Cornwallis to the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs, Fort William, March 4, 1787.

. . . Your instructions concerning the Nabob Mobarrick ul Dowlah have in part been anticipated. The European officers have been withdrawn from his body-guard, and it has been earnestly recommended to him to reduce that establishment within the strictest bounds of economy. I concur entirely in opinion with the Honourable Court that a resident at his durbar upon the present allowances may be dispensed with. Some Company's servant will be required to pay a general attention to the management of the Nizamut, and one of those who are stationed in that neighbourhood will find sufficient time, and will for a moderate salary be satisfied to undertake it. I know that the affairs of that family are greatly deranged, and I am sorry to be obliged to confess that, principally from the character of the Nabob, I cannot flatter myself with the hopes of being able to restore them to good order. No good effects have hitherto arisen, nor could I expect any in future, from the interference of the Government in the details of his domestic economy. Company's servants who have been employed as the instruments have not escaped the suspicion of deriving unjustifiable advantages, the temptations to which could not be removed; and while this plan of Government has been a mortification to the Nabob, it has also shocked the feelings of the principal natives of the country.

The Nabob's temper and disposition appear to be naturally good, and his understanding, if not strong, at least not very deficient; but his habits of indolence and inattention to business are, I am afraid, so much confirmed that he will ever be the dupe of interested men who can approach him. His present necessities have arisen from some of the above causes, and I am persuaded that a greater income would give no permanent relief to his distresses. I cannot therefore recommend an augmentation of his salary; it would only be applied to the payment of debts most improperly contracted or totally fictitious, or would be dissipated or appropriated by undeserving individuals about him. I shall think it my duty to ascertain the just claims of his relations or dependents for allowances from the Nizamut, and to secure to them the regular payment of their pensions. The remainder must be paid by himself, and left to its fate. His whole income, including certain taxes or fees paid to him as Nizam, is about nineteen lacs, and his own share of it, with economical management, would be sufficient for his dignity and for his comfort.

I shall in the course of next summer enter fully into the business of the army; at present I shall only request that you will listen with great caution to the applications of the officers for leave to return with their rank to the different establishments in this country. Should any of those who have been several years at home, and who from having dissipated their fortunes, or from being induced by the hopes of advantage by standing high on the list, ask per-

mission to return to India, I am persuaded that in weighing their pretensions, you will give due weight to those of the officers who at the risk of their lives and constitutions have continued their attendance on the duties of their profession in this severe climate, and whose hopes of preferment and command may, by the return of the others, be disappointed.

It is unnecessary to say much on the state of the Civil establishment. Many Civil servants are at present unemployed, and the operation of the new revenue arrangements will soon make a great addition to the number of those already in that disagreeable predicament: I hope that few of those at home will think of returning, and I see no probability of our having occasion for a supply of writers in less than two years at the soonest.

I think I may acquire useful information to myself by taking as early an opportunity as may be convenient to visit some of the principal places of these Provinces, and it may also be of public utility that I should inspect the whole of the army upon this establishment; it is therefore at present my intention to avail myself of the southerly winds that prevail during the rains, and to proceed by the river, without making many halts, to the furthest station of the army at Futty Ghur, and to employ a few months, if I can spare so much time, in civil and military investigations upon my return.

I have, &c.,

Cornwallis.

No. XVI.

Earl Cornwallis to the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs, On the Ganges, Aug. 18, 1787.

The despatch by the 'Intelligence' packet dated the 21st of July, 1786, in which I was required to give my sentiments, after communicating with Sir Archibald Campbell, on the most effectual mode to prevent all future grounds for complaint of irregular and unusual promotions between the officers of His Majesty's and of the Company's service, arrived too late to admit of my executing your commands by the ships of last season.

To obtain proper regulations upon so delicate a point as the right of command among military men, is, in all situations, extremely desirable; but, at so great a distance from the Supreme Government, it becomes of particular importance for the public interests in India.

While, in compliance with your orders, I have given this point a very full consideration, I have also thought that upon this occasion it would not be unbecoming in me to suggest some other measures that appear to me of the utmost consequence for the safety of your possessions in India, by tending to improve your general Military system. If in this I have gone beyond my instructions, I trust that it will be received as an apology that it has solely proceeded from an anxiety to promote the public honour and interest. . . .

The powers vested by law in your Honourable Court, or in the Governments abroad, appear to me sufficient when properly exerted, for many of the purposes of internal economy and regulation. While I hold my present public station, I shall without hesitation exercise the powers that have been delegated for correcting abuses, and introducing what may appear to be improvements in the Military system of this country, and when necessary I shall occasionally apply for the sanction and assistance of your authority. On the present occasion I shall prin-

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cipally confine myself to those points, which by improving the general Military system, and by preventing jealousies between the officers of the King's and Company's troops, would, I conceive, tend to promote the general interests of the empire, but which cannot be carried into effect without the support of His Majesty, and the co-operation of the whole legislature. These points are reducible in substance to two heads, viz. :—

1st. That the East India Company should be enabled to obtain a greater number and a better quality than they can at present of European recruits; and

2ndly. That their officers should be permitted to rank equally according to the dates of their commissions with those of His Majesty's troops, while they are upon service together in India.

Your Honourable Court are too well acquainted with the state of your affairs in this country to render it necessary to employ much reasoning to prove how entirely their safety depends upon the good condition of your European force.

I think it must be universally admitted that without a large and well-regulated body of Europeans, our hold of these valuable dominions must be very insecure. It cannot be expected that even the best of treatment would constantly conciliate the willing obedience of so vast a body of people, differing from ourselves in almost every circumstance of laws, religion, and customs; and oppressions of individuals, errors of Government, and several other unforeseen causes, will no doubt arouse an inclination to revolt. On such occasions it would not be wise to place great dependence upon their countrymen who compose the native regiments to secure their subjection. The extent of your establishments of European force may not always depend upon your own ideas of the propriety of hem; they must in some degree relate to the state of your own finances, and to the ability of the mother-country to furnish supplies of men. But I now think it incumbent on me to declare my opinion that, whatever their numbers may be, it will be of the utmost consequence for the improvement of the Military system of this country, that recruits raised for the service of the Honourable Company should be subject to martial law from the time of their being enlisted, and that it should be lawful to levy them publicly in any part of the British dominions, in the same manner as those for His Majesty's regiments. With these advantages men of a proper quality might be collected, and instead of their being hurried aboard their ships, without a possibility of their being carefully examined, they might be placed under proper officers, who, in the intervals between the sailing seasons, might give them some military instruction, and subject them to regulations that would tend to promote their health, and to render them useful on the voyage.

It would be painful for me to enlarge much on the present state of the European troops in the Company's service, but in hopes that upon this particular occasion it may prove of public advantage, I think it right to acknowledge that, except the corps of artillery, I have every reason to believe that in quality of men, as well as in discipline, they are at all the three Presidencies extremely inferior to those in the service of His Majesty.

On the second head it will be sufficient to remark that the superiority of King's over Company's commissions among officers of the same rank, while it has occasioned disgust and mortification to the latter, must no doubt in many instances have been prejudicial to the public service. By obtaining an equality of rank according to the date of commissions for the Company's, you will not only do justice to them, but you will remove what appears to me to have been the principal cause of the jealousies that have hitherto subsisted between the officers

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of the two services; and if His Majesty on one side, and the Court of Directors and their Governments abroad on the other, will agree to abstain from granting brevets of rank in India beyond the rules that are usually observed for promotion in the respective services, I am clear in opinion that neither the King's nor Company's officers will on that head have any just ground for complaint.

I have the satisfaction to inform you that Sir Archibald Campbell has agreed in opinion with me, that the principal objects for the improvement of the Military system in this country, and for preventing jealousies between the officers of the two services, are contained in the two heads above mentioned. He has also added to that opinion, that it may be an improvement to form classes of the King's and Company's officers of different ranks, and that in case of an officer being put over his senior in the other, by a promotion in his own service, he shall still do the line-duties in his former place. Though I have the greatest respect for Sir Archibald's sentiments, yet, as this principle is not at present applied to the general promotion amongst the Company's different establishments in India, nor even to the promotion in the Artillery and Engineer corps of each separate Presidency, and is also different from the practice of His Majesty's service, I cannot recommend the adoption of it; on the contrary, I propose that the officers shall continue to enjoy as at present the advantages of the promotion that may fall to their lot in their respective services.

In addition to what I have said, I think it my duty not to omit this opportunity to offer to your attention a hardship of a very serious nature, which is frequently experienced by the officers of the different Establishments in this country: I mean supercessions by officers who obtain permission to return with their rank to the service. Nothing can be more reasonable than that your officers abroad should, under certain restrictions, be indulged with leave to go to Europe, either for the recovery of their health, or on account of their private affairs. When only a moderate and necessary space of time is employed for these purposes, no person has a right to complain of their returning without prejudice to their rank. The act of parliament has thrown considerable difficulties in the way of the return of officers whose stay at home has exceeded five years. But cases will frequently occur, within that period, of officers who have loitered away their time idly in Europe, of others who have dissipated their fortunes by extravagance, and of some who are tempted by the near prospect of lucrative situations, and who, by being permitted to return without prejudice to their rank, may frequently disappoint in an unfair and cruel manner the reasonable expectations of many officers of merit, who have, during their absence in a better climate, given a zealous attention to their military duties in India.

I am persuaded that the above considerations will have due weight with your Honourable Court when applications are made by officers for leave to return to the service without prejudice to their rank, and I shall take the liberty to recommend that it be an established rule at all the Presidencies, that all officers upon their return from Europe shall remain as supernumeraries until by vacancies falling in their respective ranks, they can be placed upon the effective establishments.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

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No. XVII.

Earl Cornwallis to the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs, Dec. 19, 1787.

I have on a former occasion, by the desire of the Honourable Court, laid my sentiments before you concerning the mode of preventing in future all jarring or jealousies between officers in the Company's and those in His Majesty's service who may be employed in this country.

I recommend that they may be put as nearly as possible upon a footing of equality in every respect, whenever they may happen to be employed together upon the same service; in this principle pay and allowances are undoubtedly included, and I am therefore clear in opinion that except in the article of off-reckonings, which is a matter of internal economy in both services, it will be highly expedient in the Honourable Company to make the income of the different ranks of His Majesty's officers who may be employed in India, exactly the same with that of the corresponding ranks of their own officers who may be employed upon the same service with them.

I will not take upon me to say how far the complete adoption of this proposition should operate in settling the account between the Company and His Majesty's Ministers for the sum ordered by the legislature to be paid for the services of the King's troops in India; but I am certain that the measure, by removing very material causes for jealousies and dissatisfactions when the troops of both services act in conjunction together, would tend greatly to promote the success of all your military operations.

I am, &c.,
Cornwallis.

No. XVIII.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas to Earl Cornwallis.

[Secret and Confidential.] Received Feb. 19, 1788.

My dear Lord, Wimbledon, July 22, 1787.

A single syllable relative to the subject of this letter has not been communicated to the Directors of the East India Company, nor indeed to anybody except Mr. Pitt. Mr. Grenville (Lord Mulgrave being out of town), the Secretary of War, and Sir William Fawcett, and of course your Lordship, will perceive how important it is that it should be considered by you and Sir Archibald Campbell, to whom I have communicated it, as *truly secret and confidential.* Soon after the institution of the Board of Control, I wrote a letter to Lord Sydney. From that time the subject lay perfectly dormant; but when I received the private letters which have been wrote to me from time to time since you arrived in India, and in which you state the wretched condition of all the European troops in India, except the King's troops, I was led very seriously to revolve the subject in my mind, having in view, that when any disturbance occurs in which this nation may be involved with other European powers, we must lay our account that India is to be the scene of action; and how soon this may be the case, from the present state of Holland, it is not easy for any man to decide. Besides this I have made up my mind to it as a principle of Indian administration, that we ought at all

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times to keep a force there not only for defence, but active operations. When the occasion occurs it will be too late to be recruiting your European army in India, or to be increasing it from a peace to a war establishment. It must, in my opinion, be at all times kept on such a scale as that, upon the receipt of a letter from this country, your Lordship, or any other person in the Administration of India, must be instantly ready to begin offensive operations against Pondicherry, Trincomalé, the Dutch possessions in the Eastern Isles, or, in short, anywhere that appears best calculated to add to our own strength or annoy the enemy. It would be presumption in me to enlarge upon the subject to your Lordship, with a view of proving how conducive it is to the success of a war to strike the first capital blow. Another consideration has much weight in my mind. I mean the state of Bombay. Its importance to the safety of India, both in respect to its being the only asylum to our fleet in time of war, and in respect to its being an important military station, at the back both of the Maratta and Mysorean countries, to keep those powers in awe, is too familiarly known to you to require any illustration from me; but notwithstanding its importance in those very essential articles, its establishment is totally incomplete; and has always appeared to me even defective in its construction, although it was complete, especially in so far as concerns European force, by which I take it for granted it ought in a great degree to be garrisoned. You will easily see how little I must be qualified to detail anything with accuracy on that subject when I inform you that I am not possessed, from some shameful neglect somewhere, of any return of the military force of Bombay since the year 1785. Under a strong impression of those ideas, I was induced, with the approbation of Mr. Pitt, to submit my opinion to the King. He sent Sir George Yonge and Sir William Fawcett to talk with me on the subject, and seemed much to approve of the system, but was very averse to bringing home the two old regiments, from an apprehension that Mr. Pitt would find it necessary to cut off two regiments from the army establishment at home, if they were brought from India. I disencumbered my plan very soon from that objection by stating what was true, that it formed no essential part of it. Inclosed is the Report of Sir George Yonge, in consequence of the conversation with me, and the directions the King gave to Sir George Yonge in consequence of that Report. Sir George Yonge has since given me a paper as the establishment of an European regiment of King's troops in India; and I am informed by him that he has the King's commands to transmit to you his orders that the regiments shall be all on that establishment in point of force. If you are of opinion that the native troops should be on the same footing, you will of course proceed to do it; and your official letter to the Court of Directors will inform them that you have made that alteration in the establishment ordered by the letter of the 21st September, 1785. You may assign any reason for doing so that you please; either that you think it a better strength for a regiment, or that you have done it to make the army uniform, in consequence of the orders from the King to arrange *his* troops in that way. In short, give any reason you please, but do it not in consequence of communication with me, but as an act of your own; I mean if you approve of doing it, for if you do not approve of it, you will not do it at all. There is one point upon which the King has not yet been explicit; I mean the part of my proposition that the Lieut.-Colonels of the new-arranged regiments should be taken from the service of the East India Company; and he assigns as his reason of hesitation, that if these regiments should be given to General Officers the actual command of them would be in the hands of the Company's officers. I do not think the objection a good one, believing as I do that there are many meritorious officers of the rank of Lieut.-Colonel in the service of the East India Company, to whom the commands of regiments might

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with great propriety be given. At any rate the objection would be completely removed by giving the command of those regiments to officers of his own, not Generals, but who are only of the rank of Colonel in his own army; and, without any disparagement to his General Officers, I should not feel it a bit worse for my plan, but a great improvement upon it, if he were to make use of it for the purpose of placing in actual service in India meritorious officers of no higher rank than Colonel, to whom the command of these regiments might be given. Nobody knows better than your Lordship that we have several in our service of that description. If you will privately transmit to me the names of those you think most meritorious, I shall take care, through Mr. Pitt and myself, to have them properly brought under view when the occasions offer. I have not yet heard whom His Majesty points at for these commands; except Mr. Pitt, or I believe Sir George, inform me that he had determined to give the first to Sir Archibald Campbell, and the next to Sir Robert Abercromby. Both these appointments will be very agreeable to your Lordship; I confess they are so to me.

