

British Colonies vol. 7

THE
ADVANTAGES
OF AN
ALLIANCE
WITH THE
GREAT MOGUL:

In which are principally considered Three Points of the
highest Importance to the BRITISH NATION.

- I. The immediate Preservation and future Prosperity of the
EAST INDIA COMPANY.
- II. The legal Acquisition of an immense REVENUE to
GREAT BRITAIN.
- III. The promoting of a vast Increase in the Exports of
BRITISH MANUFACTURES.

By JOHN MORRISON, Esq;

General and Commander in Chief of the GREAT MOGUL's Forces; Am-
bassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Majesty GEORGE III.
King of GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, and IRELAND, &c.

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M DCC LXXIV.

THE
ADVANTAGES
OF AN
ALLIANCE
WITH THE
GREAT MOGUL.

THE minds of men, naturally attached to old customs, are with difficulty prevailed upon to enter unprejudiced into the consideration of any plan, however promising, whose leading line appears subversive of a system, let its evident tendency be ever so dangerous, which length of time has sanctified, and they have been accustomed to view with partiality.

When a man engages, therefore, in a great and uncommon enterprize, however important the object may be to his fellow citizens, he ought to prepare his mind for difficulties, and his feelings for disappointment: he must expect to find his best judged efforts checked by the stubbornness of prejudice, and darkened by the misrepresentations of private views; disconcerted by the caprice of fortune, or overpowered by the clashings of real or imaginary interests: the greater number of

A men

*Attached me
to Old cus*

*Prevents
Author of
systems
a profitable
business*

men he will find cannot reason, many will not; that some are too proud to be taught, others too lazy; and that nine tenths of the world, actuated by different passions, however opposite in their respective sentiments, will too often join in condemning, in the gross, a point perhaps of much real advantage, rather than be led to conviction by a candid and manly investigation.

importance
of the Alliance
with the Great
Mogul.

The high and very singular importance however of the alliance, which I have undertaken to negotiate between the Sovereign of my native country and the Emperor of *Hindustan*, will, I flatter myself, render any apology unnecessary for persevering through every difficulty, regardless of undeserved censure; and, in submitting an undisguised tale to the public eye, to leave it to every unbiassed mind to determine what degree of approbation or blame my conduct may appear to deserve; or how far the arduous design I have pursued with steadiness, at the risk of life, fortune, and future views, would, if adopted, prove beneficial to the nation at large, and in a particular manner to the East India Company.

In the course of the following sheets I shall have frequent occasion to express myself freely with regard to measures; but shall industriously avoid, as far the nature of the subject will allow, any reflection which may have a personal tendency; as I would never wish that any private reasons, for resenting unmerited opposition, should influence my conduct as a public man. Those whose advantages arise from scenes of confusion will ever struggle for their continuance; by such therefore any attempt to bring anarchy into order must always be combated, and recourse will be had to every species of false colouring to hide their real motives; in such situations

tions however it is the general system that encourages such disorders which ought to be reprobated; the faults of individuals are the natural and unavoidable consequence; a man of candour, therefore, will regret them, as flowing from the imperfection of human nature, and think they demand more of his pity than his censure.

To set in a proper light then the very uncommon station in which I at present appear, it may not be improper to give a slight sketch of the brave, the amiable, though hitherto unfortunate *Shah Alum*, whose history at large would furnish a striking instance of the fluctuation of all human grandeur.

This Prince is the great great grandson of *Aurungzebe*, the powerful sovereign of one of the richest and most extensive empires in the world, which then included that immense tract of country stretching from *Tartary* to *Cape Comorin*, and from *Persia* to the frontiers of *China*.

This mighty monarch, after a reign of above fifty years, died in the 1707 of the Christian æra. His son *Babader Shah* mounted the throne of his father without his abilities; and was succeeded in 1712 by his eldest son *Jebandar Shah*, grandfather of the present Emperor, who dying about eighteen months afterwards, the lineal succession was then interrupted, his nephew *Firroksere* usurping the government in prejudice to his son. This Prince reigned six years, when being put to death by two ambitious Omrahs called the *Seids*, they placed on the throne *Raffeib ul Dirjat*, another grandson of *Babader Shah*, who, after a short reign of three months, being dispatched by the hands that raised him, his brother *Raffeib ul Dowla* became the fleeting monarch of a few days; when he was succeeded by *Mahommed*, also a grandson of *Babader Shah*.

Shah Alum
is the great
of Aurung
whose Dom
extended
Tartary to
Comorin
from Persia
China

The first act of this prince's reign was to put to death the two *Seids*, who had long tyrannized over the state, exalting and deposing monarchs at their pleasure. The distractions flowing from the ambition of these nobles gave the first blow to the *Mogul* empire; most of the Omrahs, either from envy or dread of their power, seeking for safety in their respective governments, which they raised by degrees into independent sovereignties.

Among the chief of these great lords were *Nizam ul Mulluk*, Soubadar of the *Decan* (father to the present Souba) and *Sadit*, the Nabob of *Oud*. The former of these, to call off the attention of the indolent *Mohammed*, and cover the better his own ambitious views, encouraged the *Mabrattors* to ravage the kingdoms of *Ajmere Malava*, *Biana*, and *Narvar*; when the weak prince, not having spirit to meet them in the field, disgracefully submitted to become tributary to those marauders, and stipulated to pay them the *Cbout* or fourth part of the revenue of those provinces they had attacked.

This was a mortal wound to this pusillanimous prince's authority; fear, the only inducement to obedience in Hindostan, being now removed, every chieftain rose into a prince, and set at nought the mandates of so wretched, so timid an administration.

It would be improper here to enter into a detail of the various intrigues of the different nobles to establish their independency; it is necessary only to mark such of the leading lines as hastened the downfall of the empire. The *Nizam* and *Sadit* were competitors for power with *Dowran* the Captain-general, whom finding to have superior interest with his royal master, they formed the desperate resolution of inviting the famous *Nadir Shab*,

Shah, King of *Persia*, to attack their native country. The success of the *Persian* gave a fatal blow to the empire. The indolent Mogul made a surrender of all to the conqueror; who feared him however so little, that he re-established him in his sovereignty, after annexing *Candabar*, *Caboul*, with many of the western provinces, to the crown of *Persia*, and carrying off with him in gold and jewels, from the best authorities, above 123,000,000 l. sterling.

The two traitors, however, the *Nizam* and *Sadit*, were deservedly treated by *Nadir* in the most contumelious manner. The latter in despair poisoned himself; but the other lived to have afterwards the chief management of the affairs of the empire, and died at *Golconda* in the year 1748, at the age of 104.

Sadit was succeeded as Nabob of *Oud* by *Seifdar Jung* (father of the present *Suja ul Dowla*) who, possessed of a smooth tongue and plausible manner, without the least spark of personal courage, so necessary in such distracted times, had by a fortunate co-incidence of circumstances, rose from a mean station to the dignity of an Omrah, a Souba, and at last Vizier of the empire, under *Abmed* this prince's successor*.

The

* Colonel *Dow* thus describes *Seifdar Jung*: "This fellow was originally a merchant of *Persia*, known there by the name of *Abul Manjur*: he travelled to *India* to sell his commodities, and was retained there as an accomptant by the famous *Sadit*, Nabob of *Oud*: he behaved so much to his master's satisfaction that he raised him to a command in the army, and conferred upon him his daughter in marriage."—Mr. *Dow*, in another part, calls him "a mean *Persian* pedlar." This meanness of his origin however appears rather exaggerated, as the celebrated *Nujuff Khan* (whom I shall have occasion to mention hereafter) informed me at *Delhi*, that he was of a good family in *Persia*, but

The Emperor *Mohammed* died in the year 1747, after an unfortunate reign of near thirty years, during which he had seen his kingdom conquered, plundered, and dismembered by a foreign prince, and torn to pieces by his own ambitious nobles, whom his authority was insufficient to restrain.

He was succeeded by his son *Abmed*, who in the year 1753 was put to death by his Captain-general *Ghazi ul Dien*, a youth of eighteen years of age, and grandson of the famous *Nizam ul Mulluk*, Souba of the *Decan*. *Ghazi* immediately released from confinement *Eaz ul Dien*, son of *Jebandar Shab*, and father of the present Mogul, the eldest branch of the house of *Timur*, and enthroned him by the name of *Allumgueer*, taking upon himself at the same time the office of Vizier.

The new monarch however found himself still little superior to a state pageant: he possessed the mere shadow of royalty without any thing of the substance, the young Vizier ruling every where with the most arbitrary despotism.

The history of this reign from the accession to the death of the king, is nothing but the history of the political intrigues and assassinations of the Vizier. Many of the most powerful Omrahs he took off by the dagger, whilst he confiscated the estates of others, who fled beyond his reach.

Munnu, the gallant Souba of *Labore*, who had recovered that province from *Abdallah*, King of the *Dourannies*, and defended it against him for many

but having made himself obnoxious either to the laws or to his prince, he had been obliged to fly his country; adding an anecdote with regard to him, "That when he arrived at *Delhi* he was only in possession of forty rupees, which he had obtained by the sale of a Rutt (a kind of carriage) belonging to a poor peasant, whom he had murdered on the road."

years,

years, being accidentally killed about this time † by a fall from his horse, *Abdallab* soon reconquered all he had lost*.