As the plan is altogether a secret as yet, the intention is to keep it so for some months. In the mean time exertion will be made to raise as many recruits as possible; and by the time the ships of the present season are sailing, there will probably be as many then ready as to form three European regiments upon the new plan. If they are, they will then be regimented, or I hope these new recruits will be put into the regiments remaining at home, and the regiments going to India will be formed in a great measure of trained men from the home regiments. The King's officers will be immediately appointed to them; and I take it for granted those belonging to the service of the East India Company, who are to receive King's commissions, will be left to be filled up by you, and you be thereby enabled to give marks of your favour to those officers belonging to the East India Company's service whom you would wish to mark with your favour. You will of course take under view, in doing so, the meritorious servants at all the Presidencies; and as to the regiment to be commanded by Sir Archibald Campbell, I shall suggest to Mr. Pitt the propriety of his being warranted, out of the Indian officers of his own establishment, to fill up those commissions which will be given to officers belonging to the East India Company. I make no doubt, on further discussion of the subject, His Majesty will be satisfied of the propriety of giving at least some Lieut.-Colonel's commissions to the India Company's officers. I feel particularly interested in the adoption of that part of the plan, because without it the plan does not do complete justice to the Indian army.

I have already alluded to the importance of Bombay, and to the feeling I have of its present weakness in point of European force. With the view of remedying this, I have suggested to Mr. Pitt, and the King approves of it, that a King's regiment should be immediately sent from Madras to Bombay. Sir George Yonge writes to you on this subject. The regiment so taken away will be replaced by one of those to be sent out, probably Sir Archibald Campbell's; the one given to Colonel Abercromby will likewise be sent to Bombay; and the third, I suppose you will choose to have at Bengal. I only mention those as the ideas that occur to us at home; but your Lordship will of course act on your own judgment as to the distribution of any force that now is or at any time may be sent to India.

Upon the subject of Bombay another material point remains to be stated. Sir Archibald Campbell, both from his letters to me and other communications, is quite determined to leave India in April, 1789. It is therefore of moment that without delay another person should be thought of to go to India. We are all

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agreed that military men are the best of all Governors for India, and our wish is to persuade General Medows to accept the Government of Bombay, with a commission of Commander-in-Chief of that settlement. He will remain till Campbell leaves Madras, and can be appointed to that settlement when Campbell leaves it; and there he can remain till you leave India, and be ready to succeed you when you choose (which I hope will be as late as you can) to leave it. I never mean to say a word to press you to stay beyond your stipulated time, for I should not think to urge that, after having got you upon the spot, and after having so explicitly engaged not to do it before you went. This scheme of Medows has not yet been mentioned to the Court of Directors, but if he accepts, it will soon; and if the Directors are refractory, they must in some shape or other be induced to compliance, for it is an object in which we cannot admit of false delicacy.

I do not recollect any more I have to say on these subjects of military arrangement. I flatter myself what I have wrote will be sufficient to convey to you with sufficient clearness what has been necessary for me to lay before you. I need not explain to you that when I write on this or any other subjects of importance, Mr. Pitt is privy to everything I write.

Yours, &c.,

Henry Dundas.

No. XIX.

Earl Cornwallis to the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs, Calcutta, March 3, 1788.

. . . Being particularly gratified by your liberal attention to my recommendation to increase the allowances of some of the public officers at this Presidency, I thought it my duty to be scrupulously careful not to exceed your intention with respect to the period of their commencement. On that account I moved that those gentlemen should only receive the increased allowances from the date of the arrival of the packet, leaving it to you to declare whether it is your pleasure to extend the indulgence beyond that term.

I consider it at the same time incumbent upon me to remark that when the subject shall come under your consideration, the case of the Accountant-General will be particularly entitled to your favourable notice; for exclusive of the personal claims of Mr. Larkins, founded upon long and faithful services, it is proper to add, in favour of his pretensions to an extension of the term of commencement, that he has neither, in the form of batta, establishment of office, or in any other manner whatever, drawn the smallest advantage beyond his fixed salary since the reduction of his former allowances. . . .

The only point upon which it appears to me to be necessary to give an immediate opinion, is the reference respecting the utility of the office of Quartermaster-General, and I can assure you with the utmost certainty that even in time of peace it is one of the most necessary military offices upon this establishment.

The duties that have been usually allotted to that office, though various and important, have hitherto been principally of a civil nature, such as the provision of boats when necessary for the conveyance of troops or of camp equipage, the repairs of some branches of roads, and the construction of all temporary buildings that are requisite for the accommodation of the troops where there are

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no regular barracks, and part of the income of that officer has been derived from a commission of 10 per cent. upon all sums expended for any purpose whatever under his control or direction. A variety of other occupations prevented me for some time from acquiring a satisfactory knowledge of the manner in which the duties of that office had been performed, or from considering how the plan for conducting that department could be improved. But having for upwards of a year past had the advantage of the assistance of Lieut.-Colonel Cockerell, the present Quartermaster-General, who is an officer of great ability and experience, and upon whose integrity I have the utmost reliance, I have been able to make considerable progress in putting that office upon a proper military footing. With that view I have, amongst other arrangements, added two very important military branches to the other duties of that office by establishing it as a rule that the Quartermaster-General shall, on every possible occasion, be a constant member of the Committee for the inspection of all articles delivered for the use of the public by the agent for the provision of camp equipage and other military stores, and that, previous to the march of troops, it shall be his particular duty to obtain correct information of the state of the roads, bridges, and other communications through which they must pass, and to prepare proper routes for the different bodies of troops when any considerable movement is ordered in the army upon this establishment. This latter part of his duty will also be the more important, as I am clearly convinced that the discipline of this army will be greatly improved by frequent or indeed, if possible, annual reliefs. . . .

I have received the greatest satisfaction from the close application to business and the judicious conduct of **Mr. Duncan** in his station of Resident of Benares. He is now with the Rajah upon a tour through the whole Province, which has for its objects a minute examination of the internal condition of that valuable country, but particularly in compliance with my directions to establish regular Courts for the administration of justice, under the authority of the Rajah of Ghanseepoor Tuanpore, and Mizapore—a measure which, however extraordinary it may appear to you, has been hitherto neglected, but which I trust will tend to promote the happiness and security of the inhabitants.

Mr. Duncan seems to entertain no doubt of being able to realise with facility all the just demands of this Government. By the late arrangements in the Presidency, the Rajah's income has been considerably increased, whilst at the same time I am happy to inform you that, after defraying all the additional expenses of the new establishments, a large surplus will in this and all future years arise to the Company. . . .

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

No. XX.

EARL CORNWALLIS'S ULTIMATE INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN JOHN KENNAWAY, DEPUTED TO HYDERABAD.

SIR, Fort William, June 16, 1788.

Being extremely desirous to act with every degree of moderation and respect to the Nizam, that may appear to be compatible with the requisite means for the effectual accomplishment of the object of your mission, I am now of opinion, after very mature deliberation, that it will be most expedient to postpone the delivery of my letter to the Nizam, and the full explanation of our intentions respecting the Guntoor Circar, till after your arrival at Hyderabad.

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You will therefore continue your journey with as much expedition as the season and other circumstances will admit, acquainting Sir Archibald Campbell and me, and Meer Mahomed Hussein, from time to time with your progress.

I trust that you will find the Nizam sufficiently well inclined to show all the necessary and usual external marks of civility in his reception of you; and my wish will be that, as soon as the visits of ceremony are over, you should proceed, with as little loss of time as possible, to the business of your deputation. For that purpose you will, as soon as may be consistent with decency, demand an audience of the Nizam for the purpose of delivering my letter containing the demand of the Guntoor; and, conformable to the reasons which are stated in the instructions that you have already received, you will accompany the formal demand with an explicit declaration that the Company's troops will march into the Circar within fourteen days after the date of that conference.

You are already apprised that the Nizam will probably express much discontent at this determination.

So far therefore it may be proper to authorise you to suspend the declaration relating to the Company's troops at the time of your audience, lest, in the first moments of disappointment and vexation the Nizam should be tempted to form some violent resolution, and express it by any act of intemperance. Of this you will judge, but I cannot by any means consent to your postponing the declaration beyond three days after your audience, which may be notified to him by letter.

But whilst you cannot relax in any part of the substance of the measure, I must repeat my recommendation that you will be prepared with every conciliatory argument that has been pointed out in your instructions, or that may be suggested by your own prudence and good sense, to endeavour to prevail upon him to preserve an amicable appearance in yielding his acquiescence to it.

Should he determine to refuse a voluntary surrender of the Circar, some unpleasant scenes may be unavoidable, though the troops, in taking possession of it, will be directed to abstain as much as possible from injuring individuals, and from all acts of violence whatever.

It is also probable that in the event of our being forced to execute this measure without his consent, the Nizam's temper will not for some time be sufficiently cool to give you credit for the liberal principles on which you will offer to proceed to the adjustment of the public account.

A little reflection, however, upon the danger of losing entirely and immediately a large sum of money of balance, besides the future payment of the peshcush, by declining all friendly discussion, may in a short time render him more accommodating; but whatever signs of ill-humour or discontent, short of hostility or actual insult, may be shown on his part, you will be particularly careful to conduct yourself with the greatest moderation of manner, and to manifest an uniform disposition to negotiate and terminate the whole transaction with the utmost fairness and liberality.

In whatever manner the possession of the Circar may be obtained, the Nizam, when he proceeds to a statement of accounts, will probably make several charges for stores or balances due by renters in the Circar, exclusive of the sum that may be admitted to be due to him upon the adjustment of the general account between the two Governments.

You will pay a civil attention to all such claims; but I wish the settlement of them, as a matter of local detail, to be left to Sir Archibald Campbell. You may however agree to transmit them to Sir Archibald Campbell, and you will follow such directions as he may think proper to give you for bringing them to a final and satisfactory settlement.

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Sir Archibald Campbell will receive a copy of all your instructions, and of my letter to the Nizam; and a copy of that letter will also be transmitted to Messrs. Malet, Palmer, and Forster, that they may be able to give a distinct explanation, where they respectively reside, of the nature of our present negotiation with the Nizam, and of the principles upon which we have preferred our demand of the Circar.

For the reasons which have induced me to leave little time for intrigue to the Nizam, between the declaration of our intention and the term which we fix for the surrender of the Guntoor, I do not wish to communicate to any of the Mahratta chiefs the real object of your mission until our design is ready for immediate execution, but at the same time it will be most proper that they should receive the first notification of it from the Residents of this Government.

In order therefore to give the necessary information on your part, you will prepare separate letters directed to Sir Archibald Campbell, to Mr. Malet, Major Palmer, and to Mr. Forster, as soon as you can mention to them the precise day on which the declaration will be made; and you will despatch them by different cossids forty-eight hours before the day named by the Nizam for a formal audience, which will enable you to execute that part of your instructions.

From the present political appearances, both in this country and in Europe, it seems at least highly improbable that any circumstances will arise between this time and that of your arrival at Hyderabad which would induce this Government to alter our present determination upon the business in question; and indeed I should hardly consider any reason short of a rupture with any of our neighbours upon other grounds, or an immediate war being an almost certain consequence of our making this demand, as sufficient for postponing it.

I have confidence enough in you to be persuaded that your own judgment would suggest the necessity of suspending the execution of your orders in the event of very important incidents occurring that could probably not be known by this Government; and should there be reasonable grounds, contrary to all present probability, to apprehend circumstances of the description to which I allude, you will confine yourself to a civil intercourse with the Nizam, and to general professions of friendship, until you can receive further instructions for your guidance.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

No. XXI.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Nov. 3, 1788.