The successes of *Abdallab* roused the attention of the Court of *Delhi*; it was resolved that the Prince *Ali Gohar* (now the Great *Mogul*) in conjunction with the Vizier, should march against him; but *Ghazi* not thinking it his interest to risk an engagement with the *Persian*, the great preparations, which had drained the royal treasury, ended only in parade.

From this time the Prince became an object of the Vizier's jealousy, and, together with his father, was confined as a prisoner of state: about the year 1758 however he found means to make his escape, and, levying a body of men, he collected the revenues of the adjacent provinces; but, being inveigled to *Delhi*, on the oath of the Vizier, and the faith of a number of the Omrahs who swore to protect him, he was betrayed, and again confined by *Ghazi* in the house of one of the nobles, which, in *Hindostan*, are fortified like those of the Barons while the feudal system prevailed in Europe: here he remained two months, when the Vizier wishing to have him still more under his power, resolved to remove him to the citadel, and sent accordingly 500 horse to execute his commands. The Prince refused to comply; he shut the gates,

† 1754.

* This *Abdallab* was originally a Chubdar or Mace-bearer to *Nadir Shah*: on the death of this prince he became chief of a band of robbers; and having the fortune to intercept a *Persian* convoy of 3000 camels, laden with gold, arms, and provisions, he immediately levied a great army, and, taking advantage of the distracted state both of *Persia* and *Hindostan*, made himself master of *Candahar*, *Caboul*, with several other provinces lying between the two empires, and erected the whole into a kingdom called *Ghisni*.

and

and with a few friends defended the house for two days against repeated reinforcements of the Vizier's troops ; when seeing the impossibility of continuing the unequal contest, he formed the gallant resolution of cutting his way through the enemy. He disclosed the design to his friends, but only six had the courage to accompany him in this desperate attempt. The Raja *Ramnath*, *Seidi Ali*, and four common troopers mounted within the court on the morning of the third day, when the gate being suddenly thrown open, the prince at their head rushed forth sword in hand, and hewed his way through thousands of the troops of *Ghazi*. One of the horsemen was killed, *Seidi* was wounded, but the Prince and the rest of his brave followers escaped unhurt.

At *Vizierabad* he fell in with *Ittulrow* the *Makrator*, whom he joined ; but finding all this chief's views were only to raise contributions on the country in the Prince's name, he left him and repaired to *Secundra*, where *Nijib ul Dowla*, Bukhskee or treasurer of the Empire resided, between whom and the Vizier a mortal enmity subsisted : but this Omrah not joining heartily in his cause, he proceeded for *Lucknow*, where *Suja ul Dowla* then kept his court : this Souba however having by the villainies of his father, and the co-incidence of intestine commotions, become an independent sovereign, had no wish to revive the power of the Empire : he made the Prince therefore a *nasir* * of elephants, horses, and a small sum of money, and declined any further concern in his affairs.

The Prince *Ali Gobar*, or as he was sometimes called *Shah Zadé* †, upon this disappointment set out for *Allahabad*, then under the dominion of

* *Nasir*, i. e. a present.

† The King's son.

Mohammed Kuli Khan †, where they planned the invasion of *Bengal* and *Behar*, to the Nabobship of which Lord *Clive* had some time before raised *Meer Jaffier*. Orders were in consequence issued to all the neighbouring *Rajas*; and such was the influence of the mere name of the undoubted heir of the empire, that, without money, and supported only by a nabob of little power, he soon found himself at the head of above 60,000 men.

He laid siege to *Patna*; and had there been only *Indian Powers* to contend with, *Meer Jaffier* and *Ramnaran*, the Nabob of *Behar*, would soon have been stripped of their dominions; but the superior genius and bravery of a *Clive* struck terror through his army. The eastern people are great fatalists; it is almost impossible to lead them to battle against a fortunate general; they consider it as fighting against the Deity; and when once a man has the reputation of success, nothing is too bold for him to attempt*.

Various

† 1762.

* The unfortunate *Shahzade* (says Mr. *Scrafton*) whose amiable character deserved a better fate, soon perceived the Colonel (*Clive*) was the only obstacle to his success; and having found he was not to be allured by the flattering prosperity that for some time attended him, endeavoured now to make an impression on him by his misfortunes. He represented to the Colonel, in a very pathetic letter, the peculiar wretchedness of his fate; "That born to a crown, the persecution of the vizier had left him not a spot to rest on; that he had no intentions against *Meer Jaffier's* life or government; that all he aimed at was an army to make head against the vizier; and if it pleased God to favour his cause, the Colonel might command any advantages for the Company or himself." This the Colonel communicated to the *Souba's* son and *Ramnaran*, who both agreed it would be dangerous to have a prince of the blood in any of the provinces; that he would prove a constant source of plots and conspiracies against the *Souba*; would draw on

B

him

Various were the difficulties under which this Prince afterwards struggled, till he at length in the year 1764 surrendered himself into the hands of General *Carnac* at *Geiah* in *Behar*. It was here he first received intelligence of the murder of his father *Allumgueer*, who had been assassinated by the Vizier *Ghazi ul Dien* about four years before; and was soon after proclaimed emperor at *Patna*.

The *British* however at this time not inclining to assist in placing him on his throne, he a second time had recourse to *Suja ul Dowla*, who in the mean time had got possession of *Allahabad*, in consequence of the death of *Mohammed Kuli Khan*, whom he had caused to be assassinated at his devotions.

Suja now thought the possession of the King's person of importance; he treated him therefore with the farce of royalty, but he was no longer at liberty: he obliged *Shah Allum* to appoint him Vizier of the empire*, and to ratify a variety of

him the resentment of the vizier, and finally involve the country in continual troubles. The Colonel therefore sent back the messenger with a respectful letter, and a present of five hundred gold Mohurs [about 1000 sterling]. His behaviour so charmed the prince, that he sent him word he would force himself under his protection, and dare him to deliver him up; but the Colonel was necessitated to answer, that he acted under the Souba's orders, and would therefore by no means advise him to put himself in his power. In consequence of which the unhappy *Shahzade* was obliged to seek some other refuge.

* *Ghazi ul Dien*, the former vizier, who at the age of five-and-twenty had put to death two emperors, and (according to Colonel Dow) had crowded into a few years of early youth more crimes and abilities than other consummate villains have done into a long life of wickedness and treachery, finding himself borne down by the superior fortune of his rival *Nijib ul Dowla*, whose cause had now been espoused by *Abdalla*, took refuge with a Rajah of the *Jates*; and now wanders over the neighbouring provinces with a few vagabonds, watching an opportunity of emerging again into power.

grants

grants and deeds, under the sanction of which he meant to aggrandize himself, and distress the neighbouring provinces.

About this time *Cassim Ali Khan*, having been defeated by Major *Adams*, fled with an immense treasure, and took shelter with *Suja*, whom he prevailed upon to march down upon the Company's provinces: the King was of necessity in their train: they were routed by Colonel *Monro* at *Buxar*: the *Soubas* escaped; and *Shah Allum* once more sought the protection of the *English*.

The *British* politicks however still would not admit of their assisting the *Mogul* in the recovery of his capital; but the *Cora* province and part of *Allababad* were allotted to him, by way of royal demesne, for his subsistence; and in the month of *August* 1765, as a further support of his dignity, Lord *Clive*, among other arrangements, by formal treaty stipulated to allow him twenty-six lacks of rupees, in consideration of his appointing the *East India Company* to the *Dewanee* of *Bengal*, *Behar*, and *Orissa* †.

Abdallah,

† Copy of the agreement whereby the Right Honourable Robert Lord *Clive*, on the part of the English East India Company, agrees to pay the King *Shah Allum*, from the revenues of *Bengal*, *Behar*, and *Orissa*, the sum of twenty-six lacks, or 325,000 l. per annum, in gratitude for the favours which his Lordship and the Company had received from his Imperial Majesty. Dated 19th August 1765.

Articles of agreement with his Majesty.

The Nabob *Najim ul Dowla* agrees to pay to his Majesty out of the revenues of *Bengal*, *Behar*, and *Orissa*, the sum of 26 lacks of rupees a year, without any deduction for *batta*, on bills of exchange, by regular monthly payments,

Abdallah, in the mean time, and the *Mabrattors* deluged with blood the capital and the adjacent provinces. It is not however my intention to dwell on such dreadful scenes. The wretched *Delbians* groaned alternately under the yoke of those savage monsters, as fortune gave superiority to their arms. The *Persian*, however, having at length defeated them in a pitched battle, in which they lost above 50,000 men, he invited *Shah Allum* to *Delhi*; but, being too prudent to trust himself with the barbarian, he raised to the throne *Jewan Bukht* (the *Shah's* eldest son) under the tuition of *Nijib ul Dowla*, and then marched for Persia.

Shah Allum, during these convulsions, unable to lend the least assistance to his distressed subjects, remained at *Allahabad* till the year 1771, personally protected indeed by the Company, but denied every aid towards the recovery of his throne. Often had he enforced to them the facility with which, amidst such jarring factions, he could establish himself in his

amounting to Rs. 216,666 10 9 per month; the first payment to commence from the 1st of September of the present year; and the English Company, in consideration of his Majesty's having been graciously pleased to grant them the *Dewanee* of *Bengal*, &c. do engage themselves to be security for the regular payment of the same. It shall be paid month by month from the factory of *Patna* to *Rajah Shetabroy*, or whomsoever his Majesty may think proper to nominate, that it may be forwarded by him to the court; but in case the territories of the aforesaid Nabob should be invaded by any foreign enemy, a deduction is then to be made out of the stipulated revenue, proportionably to the damage that may be sustained.

In consideration of *Nujuff Khan's* having joined the *English* forces, and acted in his Majesty's service in the late war, his Majesty will be graciously pleased to allow him the sum of two lacks of rupees a year, to be paid by equal monthly

his dominions ; often had he explained the numberless advantages which might thence accrue to their commercial and political interests, but in vain ; at length however, understanding that *Delhi* was in the possession of *Zabda Khan* a *Robilla* chief* (son of *Nijib ul Dowla*, whom I have formerly mentioned, as treasurer of the empire) and that with a small army he could easily recover it, he applied for a few troops, which the Governor, not thinking himself properly authorized to grant, he proposed attempting it with his own force ; to this the Governor and Council making no objection, he was accordingly escorted to the frontiers of the *Cora* province by *Sir Robert Barker* and *Suja ul Dowla* : Yet such was his attachment to the *English*, that although his duty to himself and his people made every effort necessary that had a probability of success, at parting with *Sir Robert* he could not disguise his feelings, the tears flowed from his eyes, and for two days his attendants could

monthly payments ; the first payment to commence from the 1st of September of the present year : and in default thereof, the *English* Company, who are guarantees for the same, will make it good out of the revenue allotted to his Majesty from the territories of *Bengal*. If the territories of *Bengal* should at any time be invaded, and on that account a deduction be made out of the royal-revenue, in such case a proportionable deduction shall also be made out of *Nujuff Khan's* allowance.

Dated the 19th of *Aug.* 1765.

Fort-William, 30th September 1765.

A true copy,

ALEX. CAMPBELL.
S. S. C.

* A nation of *Patans* who possess great part of the country between *Delhi* and *Lucknow*, one of *Suja ul Dowla's* principal towns in the province of *Oud.*

hardly

hardly prevail with him to take the smallest sustenance.

At *Furakhabad* his Majesty was joined by the *Mahrattors*, who, from motives of private interest, proffered him that assistance which the *English* had refused, and which, though unwillingly, he was under the necessity of accepting. The *Robilla* chief fled at his approach; and he soon after entered *Delhi*, where he was received with open arms by his son *Jewan Bukht* (whom *Abdallah* had placed upon the throne) who immediately resigned to his father every ensign of royalty.

Having thus slightly touched upon such of the principal lines of the Emperor's History, as appeared necessary to illustrate the nature and tendency of my embassy, I shall now proceed to explain the motives and principles upon which I have proceeded.

In the year 1768 I arrived in *Bengal* with the appointment of Major in the Company's forces on that establishment; and, as early as *October* 1769, I conceived the idea of re-establishing the Emperor on his throne. The advantages to my country, which I shall enlarge upon in the following sheets, struck me forcibly; and the inveteracy of the various factions among his *Indian* foes assured me of success.

A few days before I marched from *Hazagunje* to *Bankypore* I had been introduced to his Majesty at *Allahabad* by Colonel Sir *Robert Barker*: but what was my astonishment to find a prince, born to one of the greatest empires in the world, a prince of amiable manners, of tried fortitude, courage, and ability, sitting in a hut covered with straw, hardly large enough to hold above twelve people; yet this hut was called the *Dur-*
bar

bar or Court of the *Great Mogul*; and this while protected by the *English East India Company* *.

The reflections which arose in my mind from this circumstance, joined to the observations I had made, and the intelligence I had received of the situation of the country, made so strong an impression on my mind, that when I arrived at *Bankypore* I framed the rough draught of a plan, for raising at my own expence a body of men sufficient for restoring *Shah Allum* to the throne of his ancestors. This sketch I showed to Mr. *Rumbold*, then Chief of *Patna*, and afterwards to Sir *Robert Barker*, from whom I obtained leave to proceed to *Calcutta* to lay it before the Governor and Council; but Mr. *Cartier*, not then judging the crisis favourable, dissuaded me from moving in it further at that time.

Yet still the more I viewed it, the more I considered it as an object of great public utility, and only waited till the situation of the Company's affairs might induce their servants to look upon it in the same important light.

About two years afterwards, however, a circumstance happened, which induced me to resign the Company's service. Advices from *England* inform-

* On enquiring into the reason of this treatment, which appeared to me to border upon barbarism, I was informed, that his Majesty had princely accommodations within the fort, but as they did not choose to admit his attendants and guards, he rather inclined to put up with the little inconvenient place in which I saw him. I could not however help reflecting on the honours paid to the Vizier *Suja ul Dowla* as he passed and repassed the British cantonments at *Hazugunje*, when the troops were ordered under arms, and he was saluted with nineteen guns; whilst his Majesty on his march to and from *Fysabad* had not the least notice taken of him.

ed

ed me that the Court of Directors had appointed Captain *Eyres* to the rank of oldest Major on the *Bengal* establishment; as I ever conceived it therefore to be in the highest degree unjust to promote one man over the heads of others, against whom not the most distant imputation could lie, I applied to Sir *Robert Barker* for leave to proceed for *Calcutta* to resign my commission; I received from Sir *Robert* a polite answer, and immediately left *Mongueer*†.

On my arrival at *Calcutta*, previous to resigning my commission, I wrote to the Governor and Select Committee, enclosing proposals relative to my plan, copies of which with the Secretary's answer are inserted below*.

Finding

† To Major John Morrison, of the Third Brigade.

Head Quarters, Mongueer, Nov. 11, 1771.

SIR,

In consequence of your application to proceed to the presidency, in order to resign the Honourable Company's service, I now grant you my permission; and take this opportunity to assure you, that during the time you have been under my command, your conduct and behaviour has been in every respect satisfactory, and you may make use of this letter on all occasions where you think my recommendation may tend to your interest.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

R. BARKER.

* To the Honourable John Cartier, Esq; President, and the Members of the Select Committee.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

If the inclosed proposals, which I have the honour to lay before you, meet with your approbation, I humbly propose to set off immediately to lay them before the Emperor of *Hindustan* to obtain his consent, together with such powers from his Majesty as may be satisfactory to the Honourable

Finding my intelligence from *England* soon afterwards confirmed by the arrival of Major *Eyres*, I applied to the President and Council for redress; but on

able Court of Directors, before whom I propose to deliver them in person for their final determination.

If I am so happy as to meet with your concurrence, I humbly request that you would be pleased to indulge me with a brevet of Lieut. Colonel, and an escort of twenty horse, with letters to the King, and to his Vizier *Suja ul Dowla*, acquainting them with your approbation and my design.

I am, with great respect, Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Calcutta, Your most obliged and most
 Dec. 6th 1771. obedient humble servant,

JOHN MORRISON.

The Memorial of John Morrison, Esq; Major in the Third Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-general Sir Robert Barker, Knight, Commander in Chief of the Honourable East India Company's forces.

He begs leave to make the following proposals to the Honourable the President, &c. Members of the Select Committee.

That he will undertake to raise for the service of the Honourable Company two thousand horse, and eight thousand sepoy, with their officers complete.

That as he does not intend to put the Company to the least unnecessary expence, he proposes to put them into the service of the King, with this restriction, that if the Honourable Company's settlements shall be invaded by any power whatsoever, they shall march to their assistance, when demanded by the Honourable the President and Members of the Select Committee.

That they shall then receive from the Honourable Company, from the date of their marching orders, the same pay and gratuity as the Honourable Company's troops.

That as arms and accoutrements will be wanting, with twenty-four field-pieces, and some battering cannon, he proposes two lacks of rupees a year shall be paid to the Honourable Company for their use.

That as European officers will be necessary, for the disciplining and commanding the horse, and the different bat-

on their assuring me, that it was not in their power, the orders from the Court of Directors being positive, I desired leave to resign the service, which
was

talions of Sepoys, he proposes that such a number be incorporated as may be thought necessary for that purpose.

That every officer, on his being appointed to this corps, is to take an oath of fidelity to the Company, that he will always promote to the utmost of his power the interest of the Company, and obey from time to time all such orders as he may receive from the Honourable the President and Members of the Select Committee, or their commander in chief.

That as cloth, warlike stores, &c. will be wanting, he proposes the purchase to be made from the Honourable Company.

He begs leave to point out some of the many advantages this body of troops will be of to the Company. They will always be ready in case of any emergency; they will be at hand to counteract any part the enemies of the Company may take, and keep the *Mahrattors* in awe.

They will take from the Company yearly large quantities of their staple commodities, and may be the means of extending their commerce through the Mogul empire.

If the Company's settlements on the Coasts should be attacked, by their making a diversion in their favour they might render the Company the utmost service.

If these proposals are agreeable to the Honourable the President and Members of the Select Committee, he will with their permission lay them before the King; if he approves of them, he will then wait on the Honourable Court of Directors for their approbation, or follow such directions as the Honourable the President and Members of the Select Committee shall think proper to give them.