The interests of your territories are now so much blended with those of the province of Oude, that in my opinion we are called upon, no less by considerations of private advantage than by a regard to the honour and credit of the nation, to pay the most liberal attention to every public measure that may tend to promote its prosperity. It was from these motives, as I have informed you, that I proposed last year to the Vizier to arrange a commercial treaty between the two Governments upon conditions of mutual benefit and of perfect equality; and I requested that his ministers should consider themselves at entire liberty to discuss the different articles with regard to their effect on the interests of His Excellency's dominions with the utmost deliberation and freedom. A copy of the treaty

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which, after much correspondence, was concluded in this manner, will be transmitted to you in the despatch from the Board. It is nearly conformable to the draft which was enclosed to you in my letter by the 'Rodney,' and I am sanguine enough to hope that it will contribute to awaken a spirit of activity and industry in the country of Oude, whilst by facilitating our communication with the Deccan and with the Upper Provinces of the Empire, many valuable sources of commerce will be opened or enlarged for the inhabitants of the Company's dominions.

The regulation and reform of the management of the Province of Benares has likewise continued to occupy a great deal of my most earnest attention, as being an object which your immediate interests and the general principles of policy and humanity rendered it equally important to accomplish. Instead of entering in this place into a detail of the evils that existed, and of the measures that have been adopted for encouraging the commerce and culture, and for securing happiness for the numerous inhabitants of that valuable zemindarry, I shall beg leave to refer you to the Resident's different letters, and to the Resolutions and Instructions of the Board upon them, in which you will find every interesting particular relating to the situation of Benares, as well as the motives which influenced our decisions and orders, fully and distinctly explained. After becoming acquainted with the alarming state of decay into which that country had fallen, and with the prevalent defects and vices in its internal government, I entertained no hopes of obtaining an hearty concurrence and assistance from the Rajah in their correction, because I believed him to be, like most of the chiefs of this country, too jealous of his own personal importance to assent with sincerity to rules which included the very necessary regulation of his own conduct, and too little capable of comprehending the ruinous consequences to his own private interests which must ultimately arise from an irregular and capricious system of government. On the other hand, having no intention to attempt to increase the present revenue or actual power of the Company in Benares, I proceeded with confidence to authorize the measures of reformation which are described in the public records; and I hope they will, by promoting the improvement of commerce and cultivation, tend to give permanency to the Company's revenue, and to add considerably to the profits and income of the Rajah himself, whilst I likewise trust that experience will prove that they have been well calculated to protect the mass of the inhabitants against the miseries, so common in this quarter of the globe, of oppression and injustice. From the great and constant resort of strangers to Benares, many of whom are persons of high rank or eminent learning, it is there that the merits or defects of our Government will be most conspicuous; and I am inclined to hope and believe that the praises of the Resident and the report of British moderation and justice will be conveyed to the most remote provinces of Hindostan.

Your orders for the abolition of the custom-house duties were, in as far as they directly affected the Foreign nations, carried into execution immediately after they were received; and whilst the measure has undoubtedly removed many grounds for altercation with the Foreign Companies, I trust that in its effects it will also tend to the general encouragement of the commerce of the country.

I could, however, see no adequate general benefit that could arise from relinquishing the town-duties of Calcutta, which amount annually to a very considerable sum. If it shall appear from experience that the duties on goods coming from the country are either oppressive to individuals or hurtful to the general commerce of the town, they will be lowered or entirely taken off. It was absolutely necessary that duties should be levied on the frontiers of Bahar, at the rates which had been settled by our treaty with the Vizier, not merely on account

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of the sum which they will produce, but as a measure of policy to give a reasonable protection to the manufactures of Bengal and Bahar against the importation of those of similar fabrics from the countries of Benares and Oude.

The fundamental objects of our plan were to curtail all unnecessary expenses, and to establish useful rules for simplifying and facilitating the despatch of all branches of the public business. Under the head of economy, we proceeded to the abolition of useless offices and the reduction of extravagant establishments; and, to render it more difficult in future to introduce abuses, the heads of offices were required to lay before the Board a detail of such establishments as they conceived to be indispensably necessary for carrying on the business, specifying the duties and proposing the salaries for each individual; and it appeared to us of particular importance for the perfection of the system to allow liberal salaries to the heads of responsible offices, and to abolish and prohibit in every case whatever all perquisites and emoluments whether undefined or defined.

Important, however, as the object of economy must be admitted to be, I confess that I considered it as of a secondary nature to that of establishing useful arrangements for employing and facilitating the despatch of business at the public offices; and with that view some departments whose duties were of a similar nature, such as the Treasuries and the Accountant-General's offices, have been united, and the Civil servants, instead of being permitted to hold offices in different departments, have been restricted to one branch of the service.

The general plan having appeared to the Board of great consequence both for your interest and your satisfaction, we have thought it deserving of much attention and of a considerable portion of time in arranging its different parts. From the materials before you, it is open to your own judgment whether we have succeeded in the execution of our own intentions, which, I have already remarked, were to improve the mode of carrying on the public business of this government in point of economy, order, and despatch, and to exhibit the nature of the duties and the precise amount of the incomes of all the Company's servants to the clear observation of your Honourable Court.

In the alteration of allowances it has been a general rule that no fixed salary shall exceed the amount of the former salary and the usual perquisites and emoluments of the office put together, though in many instances it has been limited to an inferior sum; and the only new office that has been constituted is that of Civil Auditor, which became indispensably necessary to give effect to our Regulations, by the regular examination and check of all expenditures in the Civil departments, and I am persuaded that the salary which we have annexed to it will appear to you to be a very moderate compensation for the diligent and faithful discharge of so responsible a duty.

The augmentation of salaries which we have recommended for the members of the Board of Revenue will merit your attentive and favourable consideration. It is of the utmost importance for your service, that revenue servants of experience and abilities should be induced by liberal allowances to become members of that Board; and a thorough knowledge of the internal state of the country, as well as uniformity of principle in directing the details of the Collectors, is of so much real value for the comfort of the mass of the people, and for the successful realization of your land revenues, that it cannot fail to promote the public good to render the situation of the two senior members (upon whose able conduct so much must depend) so advantageous, that they may have no wish to be removed to any other office under the Government. . . .

Few circumstances have given me a more sincere gratification than the voluntary public-spirited proposition of Sir William Jones to engage in the arduous

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undertaking of translating and forming a compilation of Hindu and Mussulman laws from the highest and most approved authorities of the respective religions, to be applied for the use and guidance of our native Courts of Justice.

The thorough knowledge which Sir William has acquired of the Eastern languages, joined to the extent of his literature and the strength of his natural abilities, constitute qualifications for executing the work that he has undertaken, which perhaps cannot in any other man be paralleled; and considering it singularly fortunate for this Government to be able to obtain the assistance of such a person, I could make no hesitation in granting from the public purse the moderate monthly sum that he required for defraying several articles of contingent expense, but particularly for allowing salaries to some learned eminent moulavies and pundits during the time that he might have occasion to employ them in selecting and extracting the most salutary of their respective laws from the numerous volumes in which they are at present dispersed.

It is calculated by Sir William Jones that this work may be executed in two years; and if it can be accomplished according to the original plan, it will justly render the name of its author dear to the natives of this country, by enabling their European rulers to govern them according to their own ideas of humanity and justice. . . .

I have great satisfaction in congratulating your Honourable Court on the acquisition of the Guntoor Circar to the Company. Former transactions respecting the Guntoor had persuaded me of the Nizam's disinclination to relinquish that Circar, and I had therefore been induced, since my arrival in this country, by several considerations which related to the public affairs of India as well as to those of Europe, to decline touching upon a subject which it was more than probable would be offensive to that Prince, and especially at a time when it would not have been prudent to have employed our power, if found necessary, to enforce our demand.

The friendly communications which we had established with several of the native powers had obviated part of my reasons for delay; but the accounts which I received of the settlement of the affairs of Holland, by removing all hazard of interference from any European power, presented a singularly favourable opportunity for accomplishing our purpose, which I thought it my duty to embrace.

I therefore without loss of time despatched Captain Kennaway, one of my aides-de-camp, in whose prudence and ability I could confide, to Hyderabad with instructions to demand from the Nizam the full execution of the treaty which he made with the Company in the year 1768.

Captain Kennaway was also instructed to give the most solemn assurances that every stipulation on our part should be performed with the utmost punctuality and honour, and indeed I consider this to be as necessary for our real interests as it is indispensable for the credit of the national character.

At the same time, however, though our right by treaty to the Circar was indisputable, and I was ready to adjust the public account with His Highness in the fairest and most liberal manner, I thought it proper, in addition to every conciliating argument that could be founded upon the faith of treaties and the general principles of justice, to take all other precautions that might be in my power to secure us against disappointment in obtaining our proposed object. On account of the Nizam's known disposition and talents for intrigue, it appeared to be a very necessary caution to avoid giving him time to consult with any of his neighbours upon means of opposition, by leaving him only a short interval after our demand to declare his decision, and by assembling a considerable body of troops in the neighbourhood under other pretexts, to be in readiness when necessary to give

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weight to our application, and to take possession of the Circar when surrendered. The able and judicious manner in which the measures were executed that depended upon Sir Archibald Campbell deserves my warmest acknowledgments, and I am happy to say that the means which we took have had the fortunate effect of inducing the Nizam, after very moderate signs of reluctance, to surrender the Circar to the Company's servants, who are now in possession of it.

The late revolutions at Delhi and the barbarities exercised there by Gholam Kadir Khan and his Rohillas, and particularly in deposing and putting out the eyes of Shah Allum, have been shocking to the feelings of humanity; but as all parties have been equally careful to offer no injury or insult to this Government, or to our ally the Vizier, and as none of these transactions appeared to affect in any degree your political interests, it became our public duty to remain neutral spectators of scenes, in which, from the dictates of private feelings, there would have been the strongest inducements to interfere.

I trust that it is unnecessary for me to be at much pains to assure you of my constant and earnest desire to avoid and discourage in every shape all kinds of superfluous expenditure of the public money. I am persuaded that your Honourable Court cannot be more averse than I am to put the Company to the heavy charge which attends the despatch of packets unless when requisite for evident purposes of public utility. Independent of the effect which your injunctions against the despatch of a packet might have had upon my determination, I should have been prevented last season from adopting that measure, by the uncertainty with which I must have spoken respecting the business of the Guntoor, during the period in which it would have been proper that the packet should have sailed. I must, however, freely acknowledge that on account of the long interval between the despatch of the last ship of one season and that of the first of the following, added to the uncertainty and tediousness of despatches over land, it is my decided opinion, which I submit to your judgment, that hardly any one year can elapse in which the advantages that may arise to the Company's Government, both at home and abroad, from receiving mutual accounts from each other in or about the month of January of each year, will not render it an expedient measure to incur the expense of despatching a packet in the course of the month of August, both from Europe and from Bengal. . . .

I am persuaded that by a train of judicious measures the land revenue of these provinces is capable in time of being increased; but, consistent with the principles of humanity and even of those of your own real interests, it is only by adopting means for the gradual cultivation and improvement of the waste lands, and by a gentle and cautious plan for the resumption of lands that have been fraudulently alienated, that it ought ever to be attempted to be accomplished. Men of speculative and sanguine dispositions, and others either from ignorance of the subject or with views of recommending themselves to your favour, may confidently hold forth specious grounds to encourage you to hope that a great and immediate accession to that branch of your revenue might be practicable. My public duty obliges me to caution you in the most serious manner against listening to propositions which recommend this attempt, because I am clearly convinced that if carried into execution, they would be attended with most baneful results.

Desperate adventurers, without fortune or character, would undoubtedly be found, as has already been too often experienced, to rent the different districts of the country at the highest rates that could be put upon them; but the delusion would be of short duration, and the impolicy and inhumanity of the plan would perhaps, when too late for effectual remedy, become apparent by the complaints of

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the people and the disappointments at the Treasury in the payments of the revenue, and would probably terminate in the ruin and depopulation of the unfortunate country.

I am, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

No. XXII.

EARL CORNWALLIS TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE.

GENTLEMEN, Fort William, Nov. 4, 1788.

Of the political occurrences in this country since the last sea conveyance, the most important has been the Resolution which the Board adopted at my recommendation, and which has been communicated to you by an express overland, dated June 5th, to execute your orders for demanding possession of the Guntoor Circar for the Honourable Company, according to the terms of the treaty concluded with the Nizam Ally Khan in the year 1768; and I have now very sincere pleasure in congratulating you on his Highness's having acquiesced in the justice of our demand, and surrendered the Circar to the officers of the Government of Fort St. George.

Being sensible of the value of the Circar, on account of its situation, to the Honourable Company, I should have been happy if I could have carried your commands upon that head into execution at an earlier period; but I trust that the reasons which induced me to delay making this demand upon the Nizam, and which have been partly enumerated in the overland despatch, will appear to you to have been founded on sound policy, and a due consideration of your real interests.

The general state of political affairs at the time of my arrival in this country rendered it, in my opinion, a season particularly improper for agitating the point in question, because, the Nizam being then engaged in a dangerous war with Tippoo, we could not take any step which wore the least appearance of being unfriendly to him, without giving an advantage to Tippoo, which would have been neither conformable to our interest nor to our inclination.

The nice and delicate ground on which at that time we stood with his allies the Mahrattas was likewise deserving of very serious consideration. Respect for the legislature and a regard for your credit rendered it indispensably incumbent upon me to lose no time in recalling the offer which had been so inadvertently made by the preceding Government of furnishing them with the assistance of a body of troops from Bombay; but however necessary this measure might be on our part, I concluded that it could not fail of exciting considerable irritation with them, and perhaps some doubts of our national sincerity and good faith.

It was also in my recollection that the demand of the Guntoor had, under nearly similar circumstances, on a former occasion induced the same powers to lay aside their own quarrels and unite in a dangerous confederacy against your interests; and it therefore appeared to me for every reason to be prudent to allow the claim to lay dormant, until by conciliatory communication and an uniform adherence to the principles of justice and moderation, we could gain the confidence of the Mahrattas, and until we could in every respect have grounds to believe that we could assert it with reasonable hopes of success, and with less hazard of involving your possessions in war. The appearances of hostile designs which Sir Archibald Campbell perceived in Tippoo during the course of the summer of

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1787 were sufficient to prevent my forming any intention of touching upon a subject which I believed would at any time be unpalatable to the Nizam. We have every reason, however, in the mean time to be satisfied with our progress in cultivating a good understanding with the Mahrattas, and I considered it as a circumstance by no means unfavourable to our interests that Scindia's power and influence suffered about that time a considerable shock in the Upper Provinces of the Empire. Whatever may have been Tippoo's real designs in the first part of the season, it appeared towards the end of that summer that he had no immediate plan of hostility against the Carnatic. But although this circumstance, as well as all other political appearances in India, would have been sufficiently encouraging to me to consider the period as proper for demanding of the Nizam the full accomplishment of the treaty of 1768, our knowledge of the alarming dissensions in Holland deterred me from taking any step which could give umbrage to any of the Native Powers, from a belief of its being very possible that the convulsions in the Dutch Republic might in their consequences involve England in a war, which would soon have extended to your possessions in this quarter of the globe.

And as it appeared to me that the state of the political affairs in Europe rendered an immediate interference from the French or any other European power in the internal affairs of India, at least highly improbable, I considered that a more favourable opportunity could never be expected for opening a negotiation with the Nizam, for the purpose of obtaining from him the full accomplishment of his treaty with the Company. I therefore proposed immediately to the Board, as you have been informed by the former despatch, to depute a proper person without loss of time to Hyderabad. But although we had a right to expect that the honour and good faith with which we were determined to execute on our part the stipulations of the treaty, would tend to induce the Nizam to acquiesce in the justice of our demand, yet from the unwillingness which he had so frequently manifested of parting with the Circar, I could not suppose that these considerations alone would on this occasion influence him to relinquish it. The duplicity of his character and his talents for intrigue being likewise generally admitted, I considered myself as called upon by public duty to take every precaution of your Government against the disgrace of disappointment, and I thought it therefore equally prudent and necessary to leave him but a very short time, after making the requisition, for consulting with any of his neighbours on the means of opposition, and to direct that a good body of troops should be assembled near the Circar under other pretexts, to be ready to act if necessary in support of our demand of his performance of the terms of the treaty. Captain Kennaway, one of my aides-de-camp, was at my recommendation appointed to the deputation as a gentleman well acquainted with the country languages and customs, and in whose ability and prudence I could place an entire confidence, and he left this place in the beginning of May, though the rains and bad roads rendered his journey so unavoidably tedious and difficult that he did not arrive at Hyderabad till the latter end of July.

I shall beg leave to refer you to the despatch from the Board, for the copies of his instructions and of the letters with which he was charged from me to the Nizam. He was received by his Highness with every proper mark of attention and respect; but their intercourse for some time was necessarily confined to ceremonials and general expressions of civility. As the insult and demand which one of Tippoo's tributaries, the Rajah of Cherika, had made upon Tellicherry whilst Captain Kennaway was upon his journey, had created doubts of that Prince's pacific disposition, we could not venture upon any step that might disgust the Nizam until it should clearly appear that we should not be forced into

hostilities with Tippoo. Distressing as a war would be to your affairs in this country, it cannot be admitted to be so great an evil as the injury which you would suffer in your honour and ultimately in your substantial interests, by appearing to that Prince to be apprehensive either of his enmity or his power. Upon that principle, and believing that the Rajah of Cherika would not have dared to stir but by his instigation, I thought it indispensably necessary to write to him upon this occasion, and to declare explicitly that as on one hand it would be my constant study to act on the part of the Company with the greatest moderation and with the most scrupulous regard to the faith of treaties with all the Princes of India, I was on the other equally determined not to suffer the least injury or insult to ourselves or our allies from any power whatever to pass unresented; and notifying to him that with these resolutions I had sent orders to punish the Rajah of Cherika, and expressing my expectations that as the Rajah is one of his tributaries he would lend his assistance to force him to make ample reparation for his conduct. Tippoo's answer to me, as well as to letters which Sir Archibald Campbell had written to him about the same time, giving no reason to apprehend that his mind was prepared for an immediate rupture with us, Captain Kennaway was directed to proceed to the execution of the principal object of his mission, and I am persuaded that you will see with pleasure in his correspondence, which will be transmitted by the Board, the proofs which he has given of good sense and address in this transaction; and that Sir Archibald Campbell's judgment and exertion, in directing the measures of co-operation which depended upon him, will give you the highest satisfaction.

Although the Nizam acquiesced in our demand with sufficient decency of manner, we cannot venture to flatter ourselves that he did it without considerable real reluctance. It will be my earnest desire from my own inclination, as well as in compliance with your instructions, to impress his mind with a conviction of its being our fixed determination not only to act in the most liberal manner in the adjustment of the present account between him and the Company, but also to continue the payment of the peshcush in future with the strictest honour and regularity; and as I believe Captain Kennaway to be well calculated for gaining his goodwill and esteem, and at the same time to discover any intrigues that may be meditated, I propose to leave him some time longer at Hyderabad to keep a watchful eye upon his Highness's conduct, and to endeavour by every means in his power to establish a confidential and friendly communication between the two Governments.

Nana, though backward in giving an unconditional declaration of their intention to join us, in case of our being involved in war, had long expressed an earnest desire, on the part of the Peshwa's administration, to form close connexions with this Government; but I had been obliged to decline acceding to his propositions, as they militated against the Act of Parliament by tending to draw us eventually into hostilities with Tippoo.

It was therefore, after so much coolness on our side, peculiarly gratifying to me to receive through Mr. Malet a voluntary offer from the Poonah Ministers to join us against Tippoo upon the supposition that he had attacked our ally, the Rajah of Travancore, and by that means had forced us to abandon our pacific system.

I consider this voluntary offer as a sure pledge that we may depend upon the aid and co-operation of the Mahrattas, in case new circumstances should unluckily arise to engage us in war; and I shall spare no pains to cultivate the good understanding which at present so happily subsists between us. I do not flatter myself that their propositions for obtaining the restitution of the island of Salsette

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will be of a nature that I can recommend for your acceptance, but I shall at least receive and correspond upon them in the most friendly and conciliatory manner, and their disappointment on that head will be softened by the accommodating answer which I shall have it in my power to give them on the subject of Ginjera; for you are neither called upon by any engagements, nor by your interest, to interfere in that business, and it will therefore be from motives of generosity only that we shall endeavour in the proposed arrangement to obtain for the Siddee family a fixed and decent provision.

The Prince Jahandar Shah, without making a single manly effort at Delhi to retrieve the affairs of his father and his family, soon returned, as you have already been informed, to Benares, with his wives and children, to avail himself of the asylum which I had promised him in the Company's dominions.

By overheating himself in an excursion to Chunar, to visit the tomb of a low woman whom he had married, and who had died the year before, he brought on a fever which carried him off very suddenly soon after his return to Benares. His death is attended with no effects upon your political interests; but he has left a large family, the greatest part of which positively refused to leave the Company's territories, and they are now a considerable burthen upon the Vizier and upon his Government. The contentions and struggles amongst the different chiefs in the Provinces affect in no manner whatever the immediate interests of the Company. The ferocious behaviour of Golaum Kader Khan and his Rohillas in deposing and putting out the eyes of the unfortunate old King, and in committing numberless other barbarities at Delhi, are shocking to all the private feelings of the human mind; yet as great care has been taken by all parties to avoid giving us public offence, this Government has in all those transactions continued to think it equally their own duty and most expedient for your interests to observe the strictest neutrality.

I have, &c.,

CORNWALLIS.

No. XXIII.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

HONOURABLE SIRS, Fort William, Nov. 6, 1788

. . . Our proceedings, transmitted to the Secret Committee by this despatch, contain references which were made to us by the Governor in Council at Fort St. George, and by the Committee of the Nabob of Arcot's creditors, upon certain claims and pretensions maintained by the latter in opposition to what we conceived to be the right of the Company. We recommend the whole to your particular attention as comprising matters of great importance—the rights of the Company and the claims and property of individuals; and we especially refer you to a Minute by the Governor-General, in which their rights and claims are minutely stated and discussed. We shall not, after this reference, recapitulate the subject.

The conduct assumed by the Committee of Creditors appeared to us so derogatory from the respect which they owed to the Government of Madras, that we did not hesitate to recommend to them to vindicate the authority of the Company by removing from their stations those servants who had offended. This measure was executed, but upon the recommendation of the Madras Presidency we most readily concurred in their restoration to the offices from which they had been

removed. Mr. Benfield alone was excepted from this amnesty, as his conduct appeared to us far more offensive and exceptionable than that of the other gentlemen, and we did not hesitate to confirm the proposition of Sir Archibald Campbell for his suspension from the service, and to recommend that he should be obliged to return to Europe. Mr. Benfield has been in consequence suspended from the service, and he has received orders from the Government of Fort St. George to proceed to Europe by one of the first ships.

Four several addresses from the principal native inhabitants of Benares to your Honourable Court, declaring their sentiments of Mr. Hastings, were submitted to us by Mr. George Thompson, late Secretary to Mr. Hastings, at the request of Ally Ibrahim Cawn, the chief judicial magistrate of that city, with the correspondence which had passed with him on the subject of them.

It appeared from the tenor of this correspondence that a deputation of the inhabitants of Benares had expressed their wishes through Ibrahim Cawn to wait upon your Resident, Mr. Duncan, with these addresses, as the regular official channel of communication, but that Mr. Duncan had declared it was unnecessary for the inhabitants to attend him with the addresses, as they did not concern the Company's affairs. Under these circumstances they were forwarded to Mr. Thompson, as the attorney and friend of Mr. Hastings, with a request that he would lay them before the Governor-General in Council, and take the necessary steps for their being translated and transmitted to Europe.

In compliance with Ally Ibrahim Cawn's solicitation Mr. Thompson submitted these papers to us as before recited, requesting that they might be translated and forwarded to you in due time, and under a supposition that the Company would not be averse to receive from its native subjects and allies the public declaration of their sentiments upon a question of so much importance to their happiness, and to the credit of the English nation, as the conduct of Mr. Hastings during his long government. Mr. Thompson further requested that he might be permitted to receive the suffrages which the native inhabitants of the Company's possessions were desirous of conveying to the Court of Directors as a sense of Mr. Hastings's merits, and that the judges, collectors, and residents, might be informed that he had obtained such permission, or that they were themselves at liberty to receive and transmit to us any testimonies relative to Mr. Hastings that might be tendered to them by, or on the part of, the native inhabitants.

With these requests from Mr. Thompson we complied, having qualified our orders to the judges, collectors, and residents, in the following terms, that "the liberty accorded was merely to receive and transmit testimonials when offered, but that they were not to deduce any inference from it that they were authorized to exercise any further interference."

The addresses above-mentioned, with translations, and various other addresses, &c., from the Nabob Vizier and his Ministers, from the Nabobs of Furruckabad and these provinces, also from the principal zemindars of Dinagepore, Boglepore, &c., according to a list which accompanies them, attend you in the present despatch.

The acknowledged advantages which must result from concluding a settlement for a long term of years, together with your injunctions for carrying this measure into execution, impressed us with the greatest anxiety for completing it at the commencement of the current year 1195, or 1788-9; but it was with real reluctance we found ourselves under the necessity of postponing the arrangement till the ensuing year, for the reasons which we have now the honour to submit to you.

As long ago as the 5th February, 1787, the Board of Revenue were directed

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to prepare sundry materials as a foundation for this important measure, and the collectors were severally called upon for information with a view to its accomplishment.

The voluminous nature of these materials had unavoidably retarded their completion, and the Persian statements of the revenue since the acquisition of the Dewanny had but lately been transmitted from the office of the Roy Royan.

These accounts appeared to us very essential for the purpose of forming a settlement on permanent principles, and together with every illustration which could be furnished by us, as required by your instructions, equally necessary for your information.

Supposing, however, they had been prepared, and ready for our inspection, the period between the time when this subject was under our deliberation and the commencement of the current Bengal year was too short to admit of considering them with the attention which they required, and the storms and inundations which had so universally prevailed during the last season offered a serious obstacle to forming a settlement on a permanent plan, for though we had received general information of great losses having been sustained, we were not particularly apprised of the extent of them, and of their effects upon the sources of the revenue.

We accordingly directed that the settlement of Bengal for 1195, or 1788-9, should be formed, for that year only, upon the principles and instructions recorded upon our proceedings of the 5th February, 1787. The settlement for the three last years has varied very little on its general amount, and, with a few exceptions, has been annually concluded with the same persons.

The reasons which induced us to defer the ten years' settlement in Bengal were equally applicable to Bahar. We accordingly directed that the settlement of this province for 1196 Fussily, or 1788-9, should be concluded for that year only. We deemed it expedient, however, to admit of some deviation in the principles hitherto adopted in forming the settlement of this province, which we now beg leave to point out for your information. . .

In Bahar there are only four principal zemindars—those of Sonnout, Tirhoot, Shahabad, and Champarum. The remaining zemindars are in number some thousand.

For a period long before the Company's accession to the Dewanny, and constantly since, it has been the practice, generally speaking, to let the lands in Bahar in farm, or to delegate the management of them to officers on the part of Government.

Experience has fully shown that the farming system is ill calculated to improve a country, and it is contrary to the principles which, in conformity to your directions, we wish to establish, of availing ourselves as much as possible of the service of the proprietors of the lands.

We have accordingly vested the collectors with a discretional power to conclude the settlement of their respective divisions with the actual proprietors of the soil, in all cases where they may deem it practicable and expedient; in adopting a variation from a long established practice we did not, for the reasons assigned upon our proceedings, think it proper to issue more positive instructions.

We are, &c.

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No. XXIV.

Earl Cornwallis to the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs, Calcutta, March 6, 1789.

I lost no time after the arrival of His Majesty's orders, and of the instructions of your Honourable Court, in calling for returns of the names of the Honourable Company's officers at the different Presidencies, who were desirous, on the terms specified, to be admitted into His Majesty's four new regiments which were raised for the service of India.