To Major John Morrison,

SIR,

I am directed by the Honourable the President and Members of the Select Committee to inform you, that after having given the most attentive perusal to your memorial they consider the general tendency of your plan to be in every degree inadmissible, and to which, from their duty to the Company, they are obliged to give the most absolute discouragement: but they at the same time desire me to assure you,
that

was accordingly complied with, and a certificate sent me of my behaviour while I had the honour of bearing the Company's commission *.

In

that from your general good character, they are persuaded a zeal for the Company's interest has been a chief motive with you in forming a scheme of this nature, I am farther ordered to signify to you their entire approbation and good opinion of your military abilities.

I am, Sir,

Fort William,
7th Dec. 1771.

Your most obedient servant,

W. ROSEA,
Sec. Sel. Com.

* To the Honourable John Cartier, Esq; President; and the Council at Fort William.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

From my first appointment in *Bengal* I was resolved to recommend myself to the Gentlemen in power, by a close and diligent discharge of that trust the Court of Directors was pleased to invest me with. How well I have performed my part I appeal to you, gentlemen, to my general, and to every officer I have had the honour to serve with.

Before my arrival three Lieutenant-colonels and three supernumerary Majors were added to the establishment: this was a grievance I did not complain of, as I hoped for the like indulgence when I came to be known.

On the death of that good and excellent officer Major *Daccarel*, I applied to the General to be removed to the Sepoy corps, for which there is no additional pay or batta. In answer to which the general wrote me,

"Whenever I have an opportunity of obliging Major *Morrison*, I shall think myself happy in so doing; you shall be removed to the Sepoy corps." This letter was dated *October 1770*.

When the General arrived at *Danapour*, Lieutenant-colonel *Leslie* made known his intentions of returning to *Europe* by the ships of the season: as I was the oldest Major, I expected to succeed to Lieutenant-colonel *Leslie*, and of course to the command of the battalion which I had formed and disciplined.

On Lieutenant-colonel *Winwood's* resignation, Major *Tottingham* was appointed a Lieutenant-colonel; therefore I

In this place I cannot help observing, that there does not exist a more illiberal, a more unjust system than that of supercession without the shadow of complaint ;

looked upon it as my right to succeed to Lieutenant-colonel *Leflie*, when he resigned, as it made no addition to the establishment.

I have had the mortification to see a younger Major taken from a general court martial, on which he was a member, sitting at *Calcutta*, sent three hundred miles to command at *Mongueer*, when I was at *Bankypore*, only ninety-six from that place : this, however, I did not think much of ; but when the same Major was in *December* 1770 taken from the Sepoy corps of the second brigade, to command the Sepoys of the third, under Lieutenant-colonel *Gailliez* at *Allahabad*, I felt myself injured ; I waited on General *Barker*, made known my intentions of quitting the service, and returning to *Europe* by the last ship of the season : but before I had settled my affairs to proceed to *Calcutta*, an order arrived for the third brigade to take the field, I changed then my resolution, as the long wished-for opportunity, I thought, was arrived of convincing my noble patron, Lord *North*, I was not unworthy of his favours. He had recommended me to the Court of Directors with the ardour of a friend, supported my interest with his whole weight, and in a manner staked his honour for my abilities. Till I had discharged him, therefore, of his obligations to the Company in my appointment, I could have no thought for myself. The history of that campaign you are well acquainted with : the opportunity was lost of returning to *Europe*, as the brigade did not return to quarters till the 4th of *May*.

I am now again superseded by Captains *Wilding* and *Eyres*, the first restored to his rank as Lieutenant-colonel, the second appointed a Major : this is a rank he had no right to, by the rank he had in the army when he resigned : he was then a Captain next before Captain *Hessman*.

This is the fourth time I have been superseded since I arrived in the country, by Captains *Wilding*, *Goddard*, and *Eyres*, and Lieutenant-colonel *Winwood* ; the three first were Captains for some months after my arrival, and the fourth, Lieutenant-colonel *Winwood*, was taken from the artillery.

Is this a reward for my faithful and diligent services ? to you, gentlemen, I appeal.

I must

complaint; nor among the many bad measures which have been driving the Company to the verge of ruin, could one be conceived of a more pernicious

I must therefore beg leave to resign the Honourable Company's service, a service in which I cannot remain with honour or satisfaction to myself, till I meet with redress from the Court of Directors.

I propose returning by land; the route I intend to take is, by *Fysabad, Delhi, Caboul, Candabar, through Persia and Russia.*

I claim your protection as a *British* subject, and request, as a particular favour, you will give me every assistance in your power.—I am, with great respect,

Calcutta,
Dec. 16, 1771.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient
and very humble servant,
JOHN MORRISON.

Answer from the President and Council, December 16th 1771.

To Major John Morrison.

SIR,

By the Honourable the President and Council I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your address to them, and to acquaint you in reply, that the Honourable the Court of Directors have been pleased to direct, that every officer who may apprehend himself to be aggrieved is to lay his case before the Board, and should it be referred to the decision of the Directors, he is to remain in *India* until their orders can be sent thereon; for if he goes to *England* they declare they shall look upon his resignation as an effectual bar against his being employed again.

The Board desire that you will give due consideration to this order of the Directors; after which if you still remain fixed in your determination of resigning the service and returning to *England*, they are ready to receive your commission, and grant you leave to proceed according to your first intentions.

I am, Sir,
Fort William,
16th Dec. 1771.

Your most obedient servant,
W. WYNNE Sec.

nicious tendency. When a gentleman goes to *India*, either in the civil or military lines, with a probability of rising in a course of years, it will operate

To the Honourable John Cartier, Esq; President, and the Council of Fort William.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

In answer to a letter, dated *December 16th*, which I had the honour to receive this day at one o'clock from your Honourable Board, through your Secretary Mr. *Wynne*, I beg leave to point out the establishment, and my standing in this army; such as was shewn to me on my appointment, by the then Honourable Chairman, Mr. *Raus*.

COLONELS, *Richard Smith, Sir Robert Barker, Joseph Peach.*

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS, *Charles Chapman, Alexander Champion, Hugh Grant, Charles Pemble, George Sempil, Mathew Leslie.*

MAJORS, *Primrose Gailliez, Gilbert Ironside, James Morgan, Anthony Polier, Douglas Hill, John Cummins, ——— English, John Morrison, William Blair.*

You see, gentlemen, my real standing in this army, is next to Lieutenant-colonel *Cummins*; I hope you will not think this an imaginary grievance, nor condemn me for the resolution I have taken to return to *Europe*, to regain, if possible, the rank I have lost: if it was in your power, I am fully convinced I should not have occasion to undertake this journey.

I am sorry I should differ in opinion from the Honourable the Court of Directors, but it is impossible for me to serve in the situation I am now in, nor have I fortune sufficient to maintain me in this country till such time as an answer could be received; as it is, by the time I land in *England*, I shall have diminished my private fortune very considerably, since I have been appointed to the Honourable Company's service.

I request you will favour me with a certificate of my behaviour, &c. during the time I have had the honour to serve in *Bengal*.

I am, with great respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Calcutta,
18th Dec. 1771.

Your most obedient
and very humble servant,

JOHN MORRISON.

Certificate

operate as strong a security for his good behaviour, and he will pass through the hampered subordinate stations with cheerfulness and attention to the Company's interests. But once deprive him of this hope, once convince him that interest at home will outweigh services abroad, you cool his ardor, you render him careless of the public weal, and force him in despair to grasp at any immediate opportunity of improving his fortune, however inconsistent with the general good. Moneyless merit, daily experience will inform him, never attracts attention, whilst all powerful gold will cover a multitude of sins. To censure individuals abroad therefore for deviating from the path of integrity is absurd, whilst the example is set them here at home; the fountain must be pure if we expect a limpid stream.

Having taken my leave therefore of a service, which has hitherto been conducted on the worst of principles, and informed Governor *Cartier* (of whose integrity and politeness I shall ever entertain the highest esteem) that I proposed returning to *Europe* by land, he did me the

Certificate from the President and Council.

This is to certify to all whom it may concern, that Major *John Morrison* has served the Honourable the *East India* Company as a Major of infantry on their *Bengal* military establishment for the space of more than three years, during which time he has always performed his duty with the intire approbation of his superiors, and has preserved the reputation of a gentleman, and a good and gallant officer.

Given under our hands and the seal of the said Company at *Fort William*, the 24th *December* 1771.

W. WYNN, Sec.

JOHN CARTIER.
WM. ALDERSEY.
JOSEPH JEKYLL.
P. DACRES.
THOMAS LANE.

honour

honour of giving me recommendatory letters to his Majesty *Shah Allum*, to *Sujah ul Dowla*, *Muneera ul Dowla*, and *Nujuff Khan* *. My principal reasons for taking the route by *Delhi*, *Candabar*, and *Persia* were to know *Shah Allum's* sentiments with regard to the proposals I had given in to the Select Committee, and at the same time to make observations on the political and commercial principles of the different countries through which I might have occasion to pass.

On the 20th *December* 1771, I accordingly left *Calcutta*, and arrived on the 6th of *February* 1772 at the *Rumna* † near *Fysabad*, where Sir *Robert Barker* was encamped. I waited on the General next day, when he informed me that there was a probability of a war with the *Mahrattors*; upon which I proposed to him to delay my journey, and serve under him as a volunteer without pay; he thanked me, but declined my offer.