Being desirous of carrying His Majesty's gracious intentions and your wishes into as complete effect as was possible, I gave the Honourable Company's officers full time to reflect deliberately on the advantageous offers that were held forth to them; and in order that no candidates might on this occasion be disappointed of admission into the King's service, I delayed to fill up the greatest part of the vacancies in the new regiments until I should receive the return from the Presidency of Bombay, after the officers stationed at Tellicherry had given their answer, and which only arrived at this place on the 21st ult.

I have upon further consideration thought it unnecessary to trouble the Board to give details on this subject, as I proposed in a former letter to your Honourable Court; and I now enclose, No. 1, a list of all the Honourable Company's officers who have given in their names, and have in consequence of their applications been appointed to His Majesty's service.

It will no doubt prove a matter of no less surprise to your Honourable Court than it has been in India, that so few of the Company's officers, and particularly those in the junior ranks who have so distant a prospect of promotion, have thought proper to avail themselves of so favourable an opportunity to be admitted into the service of His Majesty. . . .

Several representations have been made to me against the scanty allowance which has been allotted to the officers who have been placed on the list of invalid pensioners; and perhaps it may be judged expedient from motives of humanity to relax in a few instances, for the lives of the present pensioners, from the general principle of the regulations. I think it my duty, however, to repeat my opinion, that it ought to be part of the political system for the management of India to discourage and prevent Europeans as much as possible, and particularly European officers, from colonising and settling in this country; for it may be considered as a certain maxim, that when they have reconciled their minds to relinquish all thoughts of returning to their native country, they will soon become indifferent, or, perhaps, when in opposition to their own views, even hostile to its interests; and many circumstances might in time arise in a country so far removed from Europe, in which a number of men of such dispositions might have it in their power to create serious embarrassment to Government.

I shall not at present enter into minute details; but I think it incumbent upon me to suggest for consideration that the resources of this country will only admit of a small portion of the officers of an army, which has of late years increased to so great a magnitude, acquiring independent fortunes; and that to enable them to live with decency and comfort at home, after they are worn out by long services, it may be necessary to provide some further assistance for many of them, from the public, than that which is furnished by the usual allowance of Lord Clive's pension.

And it is no less proper to offer to your observation, that unless the officers

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of this army can have it in their power to obtain promotion by some other means than that of seniority alone, the ability and spirit of exertion which many of your officers at present eminently possess, will be of little value to the public at the period of their service when it would be most particularly desirable, I mean in the rank of Colonel, at which it is impossible that the officers who are now about the middle part of the list of the army can arrive by regular promotion, before they are entirely superannuated.

However important a good artillery may be in the Military Establishment of any European nation, I believe it is nowhere of so much real consequence as it is to your interests in India; for it is the branch of the military science, in which our superiority over the natives is the greatest, and whose effects are beyond comparison the most decisive.

It is therefore well deserving of your utmost attention to maintain that corps in a state of as much perfection as may be practicable; and with that view great pains should be taken to supply the vacancies of lieutenant-fireworkers with young men who have been properly educated, and whose talents appear to qualify them for becoming useful artillery officers.

You will generally have it in your power to procure, without difficulty, a sufficient number of young gentlemen of the above description at home; but if you could obtain annually a certain number of cadets with satisfactory certificates of their qualifications from His Majesty's Military Academy at Woolwich, I would recommend it to you as the best mode of all for supplying your artillery with young officers.

The number that might be wanted in war would unavoidably depend upon a variety of circumstances which at present cannot be foreseen; but I think it probable that six or at farthest eight of those cadets would be sufficient to supply the annual vacancies of your artillery in time of peace.

Every argument that can be adduced to prove the utility that may arise to your service from your being careful in your choice of young men to fill the future vacancies in the artillery, may be used with still greater force, if possible, to show the necessity of the greatest precaution in the selection of young gentlemen to be admitted into your corps of engineers. . . .

The general relief of the army has taken place in the usual manner, and it gives me great pleasure to inform you that I have received the most favourable reports of the condition and discipline of all the native troops.

It has been particularly satisfactory to observe that the aversion of the natives of the Upper Provinces to come upon duty to the provinces of Bengal seems to have greatly diminished, and this desirable change has clearly appeared by the decrease of the desertion from the native brigades which marched from Futtyghur to the Presidency, both in this and the last compared with the usual loss on former years.

But nothing could have manifested the good disposition of the native troops in a more unequivocal manner than the alacrity with which a great number of them, in defiance of many of their religious prejudices against a sea-voyage, offered their services when volunteers were called for to form the detachment which was wanted in consequence of the requisition of the Presidency of Fort Marlbro'.

Two-thirds of that detachment consist of Hindoos; and amongst them there are several Bramins and many others of their highest castes. Their goodwill and attachment to the service gives them a claim to every attention on our part, and I have besides thought it of great consequence for the public benefit to take every possible means to secure convenient accommodation for them, both on their voyage to Sumatra and their return; and in laying in their stock of

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water and provisions to be scrupulously careful in conforming to their strictest prejudices.

If it should fortunately happen that those men shall return to Bengal perfectly satisfied with the treatment that they have received during their absence, their report of it amongst the other soldiers will, I am persuaded, contribute more than any other means that could be devised to remove the rooted aversion and almost horror which is so general amongst the Hindoos of high castes against venturing to sea.

A large augmentation could with great facility be made at any time, and at a short warning, to the native troops of this establishment, and the advantages which would result from our being able to prevail upon them to suffer themselves to be transported to distant services by sea are so obvious as to need no enumeration. . . .

I am, &c.,

Cornwallis.

No. XXV.

Earl Cornwallis to the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs, Fort William, Aug. 2, 1789.

You will observe by Mr. Ives's correspondence that great pains have been taken to obtain the benefits that were expected to result to both parties from the commercial treaty with the Vizier by pressing the minister to carry it into full effect in his Excellency's dominions.

I have sufficient reason to believe that Hyder Beg Khan is anxious to preserve my good opinion of his public conduct by doing everything in his power to execute strictly all stipulations on the part of the Vizier with the Company, and to establish internal order and good government in his master's territories. But unluckily the Vizier's early habits of dissipation and inattention to business have not yet entirely left him, and he is so apt to suffer his conduct to be influenced by very undeserving people, with whom he sometimes associates, that the wishes and intentions of the minister cannot always be completely executed. Inconvenient, however, as those defects in his Excellency's character may be, it is not easy to find effectual remedies for them.

Material omissions are generally corrected immediately upon my representation. But I think it infinitely more for the real advantage as well as more creditable to the Company, to bear deficiencies of no great importance on the part of his Excellency with a little patience, rather than attempt to renew the species of interference in the details of his government through the medium of our Resident, which has been so judiciously reprobated by your Honourable Court, and from which I have ever most carefully abstained.

The causes to which I have alluded, occasioned some delay in reaping all the advantages that might result to both countries from the late commercial arrangements; but the mutual utility of the treaty is apparent, and our large and increasing collections of duties at the Custom-house at Maunjee are sufficient proofs of the particular benefits which have already arisen from it to the commerce of the provinces. . . .

Mr. Duncan's conduct has contributed to promote the extension of commerce and agriculture, and great progress has been made in establishing a system for

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the regular administration of justice, which alone can secure the happiness of the body of the people in that valuable province.

The great additional resort of Deccan merchants to the mart of Mirzapore, and the applications that have been lately made for tracts of ground to increase the buildings at that place, have been very pleasing indications of the commercial improvements; and it has likewise been with peculiar satisfaction that I have lately received a convincing proof of the good effects of his judicious management upon the minds of the neighbouring powers by an application from Nana Furnavese, the First Minister of the Mahratta state, for leave to build a house for himself in the city of Benares, for the avowed purpose of resorting to it occasionally to perform religious duties; and this application has given me the more pleasure, as the resolution was deliberately adopted upon the report of Mhadajee Pundit, his own household Dewan, whom he sent privately last year with a caravan of pilgrims, to make his observations, and who it seems had given a most favourable account of the mildness and regularity of the British Government.

The future substantial interests of the Company, and the prosperity and happiness of millions of people, are so deeply concerned in the plan of settlement of land-revenue of those provinces, that before I should proceed to execute the orders contained in your revenue letter, dated the 12th April, 1786, I thought it my indispensable duty to acquire every information in my power, and to give the whole subject the most mature consideration.

Although Mr. Shore's precarious health has frequently interrupted his exertions, I consider it as singularly fortunate that the public could profit from his great experience and uncommon abilities upon this important occasion.

His exertions were no less able than laborious in obtaining the materials that were necessary for arranging the principles on which the settlement of the province of Bahar is proposed to be made. But as the revenue letter from the Board gives you a full account of the plan of that settlement, I think it unnecessary to trouble you with a particular statement of it.

There will probably be very little alteration in the principles of the plan that will be adopted for the settlement of Bengal, and after having given the subject much serious consideration, I think myself bound, in justice to my own feelings, and to my opinion of the true interests of the Company, and the British nation, to declare my strongest conviction that the outlines of the plan now proposed, are well calculated to secure and even increase your revenues, and at the same time to raise the national reputation, by its giving a prospect of comfort and happiness to the natives of those valuable dominions, far beyond that which they have hitherto enjoyed under any other masters.

Many subsidiary arrangements will be requisite to render the principles of the plan applicable to the various rights and customs that exist in different parts of those provinces, and they must be made by Government, either as the propriety of them may appear to observation, or as cases may be brought forward by representation.

The security of property, however, and the certainty which each individual will now feel of being allowed to enjoy the fruits of his own labours, must operate uniformly as incitements to exertion and industry; and I have purposely in this settlement proposed to withdraw the Gunges from the Zemindars, and to place them in the hands of Government, in order that it may at all times have an unrestrained power to raise or lower the internal taxes, or duties on particular articles of produce or manufacture, as may be found most suitable to the general interests of commerce: but above all, as the land-revenue, when the Jumma is

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once fixed, cannot increase, that the Company may, through the medium of duties upon an increased consumption of the necessaries and luxuries of life, participate in the wealth and advantages, which, I trust, will be consequences of a permanent revenue settlement to the inhabitants of this country.

The humane and liberal sentiments which dictated the instructions upon which the present plan is founded, will prompt you to receive the highest gratification, if my hopes of its producing wealth and happiness to the intelligent and industrious part of the individuals of this country shall be realised; and, independent of all other considerations, I can assure you that it will be of the utmost importance for promoting the solid interests of the Company, that the principal landholders and traders in the interior parts of the country should be restored to such circumstances as to enable them to support their families with decency, and to give a liberal education to their children according to the customs of their respective castes and religions—that a regular gradation of ranks may be supported, which is nowhere more necessary than in this country for preserving order in civil society.

I am sorry to be obliged to say that agriculture and internal commerce has for many years been gradually declining, and that, at present, excepting the class of Shroffs and Banians, who reside almost entirely in great towns, the inhabitants of those provinces were advancing hastily to a general state of poverty and wretchedness.

In this description, I must include almost every Zemindar in the Company's territories, which, though it may have been partly occasioned by their own indolence and extravagance, I am afraid must also be in a great measure attributed to the defects of our former system of government.

The settlement, in conformity to your orders, will only be made for ten years certain, with a notification of its being your intention to declare it a perpetual and unalterable assessment of these provinces, if the amount and the principles upon which it has been made shall meet with your approbation.

The circulation of specie in this country has been so long embarrassed with so great a variety of rupees of different qualities and denominations, that the Shroffs have found an ample field for practising their arts in extorting an extravagant batta upon almost every pecuniary transaction in which they are concerned, to the heavy oppression of individuals, and in many instances to the great detriment of the Company's revenue; and there appears to be no effectual remedy for the evil but that of a general new coinage of all the circulating silver of the country into rupees, or subdivisions of rupees, of exactly the same weight, standard, and denomination.

Amongst the other preparatory steps that have been taken to carry this measure into execution, it has been determined that all revenue settlements shall be made in Sicca rupees, and you may be assured that I shall spare no pains, and neglect no precautions to accomplish with safety this salutary work.

As the opium contract terminates this season, proposals for a new contract for the term of four years, as before, have been called for by public advertisement.

The opium ryots were by the terms of the late contract left so much in the power of the contractor, that it has been chiefly owing to the moderation and forbearance of Mr. Heatly, who held that contract, that they have not for some time past suffered great vexation and distress.

A regard for the true interests of the Company, no less than the irresistible claims of humanity, rendered it necessary to give these poor people the protection of the laws against personal violence, and to enable them to make an equitable bargain with the contractor for the produce of their labours.

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I think it probable that the relief which has been given to the ryots may occasion some decrease of price on the offers that will be made by the candidates for the contract, but I am persuaded that the loss upon that head will be more than compensated to the Company by the encouragement which will be given to the ryots to extend the cultivation of the poppy, and by the measures which have been adopted being calculated to promote the general prosperity of the districts in which it is produced.

I thought that upon the whole it would be more beneficial for the Company that the Benares opium should also be provided in future by contract, and it is accordingly offered to the fairest bidder on the present occasion, under nearly the same conditions for securing good treatment to the ryots as those that are prescribed for Bahar and Bengal.

An infamous traffic has it seems been carried on in this country by the low Portuguese, and even by several foreign European seafaring people and traders, in purchasing and collecting native children in a clandestine manner, and exporting them for sale to the French islands and other parts of India.

I have at different times taken steps to prevent the continuance of practices which are so shocking to humanity, and so pernicious to your interests, and in order to deter all persons under the authority of this Government from being concerned in that species of trade, I lately directed that a commander of a country vessel, who carried off some children last winter, should be prosecuted criminally before the Supreme Court; and I likewise published a proclamation to give notice, that any person living under the Company's protection, or in any shape under the authority of this Government, who shall be convicted of carrying on, or aiding, or abetting the barbarous traffic that I have mentioned, will be certain of meeting with the most exemplary punishment.

There are many obstacles in the way against abolishing slavery entirely in the Company's dominions, as the number of slaves is considerable, and the practice is sanctioned both by the Mahomedan and Hindoo laws.

I have, however, a plan under consideration, which I hope to be able to execute without doing much injury to the private interests, or offering great violence to the feelings of the natives, and which has for its object the abolition of the practice under certain limitations, and the establishing some rules and regulations to alleviate as much as may be possible the misery of those unfortunate people during the time that they may be retained in that wretched situation.

The system for the administration of criminal justice under the direction of a Naib Nazim has long attracted my serious attention, and is in my opinion in a most exceptionable state.

I am sufficiently sensible that great caution will be necessary in endeavouring to reform so delicate a branch of the civil Government; but I feel myself called upon by the principles of humanity, and a regard for the honour and interest of the Company and the nation, not to leave this Government without endeavouring to take measures to prevent in future, on one hand, the cruel punishments of mutilation, which are freuqently inflicted by the Mahomedan law, and on the other to restrain the spirit of corruption which so generally prevails in native courts, and by which wealthy offenders are generally enabled to purchase impunity for the most atrocious crimes.

In making such alterations as may appear to be necessary for effecting the above-mentioned purposes, you may be assured that the utmost care shall be taken to render the expense as light as possible to the Company.

I conceive that all regulations for the reform of that department would be useless and nugatory, whilst the execution of them depends upon any native

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whatever, and that it will be indispensable for the good government of this country that there should be general jail-deliveries once or twice a-year, and that two or three respectable Company's servants should be selected to act as superintendents of the criminal trials, which may be conducted, under their inspection, by native judges, with the assistance of learned Moulavies and Pundits, in strict conformity to the laws and customs of Hindostan.

Should these appointments appear to be expedient after further consideration, some reduction may be made in the present establishment of the Foujedarry department, from which the amount of the salaries that it will be proper to allot to the superintendents may in part be defrayed.

The salaries, however, ought at all events to be liberal, as upon the general principles that have been already applied to the arrangement of the other departments, the income of the superintendents should be limited to fixed and open allowances, without receiving any kind of perquisite whatever.

In establishing these principles for regulating the allowances of your servants in all the branches of your service, I trust that I have acted upon the soundest maxims of public economy.

It is neither your expectation, nor would it be possible, to obtain the services of men of experience, ability, and character, in this climate, where a continuation of health is so precarious, without granting them rewards in some shape sufficiently liberal to enable them to live in a decent and comfortable manner, and to make such annual savings as to give them a prospect of being able in a moderate number of years to return to spend the latter part of their days in easy circumstances at home.

The generality of men would prefer making such a fortune by means the most open and avowed, and no mode can be more honourable than that of annual savings from an established public salary.

When the allowed salaries are evidently inadequate to the above purposes, and in a country where your principal servants are surrounded with temptations, it could not easily be denied that it seemed to be expected, though not regularly sanctioned by Government, that they should look to some other sources of income; and in the pursuit of unauthorised gain by individuals in this country the public finances have often suffered great injury, and the poor natives in many instances very cruel oppressions.

The toleration of perquisites is likewise detrimental to the discipline of the service, for even when there is only an implied permission to take them, it is not easy to punish abuses, as after a beginning is suffered, distinct limits are with difficulty prescribed for the practice; but when liberal salaries are allowed and accepted as a complete compensation for services, a Government can, without scruple, disgrace and remove from their offices all those servants who shall be detected in deviations from the straight line of private honour and of public duty. . . .

The public credit of this Government has improved beyond the most sanguine hopes that I could have indulged a twelvemonth ago. The discount upon our certificates has not for some time past amounted to one and a half per cent. . .

I received a letter from Mr. James Macpherson, who styles himself agent for the Nabob of Arcot, enclosing a long remonstrance against the decision of this Government in the succession to the late Rajah of Tanjore. I enclose a copy of my answer to Mr. Macpherson, which will I trust meet with your approbation.

I am, &c.

Cornwallis.

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No. XXVI.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas to Earl Cornwallis.

[Received Aug. 1789.]

My dear Lord, Wimbledon, April 3, 1789.

With the exception of my short letter to you of the 2nd of March, my last private letter bore date the 28th of February. Since that period the public joy and satisfaction has gone on uninterruptedly, by the complete recovery of the King. He is now perfectly well, and the Government going forward with unbounded popularity in its former channel. Opposition—in character, spirits, and everthing else—lower than we ever knew them at any period. . . .

The conduct of the business of the Guntoor Circar is entirely to my satisfaction. It is needless to remark to you that the acquiescence of the Nizam in your measures for the recovery of that province is no satisfactory proof of his good temper on the occasion. The treaty of 1768, by which he surrendered those Circars, has always been with him matter of sincere mortification, and the finishing stroke which is now given to the objects of that treaty cannot be pleasant to the Nizam. The only practical conclusion I mean to draw from this circumstance is to observe, what has undoubtedly occurred to yourself, that the acquiescence of the Nizam, or any apparent good humour on his part, must never disarm our jealousy so far as to produce remissness of attention either to his movements or to those of Tippoo and the Marattas. . . .

At present we seem justly warranted to conclude that our own internal prosperity, aided by our alliances upon the Continent, joined to the derangement in the Government of France, leave us no room to apprehend any bad effects from the exertions of European rivals. . . .

Salsette is, I think, of very considerable difficulty. . . . I shall at present only observe upon that subject that I am very far from feeling disposed to a surrender of it, without a very ample compensation in the shape of annual revenue. The principle I entertain upon that subject is shortly this: I am not for engaging in another Maratta war, for the purpose of enlarging our territories upon the western side of India; at the same time it is obviously our interest to make the most we can of the possessions we have, or even to enlarge by negotiations, if we can, the possessions we have in that quarter, for in no given state of our Indian empire is it possible for us to be without a large military establishment in the west of Hindostan. A respectable force in that quarter is essential to our interest, both on the coast and in Bengal. I need not tell you how inconvenient it must ever be to supply the means of keeping up that establishment from the treasuries of Bengal or Madras, and of course how desirable it must be to have a revenue nearly adequate, if possible, for the supply of the establishment so to be maintained at Bombay and its neighbourhood. These few suggestions will convey to you the full extent of my reasoning upon Salsette, and every other western possession in India, and you can have no difficulty of applying that reasoning to any speculation you may at any time entertain upon the subject. Another consideration must necessarily enter into every deliberation upon this subject; I mean the danger of any European rival getting possession of any positions which we may abandon, and which positions, although of little moment in the possession of native powers, might prove truly inconvenient if in the possession of any European state.

You seem to treat the possession of Tellicherry more lightly than I have been accustomed to consider it. Upon such a point you must naturally suppose I

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must think loosely, and rest solely upon the information of others. But my conversations with very intelligent officers, who either do know, or pretend to know, the situation of that part of India, has led me to conceive that a military post, with a respectable force at Tellicherry, was a very essential object, with a view of controlling the operations of Tippoo. As to all this, however, you may suppose I speak with the most perfect dubiety. I think I perceive great good sense in the suggestion of stationing a respectable body of troops on the sea line, and within the frontiers of the Travancore country, and if the alternative was whether that position, or one at Tellicherry, was most eligible, I would certainly prefer that on the frontiers of Travancore, but I cannot help, till better instructed by you, feeling that the one idea is a corroboration of the other; in short, if no material objection occurs against it, and the expense of it is not too burdensome, a chain of military posts along the western coast of India must add great security to our Indian empire. But, after all I have said, we are, you may believe, perfectly disposed to acquiesce in your judgment after full consideration, and if either by negotiation or otherwise you shall be of opinion to act upon different principles, there is little doubt of your obtaining our acquiescence.

As to the French, I think it unnecessary to trouble you with much discussion upon them. It would be childish not to suppose they are mortified by the prospect they have of the advantages resulting from the footing we have gained in India, but I trust, before their own domestic concerns will enable them to indulge themselves in foreign speculations, our security will be too strongly riveted to be shaken by anything they can do. . . .

I always thought your despatches too desponding upon the object of supplying, or at least aiding the China investment, by means of the trade and other resources of Bengal, but I think you have of late made considerable exertions towards that object, and I am positive the idea, perseveringly followed up, will work its own way at length; and I am satisfied that by the export of British manufactures and Bengal commodities to China, a sufficient fund will at last be found in China for answering the purposes of that valuable trade which is now carried on between Great Britain and China. I agree with you that the opium of Bengal is improperly diverted to Bencoolen, or any other place, if it can be rendered subservient to the China investment. . . .

My prejudices were once as strong against the claims of the Nabob's private creditors as any that you can entertain, and the feelings of all my colleagues at the Board were the same; against many of them the prejudice still remains, but from the time we examined the whole subject to the bottom, which we did in the most laborious manner, we became perfectly satisfied that every consideration of wisdom and policy suggested the propriety of the arrangement of the 9th of December, 1784. We remain of the same opinion still; and the arrangement having been made under the sanction of our authority, it is our duty fairly and *bonâ fide* to see to the execution of it. I perfectly approve of every step you have taken to check the petulance of the creditors, and to support the authority of the Madras Government. . . .

I become every day more and more sensible of the difficulty of supplying our settlements in India with good governors and councillors; as yet no successor is appointed to succeed Sir Archibald Campbell, and I am perfectly aware of the inconvenience that may arise upon the departure of Sir Archibald Campbell, which I take for granted took place in the month of January last. The truth is, we know not what to do or what to suggest to the Court of Directors. When General Medows went out he was not good-humoured about some transactions with the Treasury, and, from what he said before his departure, I took an impres-

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sion that, although, agreeable to his promise, he proceeded to Bombay, he would go no farther, but take the first opportunity of returning. I myself had no personal acquaintance with General Medows, but, from his character, was very eager for his appointment; but if it ends abruptly, as I have apprehended, it will certainly have proved an unfortunate measure. The appointments you inform me of his having made immediately on his arrival at Bombay are most unfortunate; no account of them has yet come officially home, but they must soon and will produce the effects which you have detailed in the very friendly and becoming letter which you wrote to him upon the occasion. This is the more to be apprehended from the circumstance of some wrangling having begun between him and the Court of Directors about the time of his sailing, and I cannot help suspecting they will not be much displeased at having an opportunity of finding fault. We expect every day to hear from Medows, and will then be at a certainty as to his intentions of remaining in India. If it is his choice to remain, we will of course support his appointment to Madras, and that of Abercrombie to Bombay; and beyond that there is no immediate necessity for deciding. Although personally unacquainted with Colonel Fox, I am no stranger to his character, but I do not see how it is possible to get the better of the objection you state arising from his military rank; besides that, although Colonel Fox is himself a *good politician*, there is an awkwardness in selecting for so high and confidential a situation the brother of the great leader of the party opposed to our political system respecting India. I am far from stating those things as implying a decision upon the point, but they are certainly sufficient to satisfy you that there are great difficulties in the business.

With regard to your own council, you'll perceive that Sir John Macpherson has resigned, and Mr. Speke is appointed to succeed him. I brought forward to the chairman the name of Mr. Duncan, but Speke was very strongly supported in the Court of Directors. His character stands exceedingly fair upon the records, and Mr. Duncan was so far down on the list of servants, that it would have been imprudent to have struggled for his appointment upon the present occasion, but as in your letter of the 4th of November, to which I am now replying, you have permitted me to urge his merits in your name, I shall flatter myself there will be no difficulty in procuring for him the appointment of a provisional successor to Mr. Shore, or whatever vacancy shall first happen. If there is a difficulty, it will arise from the pretensions of Mr. Cowper, whom you mention, and whose father and brother, and other connexions, are exceedingly urgent in his behalf. His claim from seniority, and being at the head of the Board of Revenue, is certainly a strong one. I stated to his brother that the objection to him was not in point of character, for that you had done him justice in mentioning him, but that the objection arose from the misfortune attending his eyesight. This they on the other hand represent as a mere temporary illness, and complain of the hardship of ever disgracing him by setting aside his pretensions in favour of so young a servant. We must manage it the best way we can; but after the character you have given of Mr. Duncan, I shall be very eager for his appointment. Due attention shall be paid to what you say respecting Mr. Larkins and Mr. Charles Grant.

I fully enter into all you say upon the expediency of lessening the expenses of the different settlements of India necessary to be supplied from Bengal, and I have long entertained sentiments similar to yours respecting the civil establishment of Bombay, and I frequently mentioned them to my colleagues at the Board of Control; and I do not believe there is much variety of opinion among us. At the same time as we agree on all hands that the military establishments at

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Bombay must be kept up, I doubt much if all the saving which could be made by the reduction of the civil part of the establishment is inducement enough to bring forward at present the discussion of that subject with the Court of Directors, especially as the near approach of the period of the expiration of their charter will give an opportunity to consider and arrange every proposition of that kind. I will probably take occasion before long to write to you more at large, in pursuance of the idea I have now suggested.

I am much pleased with the particulars you state in your letter of the 10th of November with respect to the Nizam. The vakeel he proposes to send to you, as mentioned by Mr. Kennaway, may produce good consequences, and cannot, in my conception, produce any bad ones; it is so very essential to our interest to detach him from all other Indian connexions, and to unite him in the closest connexion and dependence upon our protection, that there is no alliance formed upon that basis to which you may not expect our concurrence. Nothing could be more eligible than a body of troops stationed, as you mentioned, at Adoni; so forcibly does that idea strike my mind, I do not think it possible that with a strong body of troops stationed there, and another stationed within the confines of Travancore, and those co-operating with the various stations and cantonments of our troops in the Carnatic—I say with such a concatenation, so judiciously arranged, I can scarcely think Tippoo, with all his power, would dare to attack us; and if he did, he would certainly repent his rashness.