On the 8th Sir *Robert*, with *Suja ul Dowla* marched for *Lucknow*; I accompanied them. We arrived there the 13th, where having delivered Governor *Cartier's* letter to *Suja*, and to *Muneera ul Dowla*, I took my leave on the 15th, after receiving further recommendatory letters from the General and the Vizier to his Majesty.

On the 2d of *April* I reached the royal camp near *Paturgur*, at the foot of the *Sewalikh* hills; and next day I delivered my letters at a public audience.

On the 6th I had the honour of a private conference with the King, when I first learned that

* This is the same *Nujuff Khan* mentioned in the treaty between the King and Lord *Clive*, inserted page 11. He is one of the Shah's principal generals, commanding a body of 3000 Moguls, his own immediate dependants.

Rumna signifies a park.

Governor *Hastings*, who by this time had succeeded Mr. *Cartier*, had stopped his Majesty's revenue of twenty-six lacks, so solemnly stipulated by treaty to be paid him on the sole condition of his appointing the Company to the Dewannee of the three provinces.

To account for this step, on the principles of justice, was impossible. In the treaty with Lord *Clive* (who owes the high estimation he stands in with the *Indian* states to his firm unalterable observation of engagements) no condition whatsoever is required of his Majesty but the assignment of the Dewannee. He might the next hour have proceeded unquestioned to *Agra*, *Delhi*, *Lahore*, or any other place in his dominions. But he did not; a friend to the *English*, he sought in every step their approbation. An opportunity offered, which he thought favourable for the recovery of his capital; he requested the Company's aid, particular views prevented his obtaining it; he then proposed the attempt with his own power, when the Governor and Council not only consented, but Sir *Robert Barker* escorted him to the frontiers of the *Cora* province with part of the Company's troops; and the revenue was still continued to be paid till a change of administration producing a change of ideas, every pretension to justice was sacrificed to a zeal (perhaps) though certainly a very mistaken one, for the Company's interest.

Such a dishonourable blow to the law of nations and to the *British* faith struck me in the most forcible manner; and I could not help looking forward to the baneful tendency of this disregard to all truth, and the most sacred of engagements.

Good faith is one of the greatest virtues of society; the want of it throws a shade over all the rest; and states as well as individuals must ever

be affected in proportion to the regard they pay to it. The old *Romans* owed more to their steady attention to good faith, both in the acquisition and preservation of dominion, than even to their superior military abilities; and nothing can ever give more importance to the character of any nation, than an inviolable adherence to their plighted honour, which no imaginary temporary advantage ought ever to induce them to set at nought. Yet is it a truth, too well authenticated to be questioned now, that *British* faith, so justly famed in every Christian state, has, in *India*, hardly ever had any other standard than the will of the chiefs for the time being; the most solemn treaties entered into by one governor with the country powers having, according as ambition, interest, or caprice dictated, been cancelled by his successor without the shadow of reason. Such proceedings, however, though consonant to the short-sighted views of arbitrary despotism, which never acts upon the principles of justice, but when forced by necessity, must cast the foulest stain on *British* honour, which only a very opposite conduct can ever wipe away.

Machiavel himself, who considered breach of public faith as a master-stroke in politicks, when important and certain advantages attended the violation, recommends to his prince to be tenacious of his engagements, when it was his interest to adhere to them. Had therefore *Machiavelian* principles alone directed the conduct of *India* affairs, nothing could have been more wretched than the policy, which the leaders have on various occasions pursued, with regard to a monarch, whom every idea of honour and real interest intitled to treatment of a very different nature, and which I flatter myself the following sheets will more clearly demonstrate.

The

The conference with the King being over, I went by his Majesty's desire to the Raja *Ramnath*, who used every argument to induce me to enter into *Shah Allum's* service, which I for the present declined, seeing no probability from the behaviour of the Governor and Council, that any proper understanding could be mediated between them. Resolving therefore to pursue my route without delay, I sent on the 9th an *arzee*† to the King, desiring permission to leave his camp; but about two hours afterwards I received a message from the Raja *Ramnath*, wishing to see me, with an apology that a slight indisposition prevented him from waiting upon me. I attended him accordingly in the evening, when he informed me that the King would give me a *carte-blanche* if I would remain with him; hinting at the same time, that it was a doubt whether his Majesty would consent to my departure. I told him I was obliged to the King for his offers; but as I should never pursue my own interest, unless it coincided with that of my King and country, I thought I could not, consistently with my duty to either, accept of his proposals, unless I could at the same time be in any way conducive to promote the glory of my sovereign, and the advantage of my fellow subjects; but that if the plan I should lay down could be adopted in its full extent, I should then serve him to the best of my abilities.

Whilst these preliminaries were in agitation I happened to go one day to the Durbar, where I could not help being shocked at the disrespect, nay even insult, with which the descendant of the great *Tamerlane* was treated by the brutal *Mabrattors*.

† *Arzee* signifies a letter or petition.

Fired with indignation, I hastened to the tent of the Raja *Ramnat*, and proposed, if the King would give me the command of his Sepoys for a few days, to extricate him from that humiliating situation, or perish in the attempt: that I would immediately attack *Paturgur*, and put his Majesty in possession of the treasure it contained†; and if *Nujuff Khan* would join me with his *Moguls*, I did not entertain a doubt of beating the *Mabrattors* in the field.

The Raja told me that he would consult with some others of the Omrahs, and next day let me know the result of their deliberations. I went accordingly at the time appointed, and found them in council; when they intreated that I would drop the idea of such an attempt, as, should the design reach the ears of the *Mabrattors*, they could not insure my life an hour. It was impossible to think highly of the spirit of those nobles, who could thus tamely submit to the galling yoke of such inhuman savages, whose treatment of their sovereign and themselves was marked with every indignity, when a favourable opportunity offered of shaking it off. The proposed attempt was by no means rash; for one bold effort, and the treasure of *Paturgur*, would soon have drawn thousands to the royal standard. The *Mabrattors* by their cruelties and exactions had rendered themselves everywhere the objects of general horror; so that affection for the King, revenge for oppression, and the hopes of plunder, would have operated univer-

† A fort taken by the *Mabrattors* from *Zabda Khan*, in which, according to general belief, there was then above 1,500,000 l. *Sterling*; it was poorly guarded, and open on two sides.

sally to the destruction of those miscreants, had the prospect of success been in the least promising.

Returning to my tent, I met by the way the Nabob *Heddy Ali Khan*, who had just arrived from *Caboul*, of which place he had been Governor under the famous *Abdallah* King of *Ghifni*. I desired of him a route of the way he had come, as I purposed in two days to pursue the same tract. He begged me however to drop my resolution, as the whole country on that side was in commotion: that having incurred the displeasure of *Abdallah*, private orders had been sent to the next in command to dispatch him, and send his head to *Candabar*, where that prince then resided; but having received intelligence of his danger, he had escaped from *Caboul* with 200 horse, only twenty-nine of whom had arrived with him, the rest being all killed or desperately wounded in various encounters with the inhabitants of the intermediate provinces, who were all in arms. This information making it impossible for me to think of prosecuting my original design, I determined to return by the way of *Delhi*, *Surat*, *Bassora*, and the Desert.

On the 14th I accordingly went to the *Durbar*, to take leave of the King, when his Majesty renewed the proposals formerly made me by the Raja *Ramnat* with regard to entering into his service. He was joined by his son, the Prince *Jewan Bukht*; but I represented to them, that without the consent of his *Britannick* Majesty I could not accept of the honour intended me; whilst at the same time, without money, arms, and military stores, it would be impossible now to make head against the *Mabrattors*, and confirm the obedience of the provinces.

His Majesty then proposed that I should write
to

to the Governor and Council for arms and stores ; but I observed, that I conceived it by no means probable that they would comply, after having stopped his revenue, and at the same time was not certain whether they had powers, without orders from the Court of Directors. His Majesty thought the stopping of his revenue was so inconsistent with the boasted honour of the *English*, that he did not doubt but the Governor would reflect on the injustice and bad policy of the measure ; and that if I would therefore apply for 4000 stand of arms, 500 carbines, 20 pieces of cannon of different bores, with ammunition in proportion, he would give me a dukhla or order on the Company for four lacks of rupees to defray the expence ; and that with regard to powers he supposed there could be no doubt, as they had lately supplied him with four pieces of cannon, arms for two battalions of Sepoys, with tumbrils and various kinds of stores. To this I replied, that, to satisfy his Majesty, I would make the experiment, though I could not hope for success.

I wrote accordingly ; but notwithstanding that the proposals, as contained in my letter *, appeared highly

* *To the Honourable* — Hastings, Esq; President, and Council of Calcutta.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

At the earnest request of the King, I have consented to stay with him. The terms on which I have agreed is, to raise for his Majesty four thousand Sepoys and five hundred horse ; but if the territories of the Company shall be invaded by any power whatsoever, I have leave to march to whatever settlement may want their assistance, or to make a diversion in their favour.

I hope you will think this advantageous for the Honourable Company, and permit such a number of officers to resign

highly beneficial to the Company, without a single circumstance to counterbalance the advantages, the Governor and Council did not think proper to return

sign the Company's service as are willing to enter into this corps.

If it is agreeable to your Honourable Board to supply me with cloths, arms, and military stores, ready money will be paid for them by my agent Mr. Killican.

The King has given me a bill on the Honourable Company for four lacks of rupees, which bill I have sent to Mr. *Killican*; two lacks are to be laid out in arms, military stores, cloths, &c. and the other two remitted to me, for the subsistence of the four thousand Sepoys and five hundred horse, which are to be raised immediately, if agreeable to your Honourable Board.

I could cloath the Sepoys with a coarse cloth made here; but my whole ambition is to promote the interest of my country by taking off her commodities, which makes me very desirous of being supplied by your Honourable Board with whatever I may want, on your own terms.

Such a body of men as I have mentioned, commanded by *English* officers, will be no less advantageous to the Honourable Company than it will be to individuals, as great sums of money may be drawn from this country, for the *European*, the *China*, and the staple commodities of *Bengal* and *Behar*, with more than a hundred *per cent.* profit; your remittances sure, as the money may be given to the King, or to *Nujuff Khan*, for the commodities sold, and that money deducted from the tribute paid to the King, or from *Nujuff Khan's* jaguier.

The King will give *Allahabad* as a place of arms; *Agra* I shall march against as soon as I am in a condition, and I hope ere six months to give you a good account of *Somero*.

If I am so fortunate as to take *Agra*, it will be given as a place of arms; so that from *Calcutta* to *Delhi* (where the King will also give you a place for a factory) will be open to you, with every assistance in my power, such as escorts for your boats, &c. &c.—You might then be able to withdraw your troops from the *Cora* province and *Allahabad*, as this corps might answer every purpose intended by them, which will save the Honourable Company a great expence, as the Sepoys stationed there may be employed wherever they may be wanted.

The artillery and stores wanted are in the inclosed return.

I shall

turn an answer. I wrote also about the same time to Sir Robert Barker, a copy of which, with his answer, and my reply are given below †.

In

I shall take it as a particular favour, if you will let me know as soon as possible the answer you are pleased to give this letter, that I may take my measures accordingly: unless I meet with the approbation and assistance of your Honourable Board, I shall proceed on my journey to *Europe* by land.

If you will permit my letters to be dispatched by your Dawks to and from *Allahabad*, you will oblige me much; from thence to *Delhi* I will lay harrass, so that letters from your agents, &c. may be carried by my harrass to and from *Allahabad*.

If this scheme take effect, I shall give up all pretensions to the Honourable Company's service; yet you will find me no less assiduous to promote the Honourable Company's interest, than the most faithful of her servants, and always ready to co-operate with her views; with such a force as I have mentioned to your Honourable Board, the *Mahrattors* durst not attack the Company's territories, as I should immediately fall upon their rear, or make a diversion by marching into their country.

Whatever may be your sentiments in regard to my present conduct, for preferring the service of the Emperor of *Hindustan* to that of the Honourable Company, I hope soon to convince your Honourable Board, that I am worthy of every trust you will please to confide in

Camp near
Nijibabad,
26th April 1772.

Your most obedient,
and very humble servant,
JOHN MORRISON.

† To General Sir Robert Barker.

S I R,

Your servant, *Fido Allée*, for the first time called on me last night, which prevented me the pleasure of writing to you before; I suppose he was the person you mentioned to me, who, on my arrival in camp, would wait on me, receive my letters, and convey them to you. News I have none at present but what you have heard; the King is insulted by the *Mahrattors*; his whole camp, I should rather say his rabble, seem to stand in great awe of them; they have

In the mean time, till answers might be expected, I went to *Delhi*, where the king arrived about the end of *July*; soon after which receiving advice

have seized all the treasure taken at *Patturgur*, and have kept the lion's share to themselves—The King is very desirous that I should stay with him; I have consented on condition that I raise for his use four thousand Sepoys and five hundred horse, and to command the whole of his forces.

The delays of an Eastern Court are scarce conceivable; if the King does not approve of my terms in a few days, I shall prosecute my journey to *Europe*.

This moment I hear *Ellish Khan* (a Vakeel, or agent, from *Suja ul Dowla* to the King) is stopped by an order from the *Mabrattor* chiefs; they have ordered him not to arrive in camp before two of them, who are gone to wash in the *Ganges*, return; they will be absent four days. I wish to God I had the command of four battalions of good disciplined Sepoys, with eight six-pounders, I would chastise these plunderers for the affronts offered to the King and to *Suja ul Dowla*—Wherever these villains have been they have destroyed every thing, and left the poor inhabitants only their eyes to behold their own misfortunes, and to weep over the ruins of their country.

I am, Sir,

Camp near
Patturgur.

Your most obedient

humble servant,

JOHN MORRISON.

From General Sir Robert Barker.

S I R, *Camp at Shahabad, April 24, 1772.*

I have received your letter of the 18th instant, and am as much surprized at the contents, as I am sorry for the confirmation of the daily reports from the Royal Encampment, that you were soliciting for a command of troops in his Majesty's service, a circumstance which I must own I could not credit; yet as such an imaginary advantage has formed in your mind, I now take the liberty to communicate to you my opinion of the measure, and prevent, if possible, your character and reputation from suffering the disgrace that must inevitably ensue from your prosecuting it.

In justice to the opinion I entertained of you as an Officer and a Gentleman, whilst in this service, I could not credit the report, because by such a procedure, after the many

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and

advice from my Correspondents at *Calcutta* of the resolution of the Governor and Council, neither to answer my letter, nor to pay the *Dukhla*, which I had

and positive professions of your journey being to another intent, and by which only you obtained permission to undertake it, you would utterly blast every prospect of advantage and honour in your future life-time; you would forfeit your veracity in its most recent degree; you would deviate from the character you had hitherto with reputation supported, by ranking yourself amongst the greatest miscreants of the creation, who are necessitated to fly their colours and country for the worst of crimes—Your hopes of a return to this service determinately ruined, and your standing in the service of your own Royal Master rendered precarious; as a friend let me then desire you to reflect seriously on this matter before you enter deeply into it; but should it appear to you differently, and you resolve upon the undertaking, I am positively persuaded the consequences will be excessively disagreeable: to affect you more than I have already pointed out is scarcely possible—That you will be remanded back immediately is an undoubted consequence; and it will not be in the power of his Majesty, *Shah Allum*, to detain you, unless a war happens; and I need not point out to you in that case the opinion which the world will too readily conceive of your conduct—I hope you will derive the benefit that I wish for from these opinions,

And am, Sir,

Your most obedient
humble servant,

To John Morrison, Esq;

R. BARKER.

To General Sir Robert Barker.

SIR,

I received your letter of the 24th instant. In it you say,
“ You was as much surprized at the contents, as you was
“ sorry for the confirmation of the daily reports from the
“ Royal Encampment, that I was soliciting for a command of
“ troops in his Majesty’s service, a circumstance which you
“ must own you could not credit.”

After delivering my letters to his Majesty *Shah Allum*, he often expressed his earnest desire for my staying with him. I
consented

had transmitted to my agent, I immediately proposed to his Majesty to invest the King of *Great Britain* with the sovereignty of *Bengal, Behar, and Orissa*;

consented on the terms which I wrote you, which are neither dishonourable to my country or to myself, as an officer or as a gentleman.—I proffered my service to his Majesty without *pay* for a time, I had no sinister views; glory is my greatest ambition.

“ Yet as such an imaginary advantage has formed in my mind, you communicate to me your opinion of the measure, to prevent if possible my character and reputation from suffering the disgrace that must inevitably ensue from prosecuting it.”

I know not what opinion may be formed of me in the East, from the step I am now taking. But I am sure I shall meet with the generous approbation of my King and Country, for having the resolution to serve a King, who is insulted daily by wretches who are unworthy to appear before his royal presence, and a King under whose auspices the Honourable *East India Company* hold their territorial acquisitions.

“ In justice to the opinion you entertained of me, as an officer and a gentleman, whilst in the Company’s service, you could not credit the report, because by such a procedure, after the many and positive professions of my journey being to another intent, and by which only I obtained permission to undertake it, that I would utterly blast every prospect of advantage and honour in my future life-time, and that I should forfeit my veracity in its most recent degree.”

Your good opinion as my General it was my ambition to obtain—it was what I always had from every officer I had the honour to serve under whilst I had the honour to serve my King and Country.—It is true, I always professed, and was firmly resolved to prosecute my journey to *Europe* by land, and continued in that resolution for some days after I arrived here—till I saw his Majesty insulted by the *Mahrattors*, those natural enemies of the Emperor and the Company.—I then offered my service—and by that service I should more effectually serve the Company than by any thing I could do in *Bengal*, as I shall have it in my power to counteract any schemes the enemies of the Company may take to distress her.—As to my obtaining permission to come up the

Orissa; to permit the *East India* Company to establish factories all over the Empire, and to trade duty free on all exports and imports; in consideration

country, they could not prevent me, but by ordering the Princes whose country I was to pass through to forbid my entering their territories.—Nor can I see my veracity will suffer for having changed my resolution to so laudable a purpose.—I beg leave to ask you, if you never changed a resolution once taken?—if you have not, you are more than man.

“ You say I should deviate from the character I have hitherto with reputation supported, by ranking myself amongst the greatest miscreants of the creation, who are necessitated to fly their colours and country for the worst of crimes.”