I shall now close this letter, which has run to a greater length than I intended, but I feel a satisfaction in writing to you free from the formality of official correspondence; and as I am deeply interested in the various scenes in which you are now engaged, I cannot refrain from suggesting to you my sentiments upon the different topics as they occur to me.

Believe me, &c.,

Henry Dundas.

P.S.—I have communicated this to Mr. Pitt.

No. XXVII.

Minute of the Governor-General.

Sept. 18, 1789.

The great ability displayed in Mr. Shore's minute, which introduced the propositions for the settlement, the uncommon knowledge which he has manifested of every part of the revenue system of this country, the liberality and fairness of his arguments and clearness of his style, give me an opportunity, which my personal esteem and regard for him, and the obligation I owe him as a public man, for his powerful assistance in every branch of the business of this Government, must ever render peculiarly gratifying to me the duty of recording my highest respect for his talents, my warmest sense of his public-spirited principles, which, in an impaired state of health, could alone have supported him in executing a work of such extraordinary labour; and, lastly, my general approbation of the greatest part of his plan.

I am confident, however, that Mr. Shore, from his natural candour, as well as the public at large, will readily admit, that deeply interested as I must feel myself in the future prosperity of this country, it would be unjustifiable in me to take any step of real importance, upon the suggestion even of the most capable

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adviser, without seriously weighing it in my own mind, and endeavouring to reconcile the propriety of it to my own conviction.

Impressed with those sentiments, I am called upon by a sense of indispensable duty to declare that I cannot bring myself to agree with Mr. Shore in the alteration which he now proposes to make in the 2nd Resolution of leaving out the notification to the landholders, that if the settlement shall be approved by the Court of Directors it will become permanent, and no further alteration of the jumma take place at the expiration of the ten years.

When the Court of Directors determined to retain in their own hands the right of confirming or annulling the settlement at the expiration of a given term, they undoubtedly acted with becoming wisdom and caution.

The power of making a perpetual and irrevocable settlement of a great empire, without being subject to the revision of the controlling authority at home, would, in my opinion, have been too great to delegate to any distant Government. I cannot, however, believe that they would have held out the flattering hopes of a *permanent* settlement, which alone, in my judgment, can make the country flourish, and secure happiness to the body of inhabitants, unless they had been predetermined to confirm the perpetuity, if they found that their servants here had not failed in their duty, or betrayed the important trust that had been reposed in them. Nothing I am persuaded but our expressing doubts and fears can make them hesitate; and as I have a clear conviction in my own mind of the utility of the system, I shall think it a duty I owe to them, to my country, and to humanity, to recommend it most earnestly to the Court of Directors to lose no time in declaring the permanency of the settlement, provided they discover no material objection or error, and not to postpone for ten years the commencement of the prosperity and solid improvement of the country.

Mr. Shore has most ably, and, in my opinion, most successfully, in his minute delivered in June last, argued in favour of the rights of the zemindars to the property of the soil. But if the value of permanency is to be withdrawn from the settlement now in agitation, of what avail will the power of his arguments be to the zemindars, for whose rights he has contended? They are now to have their property in farm for a lease of ten years, provided they will pay us good rent for it, and this property is then to be again assessed, at whatever rent the Government of this country may at that time think proper to impose. In any part of the world, where the value of property is known, would not such a concession of a right of property in the soil be called a cruel mockery?

In a country where the landlord has a permanent property in the soil it will be worth his while to encourage his tenants who hold his farm in lease to improve that property; at any rate he will make such an agreement with them as will prevent their destroying it. But when the lord of the soil himself, the rightful owner of the land, is only to become the farmer for a lease of ten years, and if he is then to be exposed to the demand of a new rent, which may perhaps be dictated by ignorance or rapacity, what hopes can there be, I will not say of improvement, but of preventing desolation? Will it not be his interest, during the early part of that term, to extract from the estate every possible advantage for himself; and if any future hopes of a permanent settlement are then held out, to exhibit his lands at the end of it in a state of ruin?

Although, however, I am not only of opinion that the zemindars have the best right, but from being persuaded that nothing could be so ruinous to the public interest as that the land should be retained as the property of Government, I am also convinced that, failing the claim of right of the zemindars, it would be necessary for the public good to grant a right of property in the soil to them, or

to persons of other descriptions. I think it unnecessary to enter into any discussion of the grounds upon which their right appears to be founded.

It is the most effectual mode for promoting the general improvement of the country, which I look upon as the important object for our present consideration.

I may safely assert that one-third of the Company's territory in Hindostan is now a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts. Will a ten years' lease induce any proprietor to clear away that jungle, and encourage the ryots to come and cultivate his lands, when at the end of that lease he must either submit to be taxed *ad libitum* for the newly-cultivated lands, or lose all hopes of deriving any benefit from his labour, for which perhaps by that time he will hardly be repaid?

I must own that it is clear to my mind that a much more advantageous tenure will be necessary to incite the inhabitants of this country to make those exertions which can alone effect any substantial improvement.

The habit which the zemindars have fallen into of subsisting by annual expedients has originated, not in any constitutional imperfection in the people themselves, but in the fluctuating measures of Government; and I cannot therefore admit that a period of ten years will be considered by the generality of people as a term nearly equal in estimate to perpetuity.

By the prudent landholders it will not, whatever it may be by proprietors of a contrary description. It would be unwise, therefore, to deny the former the benefit of a permanent system, because the mismanagement of the latter will not allow them to derive the same advantage from it.

It is for the interest of the State that the landed property should fall into the hands of the most frugal and thrifty class of people, who will improve their lands and protect the ryots, and thereby promote the general prosperity of the country.

If there are men who will not follow this line of conduct when an opportunity is afforded them by the enaction of good laws, it surely is not inconsistent with justice, policy, or humanity, to say that the sooner their bad management obliges them to part with their property to the more industrious, the better for the State.

It is immaterial to Government what individual possesses the land, provided he cultivates it, protects the ryots, and pays the public revenue.

The short-sighted policy of having recourse to annual expedients can only be corrected by allowing those who adopt it to suffer the consequences of it, leaving to them at the same time the power of obviating them by pursuing the opposite line of conduct.

Mr. Shore has stated but two positive objections to the latter part of the 2nd Resolution. The first is, that if, after the notification that the settlement, if approved by the Court of Directors, will be declared permanent, the Court of Directors should not declare the permanency, the confidence of the natives in general will be shaken, and that those who relied on the confirmation will be disappointed, and conclude that it was meant to deceive them.

I can only say, in answer to this objection, that I cannot believe any people to be so unreasonable as to accuse Government of a breach of faith, and an intention to deceive them, for not doing what Government in express terms assure them it is not in their power to promise to do, as it must depend upon the approbation of their superiors.

The only effect of the notification will, in my opinion, be to encourage the landholder to offer—all that Government asks, or wishes for—a fair rent, lest by endeavouring to withhold what he knows he ought in justice to pay he should

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forget that greatest of all blessings, a real property, and to stimulate him to more exertion in his cultivation.

But supposing even for a moment that the declaration would be received in the sense apprehended, and that the zemindars were to act under a conviction that it was well founded, let us examine the nature of these acts, and whether the consequences of them would be such as to shake the confidence of the natives, or to operate otherwise in any respect but advantageously to themselves. The acts alluded to must of course be such as are calculated to promote the improvement of the country, as the assisting the ryots with money, the refraining from exactions, and the foregoing small temporary advantages for future permanent profits. Such acts must ultimately redound to the benefit of the zemindars, and ought to be performed by them, were the settlement intended to be concluded for ten years only, or even to be made annually.

But this provident conduct cannot be expected from them so long as they have any grounds for apprehending that their land, when improved, may be committed to the management of the officers of Government, or made over to a farmer.

Should the zemindars, therefore, misconstrue the meaning of the declaration, and act in consequence of that misapprehension, they would find themselves enriched by the error; and this result, instead of tending to shake their confidence in Government, might teach them an useful lesson, from which they would profit under any system of management. I shall further observe on this argument, that it is founded on a supposition that when the zemindars are convinced that the demand of Government on their lands is fixed they will adopt measures for the improvement of them, which they will not have recourse to so long as that demand is liable to occasional variation, and consequently strongly points out the expediency of a permanent settlement, and declaring to the landholders as soon as possible that the conclusion of a permanent settlement with them is the object of the Legislature in England, as soon as it can be effected upon fair and equitable terms.

The second objection is, the doubt of its being expedient that the permanency should be declared.

Mr. Shore says we cannot pronounce absolutely upon the success of our measures without experience. I must ask, what are these measures, on the success of which there can be no doubt? or what is the experience that is wanting, and what, by delaying a permanent settlement for a few years, would probably be improved?

There is nothing new in this plan, except the great advantages which are given to the zemindars, talookdars, and ryots, on one side, and the additional security which the Company has against losses by balances, from the value of the land, which is to be sold to make them good, being greatly increased, on the other. By what probable, I may even say possible, means is such a plan to fail?

I understand the word permanency to extend to the jumma only, and not to the details of the settlement; for many regulations will certainly be hereafter necessary, for the further security of the ryots in particular, and even of those talookdars, who, to my concern, must still remain in some degree of dependence on the zemindars; but these can only be made by Government occasionally, as abuses occur; and I will venture to assert that either now or ten years hence, or at any given period, it is impossible for human wisdom and foresight to form any plan that will not require such attention and regulation, and I must add that, if such a thing was possible, I do not believe that it will be easy to find a man more capable of doing it than Mr. Shore.

I cannot, however, admit that such regulations can in any degree affect the rights which it is now proposed to confirm to the zemindars, for I never will allow that in any country Government can be said to invade the rights of a subject, when they only require, for the benefit of the State, that he shall accept of a reasonable equivalent for the surrender of a real or supposed right, which in his hands is detrimental to the general interest of the public, or when they prevent his committing cruel oppressions upon his neighbours, or upon his own dependents.

The Court of Directors have given us a general idea of the amount of the land revenue from Bengal and Bahar, with which they will be satisfied. If we honestly and faithfully make a settlement equal, and even beyond their expectations, in point of revenue, and at the same time calculated in its outlines to promote the prosperity, happiness, and wealth of their subjects, what reason can we have to apprehend that they will not declare its permanency?

From the constitution of our establishments in this country it almost amounts to an impossibility that at any period the same Government, the same boards, or the same collectors, should continue for near the space of ten years; upon what grounds then are the Court of Directors to look for more knowledge and useful experience at the expiration of that term and under all contingencies that may be reasonably expected to occur? I cannot avoid declaring my firmest conviction that if those provinces are let upon lease for that period only, they will find at the end of it a ruined and impoverished country, and that more difficulties will be experienced than even this Government have had to encounter.

In regard to the 4th Resolution respecting gunges, bazars, &c. &c., Mr. Shore has proposed that for the present they shall be placed under the management of the collectors. I will not at this time enter at large upon that question, for I feel very sensible how important it is that the orders for the Bahar settlement should be transmitted to the collectors of that district, without losing a minute's time unnecessarily, and I shall soon have an opportunity of delivering my sentiments fully upon it when the Bengal settlement comes under our consideration.

I must, however, observe that of the six references which are proposed to be made to the collectors, I cannot see the smallest use in any of them, except the last, which goes to the expediency of the measure.

As to the question of right, I cannot conceive that any Government in their senses would ever have delegated our authorised right to any of their subjects to impose arbitrary taxes on the internal commerce of the country. It certainly has been an abuse that has crept in either through the negligence of the Mogul governors, who were careless and ignorant of all matters of trade, or, what is more probable, connivance of the Mussulman aumil, who tolerated the extortion of the zemindar, that he might again plunder him in his turn.

But be that as it may, the right has been too long established or tolerated to allow a just Government to take it away without indemnifying the proprietor from any loss. And I never heard that, in the most free State, if an individual possessed a right that was incompatible with the public welfare, the Legislature made any scruple of taking it from him, provided they gave him a fair equivalent. The case of the late Duke of Athol, who a few years ago parted very unwillingly with the sovereignty of the Isle of Man, appears to me to be exactly in point.

I agree with Mr. Shore that there would be a degree of absurdity in Government's taking into their own hands the gunges, &c., which are annexed to zemindary rights, and leaving the same abuses existing in those which belong to jaghire and altumgha possessions; but instead of leaving the former on that account, I should most undoubtedly take away the latter, securing to the pro-

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prietors a liberal and ample equivalent for all such duties as were not raised in absolute and direct violation of the orders of Government.

There are, however, several articles in what are called the Sayer collections with which Government has no occasion to interfere, and which may very well be left in the hands of the proprietors.

No. XXVIII.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL TO C. W. MALET, ESQ.

SIR, Poona, Dec. 18, 1789.

I have received since the date of my last letter your letters dated the 23rd and 30th of October, and 6th and 12th ultimo, and the distinct account of your late conferences with the Mahratta Ministers, as well as the manner in which you have treated the subjects that were under negotiation, have given me entire satisfaction.

I am willing to consider the apologies and explanations which Nana Furnavese has given in respect to the business of Gingera as an atonement for those parts of the conduct of the Mahrattas, of which I have already complained; but the indelicacy with which they acted in making an attempt upon that place without previously communicating their design to you, and the inattention which they have hitherto shown to my recommendation in favour of Balloo Meah and his brother, render it expedient to make them feel an inconvenience from their forcing me to behave to them with a certain degree of coldness and reserve. . . .

You may state to them that a regard for my own character, and for the duties of my public station, obliges me to take more previous precautions in my transactions with them than in my own opinion is proper between Governments who possess a mutual friendship for each other, and whose interests are so intimately connected; that I must therefore decline coming to any determination whether I can think myself authorised to renew my former declaration regarding Gingera, until I shall be perfectly satisfied that a liberal provision has been made for the rightful owners of it. . . .