This paragraph requires an explanation.—Or, if you mean by my services I obtain the rank of an Omrah, I should rank with miscreants, I shall do no more than what you, and every officer who has obtained a command in the Company's forces, have been ambitious of.

“ You say my hopes of a return to the Company's service are determinately ruined.”

I agree—I gave up that prospect when I formed the generous resolution of supporting to the utmost of my power insulted majesty.

“ That my standing in the service of my Royal Master is rendered precarious.”

To the Secretary at War I have wrote for his Majesty's permission to stay—and to my Noble Patron Lord North for his approbation of my conduct. Without the consent of my Royal Master, and the approbation of my friend, no lucrative consideration whatsoever shall oblige me to stay in this country.

“ As a friend, you desire me to reflect seriously on this matter before I enter deeply into it; but, should it appear differently, and I resolve upon the undertaking, you are positively persuaded the consequences will be excessively disagreeable.”

Your friendship I shall always esteem, nor would I forfeit the good opinion of a real friend to gain the world.—I assure you I have reflected seriously on the matter, and I am determined to stay till such time as I have an answer to my letters

ration of which his *Britannick* Majesty to secure to him the Quit-rent of twenty-six lacks of rupees, as stipulated by the treaty of 1765, send him 20,000 stand of arms for Sepoys, 10,000 for cavalry, can-

letters sent to the Governor and Council: if they do not approve of my scheme, I intend to prosecute my journey—if they do, I shall then send my letters to Lord *North* and to the Secretary at War, by an *European*, who has undertaken the journey for an hundred pounds paid him in *London*, on the delivery of my letters.

“ You say, that I shall be remanded back immediately is an
“ undoubted consequence, and it will not be in the power
“ of his Majesty *Shah Allum* to detain me, unless a war
“ happens; and you need not point out to me in that case
“ the opinion the world will too readily conceive of my
“ conduct.”

Pray, Sir, by what authority has any man a right to order me back? or do you think I will obey such an order?—No, Sir, I will not.—It is true, the iron hand of oppression may seize me, but I dare its utmost power.—If I have done any thing against the laws of my country, I am amenable to the law on my return.—But you seem to threaten the violation of the law of nations, and not suffer a king, in his own country, to accept the service of a man, who through compassion to his distressed situation, was willing to sacrifice his ease, his real advantage, to a distant prospect. You professed to me a friendship for his Majesty *Shah Allum*, and desired me to acquaint him, that you could not take any rest since you have been absent from his Majesty—From your profession of friendship I expected to have met with your approbation, and thought by serving him I served you, as well as the Company, as I look upon the King's and Company's interest to be inseparable.

I am sorry, Sir, you could conceive so mean an opinion of me, as to think I could be capable of commanding troops against the Company, or to act any way against her interests. No, Sir, I will always maintain what I have hitherto supported, the character of a man of honour; and I defy malice herself to tax me with a crime that a gentleman would be ashamed of.

Camp near *Nijibabad*,
29th April 1772.

I am, Sir, your most obedient
humble servant,
JOHN MORRISON.

non

non and stores in proportion, with *British* officers to take his whole army under command.

These proposals were immediately agreed to; and on the 20th of *September* his Majesty gave me a commission as commander in chief of all his forces raised and to be raised, exalted me to the rank of an *Omrab* of the empire, by the title of *Nasir ul Dowla babader delawar jung*, and appointed me Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the King of *Great Britain* *.

Having

* An idea, as I am informed, has been the subject of some discussion, how far any man can officiate as an Ambassador from a foreign potentate to the Sovereign of his native country; but surely there cannot exist the slightest foundation for such a doubt; or, even if there were, ought any difficulty to arise from it? Where the object of an embassy is of sufficient importance, the expediency of the measure ought to create a precedent, were there none to have recourse to; more particularly with regard to the Princes of *Asia*, with whose languages we are so little acquainted, and whose subjects have no knowledge of our *European* tongues. But even on this head hundreds of precedents could be given in the history of almost every nation in *Europe*.

I shall not dwell on the instances of Cardinals *Wolsey* and *De la Pole*, Mr. *Petty*, and innumerable other instances of the Pope's sending subjects of the various nations in *Europe* as legates to their respective courts; but we find *Gustavus Adolphus* and his successors employing *Van Dyck*, *Hugo de Groot*, *Camerarius*, *Delphique* Earl of *Dona*, *Vander Noot*, and various other *Dutchmen*, as Ambassadors to the States of *Holland*. We find *Abraham Strotzen* a *Polander* sent by *Selim* Emperor of the *Turks* to *Sigismund Augustus*, demanding a passage for his army through his dominions, on their march against the *Muscovites*. We find *Bartholomew de Coeur* a *Frenchman* Ambassador from the *Great Turk* to *Henry IV*. We find the Bailiff *de Fourbin*, Grand Cross, the Commander *de Souvré*, and the Commander *de Hautville*, then a Lieutenant-general in the service of *France*, sent at different times to *Louis XIII.* and *XIV.* as Ambassadors from the
Grand

Having received my credentials in the most ample form, I applied to the King for a sum of money to bear my future expences, as well as to indemnify me for those I had already incurred,

Grand Master of *Malta*, and received with great state, without the most distant objection with relation to their place of birth; nay, even one *Auger* a player on the lute, being sent Ambassador from the Parliament of *England* to the King of *France*, though this great Monarch considered it as a high insult, he did not think himself authorized by the law of nations to reject him; he overlooked therefore the meanness of his origin and profession, considering him not as his subject, but as a public minister.

To crowd instances would be endless and unnecessary; but the case, that appears most in point (the Embassy of Mr. *Shirley* from *Shah Abbas* the Great, King of *Persia*, to King *James I.* of *England*) containing a variety of curious particulars, I shall transcribe entire from *Wicquefort's* Treatise on *The Ambassador and his Functions*, and with that conclude my remarks on this subject.

“*Shah Abbas*, King of *Persia*, was one of the greatest Princes that has reigned for many ages. He had two powerful neighbours, the Emperor of the *Turks*, and the Great *Mogul*, Emperor of *Hindustan*; and he was in perpetual uneasiness on account of the first. To free himself thereof, and to give some diversion to the *Turks*, he had several negotiations in most of the Christian Princes courts. He employed there particularly two brothers, *Anthony* and *Robert Shirley*, who being of a family considerable enough in *England*, and having provided a sufficient fund to defray the expence of their voyage, settled themselves in the court of *Ispahan*. I shall say nothing of the eldest, who quitting at *Venice* his quality of Ambassador received there several disgraces; but *Robert*, after having been employed to the Emperor, and at the court of several other Princes of *Europe*, passed into *England* with the quality of Ambassador from *Shah*. King *James* made him be covered, and respected in his subject the character of Ambassador. *Shirley* returned thither in the year 1623, with the same qualification, and was again treated after the same manner. He was clothed after the *Persian* manner, and being conducted to audience by the Earl of *Anglesey*, and by the Master of the Ceremonies, and
having

curred, when it was signified to me by Nabob *Hessum ul Dowla*, the Deputy Vizier, that it was his Majesty's pleasure I should carry the *Dukbla* for the four lacks of rupees to *England*, and demand payment of it from the Company, with which he

having paid his respects after the *Turkish* manner, he took off his *turbant* and laid it at the King's feet; but the King caused him to take it up *and be covered*. Some days after he had audience of the Prince of *Wales*; but he did not there so much as offer to touch his *turbant*, notwithstanding the Prince put off his hat as soon as he saw him enter the room, and make his first bow. He was there actually when King *James* died. While he staid at *London* there happened a very extraordinary thing, that might have obliged the King to exert his justice towards his subject, who did not sufficiently verify his quality of Minister: There came into *England* a *Persian*, whose name was *Magdigbeg*, who likewise took upon him the quality of Ambassador; and who when he presented his *letters of credence*, maintained that those of *Robert Shirley* were false and supposititious. *Shirley* being desirous to clear this matter, and make out his quality, went to the *Persian*, having with him some of his relations, who were to be witnesses of their interview; but the *Persian*, instead of returning *Shirley's* civility, took his letters, flung them on the ground, and gave him a box on the ear; and put him thereby so much out of countenance and beyond reply, that the *English* took occasion from thence to make a very bad judgment of the sincerity of their kinsman. *Magdigbeg* wrote to the King of *Great Britain*, that having the honour to be the Ambassador of a Monarch in friendship with his Majesty, he took the liberty to desire from him that justice, which he would not refuse to the least of his subjects: that being arrived in this kingdom, he had been informed that a certain person, who took upon himself the quality of Ambassador from the *Shah*, his master, had the vanity to say he had married a relation of his Highness: that he was so incensed at the insolence of this discourse, that he could not forbear shewing his resentment: but forasmuch as it behoved him to justify his proceeding to the court of *Ispahan*, and that in order thereto, it was necessary he should have authentic proofs of the rumours *Shirley* had spread, he desired his Majesty would be pleased to order him an authentic copy thereof. The King, whom

he could not entertain a doubt of their complying, especially with the interposition of the known justice of his *Britannick* Majesty; whilst, at the same time, it would demonstrate how much against the law of nations and the honour of *Britain* their servants had acted in the violation of so sacred a treaty.