I must likewise desire that you will take the first favourable opportunity that offers to discuss the grounds upon which we have demanded the restitution of boats and vessels belonging to persons living under the protection of the Company that have been seized at different times on the Mahratta coasts, and after making my acknowledgments for the friendly manner in which Nana gave you assurances through Behroo Punt, that all the boats which had been stopped at different times should be immediately restored, and that effectual means should be taken to prevent a repetition of similar injuries in future, you are to give him to understand in the clearest terms that, although I shall always entertain a proper sense of every mark of friendship and confidence in the Poona Government, yet that in the present instance the right of the Company to demand complete security for the persons and property of their subjects, and all others living under their protection, is so perfectly established by public stipulations, that I could look upon the deliberate seizure or detention of the property or persons of people of that description by any Mahratta subjects, with the sanction of their own Government, in no other light than that of a violation of the treaty of 1776; and for the purpose of discovering whether the Minister would be jealous of any interference

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with Scindia, you may add, that although I have not hitherto thought it necessary to desire to know the sentiments of Madajee Scindia, who is guarantee of our treaties with the Mahratta State, yet I am confident that on the point in question he would be ready to admit our right to be clear and indisputable.

It will always be with great reluctance that I shall make use of menacing expressions to a power which we have reason to believe is sincerely disposed to live in general terms of amity with us, but as forbearance on our part beyond certain bounds would not only be unjust to the subjects and dependents of the Company, but might also encourage the Mahrattas to become inattentive in future to similar representations, you may take occasion to hint in plain terms to the Minister that in the event of any more of our vessels being seized or detained by the Mahratta officers, and of redress being refused, or unreasonably delayed by the Peshwa's Ministers, you know it to be my determination to take effectual means for procuring an indemnification for ourselves. . . .

Although amongst other external marks of respect we have hitherto submitted to the humiliating ceremonial of presenting nuzzers to the Princes of the house of Timur, I doubt much whether that practice is either politic or necessary; but, far from admitting a similar claim from the Peshwa, I expect that all the Princes of this country, except those of the Royal Family, shall habituate themselves to consider the English Residents at their respective courts as the representatives of a Government at least equal in power and dignity to their own, and consequently entitled to claim an exemption from those marks of submission which are exacted from inferior states as well as from all their own subjects. I therefore highly approve of your having declined, previous to your communicating with Captain Kennaway, to present a nuzzer with your own hands to the Peshwa, and I must likewise desire that you will never, even through the medium of one of your servants, agree to place yourself in so degrading a situation, as it will tend to lessen the dignity of the British Government in the eyes of the other Powers of this country.

I conceive it to be very consistent with the finesse and cunning of the Brahmin character to throw out hints occasionally of their intention to send ambassadors to England, without actually having any idea of carrying the design into execution, but only with the hopes of rendering this Government more pliant from an apprehension that the negotiation of any points on which difficulties arise may be carried from hence into another channel.

I can in reality have not the smallest objection to their sending an embassy to England upon any other ground than that of the probability of its becoming in some degree troublesome and embarrassing to the King and his Ministers, and also of its proving the cause of considerable expense to the Company.

I desire, however, that you will, on every occasion when the subject may be mentioned by the Mahratta Ministers, treat it in an unaffected manner as a measure on which I am entirely indifferent; and you may in the same style assure them that when they resolve to carry it into execution I shall be happy to do everything in my power to render the passage of their envoys as expeditious and convenient as possible.

Should they, contrary to all likelihood, actually determine to send an embassy, it would be my desire to give them every possible assistance; but in any event you may in the course of conversation take an opportunity to inform them that, in order to command respect from our Government at home, it would, in my opinion, be indispensably necessary for them to employ men of rank as their ambassadors; that there would be no chance of any European being well received in that character, and that I do not imagine that the King and his Ministers, or the

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Directors of the Company, would suppose them to be in earnest if they professed to have entrusted the negotiation of points of consequence to their interests to any other persons than such as have been born subjects, and are known to hold a distinguished rank in the Mahratta State. . . .

There appear to be several objections at present to our contracting separate engagements with the Nizam, and it seems also extremely doubtful whether we could derive any benefit from engaging in new treaties of any kind with his Highness, even in conjunction with the Mahrattas, though that measure might in some points of view be less exceptionable. . . .

It will be necessary that you should be particularly guarded in your manner when you appear to show more attention than formerly to any of their propositions for a closer union than at present subsists between the two Governments; but should Behroo Punt or Nana renew such conversations as they have frequently held with you on this subject, I should wish that you would, as proceeding entirely from yourself, and as being induced to it from a desire to increase the good understanding between them and the Company, show a disposition to transmit to me any detailed plan that the Minister should arrange for entering into new agreements for the purpose of promoting the mutual benefit of both nations, only remarking as a friend, in the course of the discussions, that you do not think that it would be advisable in us to enter into a stipulation similar to that which we have contracted with the Nizam to furnish a certain number of troops when required at a fixed rate of expense, because the settlement of the account, which is simple, with his Highness, from our being able to deduct the expense of the troops from the peshcush due by the Company for the northern circars, might furnish ground for much altercation with the Mahrattas, from the difficulty of their allotting a fixed and independent fund for that purpose, and that you cannot conceive it to be possible that anything beyond a liberal and reciprocally advantageous system for a defensive alliance would have the most distant chance of success.

After having said so much, it is proper that you should know that I cannot bring myself to expect that Nana would make propositions of a nature to which I should think myself authorised to give my immediate assent, unless we should have reason to apprehend that we were on the eve of a rupture with Tippoo; yet if they appeared upon the whole to be calculated to suit the political interests of the Company, I should be disposed to forward them to England with a favourable recommendation, and we should in the mean time have the advantage, without doing any injury to them, of encouraging the Mahrattas to continue to look to our alliance as a primary object of their political pursuits. . . .

Should the Ministers, in talking of retiring to Benares, have any other design in view than that of executing their avowed purpose of visiting the Holy City, they will soon see that their cunning will have no effect; and that he may see in the most distinct point of view that the pressing exigencies of public affairs which have driven us to the necessity of requiring painful sacrifices from him have originated only from causes in which he is at least equally concerned with ourselves, we particularly direct that you will be at pains to bring to his notice and recollection that the present contest has no sort of concern with European politics, and has not in the smallest degree been occasioned by disputes or altercations between us and any other European Power; that, from an aversion to war, we have dissembled our sense of Tippoo's failure in the performance of several stipulations of the last treaty of peace, as well as of several insults and injuries that he has offered to us in the course of the last three or four years; and that we should have deservedly incurred the contempt of all mankind, if, inattentive to the dictates

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of honour and the evident principles of political self-defence, we had tamely allowed an arrogant and inveterate enemy to set the laws of the most sacred treaties at defiance, and aggrandise and prepare himself to act in a short time with more efficacy against ourselves by the destruction of a neighbour and faithful ally, whom we were bound by the most solemn engagements to protect and defend, without making a manly effort at the present juncture to curb his insolence, and to exact signal reparation for the many injuries that we and our allies have sustained from him.

As an additional means of encouraging the Nabob to submit to some temporary inconvenience, and of reconciling him to the arrangements that have been directed, you will also state to him the satisfactory grounds on which he may found reasonable expectations, that should our arms and those of our allies be completely successful in the present war, his Highness's family and subjects might then look forward to the prospect of enjoying the blessings of peace for a long series of years to come.

The Rajah of Tanjore having also failed in the most flagrant manner in the performance of his engagements to the Nabob and the Company, the balance now due, and the punctuality of future payments must be secured to the Company by your taking possession of the management of his country and revenues in the same manner, and for the same reasons, as those which have obliged us to authorise you to possess yourselves of the management of the territories of the Nabob; and though the Rajah's claim upon us for delicacy and indulgence is in no respect equal to his Highness's, we direct that in carrying our instructions into execution you shall take the greatest care to treat him and his family with every possible degree of decency, moderation, and justice.

We cannot conclude this disagreeable subject without again recommending in the most earnest manner that your own behaviour to the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore may be uniformly calculated to soften the effect of measures which in themselves will at first be unpalatable, and that you may be particularly careful to make a selection of Company's servants for carrying them into execution, who, from their known characters for honour, integrity, and mildness of manners, may afford you good grounds to believe that they are sufficiently qualified to fulfil our instructions and expectations.

We have the honour, &c.

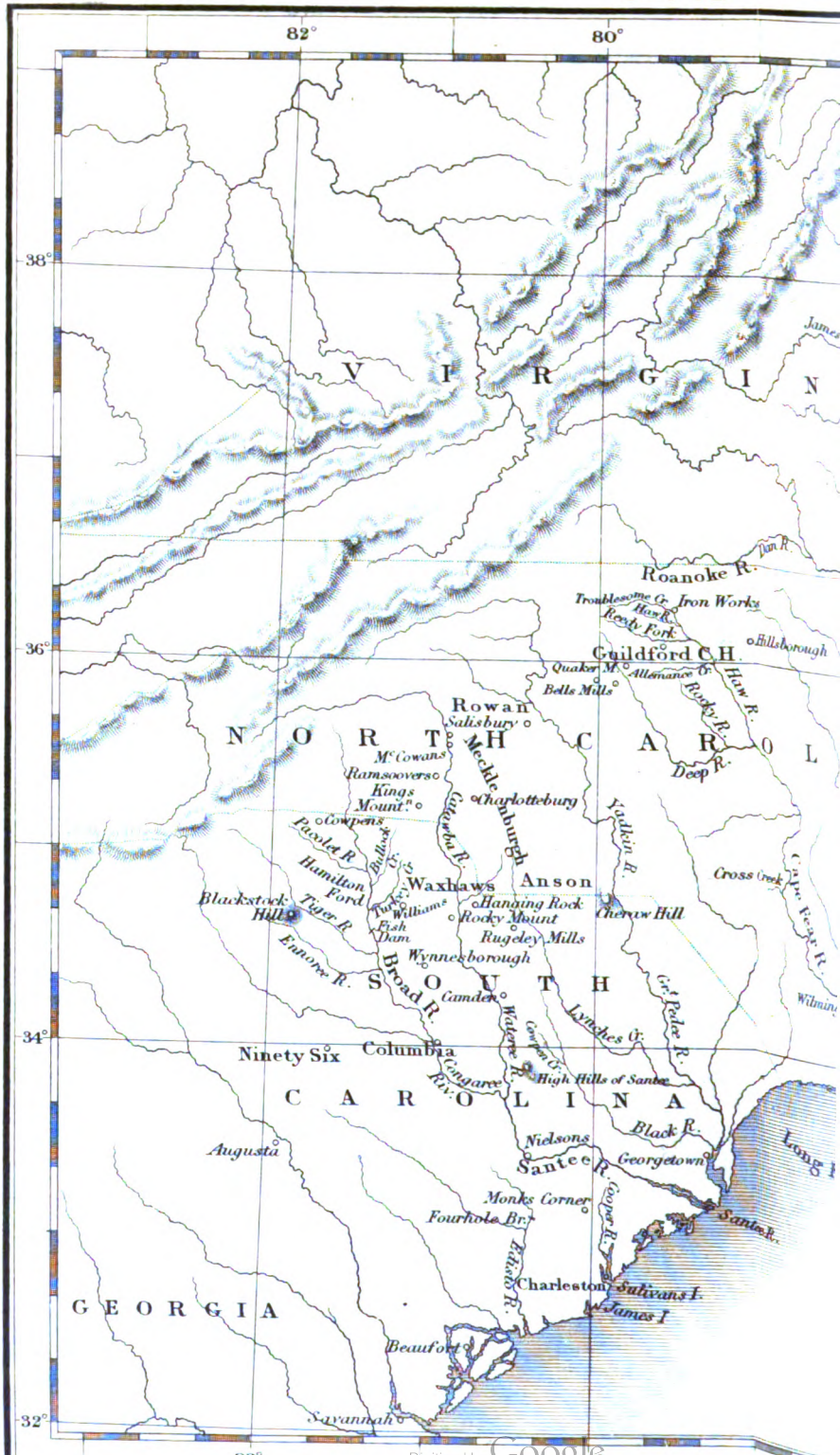
[*The Appendix to* 1790 *will be found in the next Volume.*]

END OF VOL. I.

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V I R G I N
N O R T H C A R O L
S O U T H C A R O L I N A
G E O R G I A
Roanoke R.
Dan R.
Troublesome Cr.
Iron Works
Haw R.
Reedy Fork
Guildford C.H.
Hillsborough
Quaker M.
Alleghance Cr.
Rocky R.
Deep R.
Bells Mills
Rowan
Salisbury
Mc Cowans
Ramsoovers
Kings Mount.n
Mecklenburgh
Charlottesburg
Yadkin R.
Catawba R.
Coopers
Beaver Cr.
Hamilton Ford
Waxhaws
Anson
Cross Creek
Blackstock Hill
Tiger R.
Williams
Fish Dam
Hanging Rock
Rocky Mount
Cheraw Hill
Rugeley Mills
Wynnesborough
Broad R.
Camden
Lynches Cr.
Great Pedee R.
Wilming
Ninety Six
Columbia
Congaree R.
Wateree R.
Cowpen Cr.
High Hills of Santee
Black R.
Nielsons
Georgetown
Augusta
Santee R.
Monks Corner
Fourhole Br.
Cooper R.
Charleston
Sullivans I.
James I
Beaufort
Savannah
Long I
Santee R.


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DELAWARE
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James R.
Brandywine
Pamunkey R.
Mattapony R.
Richmond
Williamsburg
Gloucester
York R.
Lynhaven Bay
New Port Comfort
Petersburg
Cobham
York
James Town
Chesapeak B.
Hampton Roadstead
Portsmouth
Suffolk
Norfolk
Dan R.
Roanoke R.
Princeton
Winton
Halifax
Hillsborough
36°
Albemarle Sound
Pamlico Sound
C. Hatteras
Cape Fear R.
Cross Creek
C. Lookout
Wilmington
Onslow Bay
34°
C. Fear
Long Bay
Map to illustrate
THE CAMPAIGN OF
LORD CORNWALLIS
in America.