On the 15th of *October* I took my leave, and and reached *Chinsura* on the 5th of *December*; from whence I wrote to Governor *Hastings*†, but as he

whom it concerned to know the truth of the matter, might have caused a very exact inquiry to be made of the same; if not by his ordinary Justice, at least by his Council, if he had believed his jurisdiction could have reached his subject, notwithstanding his quality of Minister. But he would not meddle in it, and was contented to send the one and the other home in two different ships, that the King of *Persia* might himself be judge of the difference, and regulate the same between two persons, each of whom took upon him the quality of his Minister. He sent a person of quality along with them in another ship, to bring him an account after what manner the difference should be decided at the Court of *Ispahan*; but they all died in the voyage."

† *To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Esq; Governor of Fort William.*

S I R,

His Majesty *Shah Allum*, Emperor of *Hindostan*, has been pleased to honour me with the appointment of his Ambassador to the Court of *Great Britain*; he has also given me a letter of credence to you, acquainting you with my appointment.

Before I enter *Calcutta*, I demand of you, whether you will receive me as an Ambassador on my way to the Court of *Great Britain*, and if you will allow me to proceed in the first ship bound to *England*.

Chinsurah,
Dec. 6, 1772.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient
humble servant,

JOHN MORRISON.

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did not favour me with an answer for several days, and then did not acknowledge my character, addressing his letter simply to *Major John Morrison*, I returned it unopened. I afterwards applied to *Mr. Hastings* to forward two letters to the Duke of *Grafton* and *Lord North* in the Company's packet by the *Triton*, both of which he thought proper to return.

Finding it therefore impossible to expect a passage in any of the Company's ships, I then entered into an agreement with the Commander of the *Carolina Mathilda*, Danish Indiaman, and paid into his hands 2000 rupees; but was not a little surprized, ten days afterwards, to receive a letter from the Danish Captain, which occasioned the correspondence inserted in the notes ‡. This very singular

‡ To ——— Morris, Esq; Major, at Houghly.

S I R,

I am sorry to inform you that the Gentlemen of the Council of this place have protested against your departure on board the ship *Carolina Mathilda* under my command; in consequence whereof I cannot, as willingly as I would, accord you the passage: I shall return you the money paid: I hope you will excuse me, not being in my power without exposing myself, to act otherwise. I have the honour to be, with a perfect esteem,

S I R,

Fredricanagore,
the 25th Dec. 1772.

Your most obedient
humble servant,
D. BAGGE.

To the Honourable the Governor and Council of the Danish East India Company at Fredricanagore.

Gentlemen,

I received this moment a very extraordinary letter from *Mr. D. Bagge*, Captain of the *Carolina Mathilda*.

He acquaints me that you have protested against my having a passage on board his ship: this appears to me the more extraordinary, as he declared to me, when I paid him for my

gular step, there is reason to believe proceeded entirely from the representations of Governor *Hastings*,

my passage in the Governor's house, that he was independent of the Governor and Council of *Sirampore*, and that I had no occasion to apply for leave.

I now declare to you my public character, that I am Ambassador from his Imperial Majesty *Shah Allum*, the present Emperor of *Hindostan*, to the Court of *Great Britain*. I do therefore hereby demand your reason for protesting. And having now declared my public character (of which I can give you incontestable proofs) I farther demand of you liberty to proceed in the said ship, agreeable to my contract with the Captain; a refusal of which will be a violation of the law of nations; and, in consequence, on my arrival in *England*, I will make a public protest against you to the Court of *Denmark*. I expect your answer by the bearer, and am,

Gentlemen,

Chinsurah,
25th Dec. 1772.

Your most obedient servant,
JOHN MORRISON.

To D. Bagge, Commander of the Danish ship *Carolina Mathilda*.

S I R,

I received yours of this date, informing me that the Gentlemen of the Council of *Fredericanagore* have protested against my departure on board your ship; that you cannot give me a passage; and that you will return me the money.

You must remember, when I paid you the money I asked you whether it was necessary for me to apply to the Governor and Council of *Sirampore*, to permit my passage? you answered, there was no occasion, as you was entirely independent of the Governor and Council of *Sirampore*, and gave me a receipt for the money, which I have, and will not part with it, nor receive the money back. I therefore insist on the performance of your engagement, otherwise depend upon it, that I will on my arrival in *England* protest against you, and lay the matter, with your letter, before the *Danish* ambassador.

I am, Sir,

Chinsurah,
25th Dec. 1772.

Your humble servant,
JOHN MORRISON.

P. S. Should you comply with your agreement, I will indemnify you.

JOHN MORRISON.

ings, as five of his *Harcarabs* were attending, as I was informed by my *Chubdar* who delivered my letter

From the Governor and Council of Sirampore, 26th December 1772.

S I R,

Yesterday evening we received yours, wherein you acquaint us that you have received, as you express yourself, a very extraordinary letter from Mr. D. Bagge, Captain of the *Danish* ship *Carolina Mathilda*, whereby he has informed you, that we have protested against your having a passage on board his ship (*Notandum*, not his, but the *Danish East India* Company's) and that it appears to you the more extraordinary, as the Captain, as you say, upon paying him the money for the passage, has told you that he was independent of the Governor and Council of *Sirampore*, and that you had no occasion to apply for leave. It is not our business at present, as it serves to no purpose, to enquire into whether the Captain has told you so or not. Suppose even he has told you that he was independent of the Directors of the *Danish East India* Company, it can by no means alter the case.

Sir, for not granting you a passage on the *Danish East India* Company's ship *Carolina Mathilda*, we have our particular reasons, and they only can be demanded of our superiors, to whom we solely are answerable for our conduct.

You have pleased to declare your public character as Ambassador from his Imperial Majesty *Shah Allum*; we want no incontestable proofs thereof, we will take your words therefore, as it is not the question. Pray did you agree with the Captain in that character or that of a private gentleman? You demand now first in the character of ambassador of us liberty to proceed on our ship: we, as representatives of the *Danish East India* Company, are very sorry that we not, without leave from our superiors, can grant you your request; and how far that may be regarded as a violation of the law of nations we will leave to all who know the proper sense thereof.

We are, Sir,

Your humble servants,

Fredericanagore,
the 26th Dec. 1772.

O. BIG.
J. L. FIX.
CHRIS. JUUL.

letter to the Governor of *Sirampore*, till his answer, containing a positive refusal of my going on board, was sealed and dispatched.

In

To Mr. D. Bagge, *Commander of the Carolina Mathilda Danish East Indiaman.*

S I R,

You was pleased not to answer my letter, I now demand of you a categorical answer, whether you will, or not, receive me on board the *Carolina Mathilda*, and give me a passage to *Denmark*, agreeable to your agreement, for which I have your receipt—I am thus far on my way to the said ship, and shall proceed to-morrow morning, without you give me an absolute refusal under your hand.

On board my Budgerow,
opposite *Fredricanagore*,
26th Dec. 1772.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

JOHN MORRISON.

To John Morrison, *Esq;*

S I R,

I have yesterday informed you, that the Gentlemen of the Council of this place have protested against your proceeding on the *Danish East India Company's ship Carolina Mathilda*, under my command; in consequence whereof I cannot by any means accord you the passage: you will be pleased to remember that you have agreed with me in the character of a private Gentleman, now you appear in the public character of an Ambassador, which alters the case. If you, when you demanded the passage hath informed me thereof, I should have made no agreement with you, but left it to the Gentlemen of the Council: I have been so far deceived. I have no further to add, than that your passage-money is deposited in the hands of *L. Fix, Esq;* the Chief of this place, and am,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

D. BAGGE.

Fredricanagore,
the 26th Dec. 1772.

To Mr. D. Bagge, *Commander of the Carolina Mathilda Danish East Indiaman.*

S I R,

You may think to avail yourself under your supposed ignorance of my public character, or that I am not the real person

In consequence of these various manœuvres, which I submit to the public without commentary, I found myself under the necessity of entering with my servants as foremastmen on board the *Bovenkirker polder*, Dutch Indiaman, bound for the *Cape of Good Hope*, allowing the Commander 1200 Rupees for his table, and an exemption from duty. On the 16th of *January* I accordingly embarked, and on the 30th of *March* arrived safe at the *Cape*; where, falling in with the *Pigot English* East Indiaman, commanded by Captain *Richardson*, I applied to him for a passage to *England*. Though an entire stranger, he received me with that politeness which ever distinguishes the gentleman, and entertained me in a manner so genteel and hospitable, as will ever challenge my remembrance, whilst no consideration could prevail with him to accept of the smallest acknowledgment in return. When we arrived at *St. Helena*, being anxious to get to *England*, the Captain (who was under the necessity of remaining there for several weeks) recommended me to a passage on board the *Greenwich*, then ready to sail, and on the 18th of *June* I arrived at *Plymouth*.

Having thus given the leading lines of my conduct from the date of my arrival in *Bengal* till my

person who agreed with you for a passage on board the *Carolina Mathilda*, for which I have paid you two thousand *Arcot* Rupees. You writ me you have deposited the passage-money with *L. Fix*, Esq; the Chief; there it may remain for me, for I assure you I shall never ask him for it, but shall proceed against you in such a manner as you will have cause to repent.

On board my Budgerow,
Saturday night, 10 o'clock,
26th Dec. 1772.

I am, Sir,
Your humble servant,
JOHN MORRISON.

return

return to *England*, I can only offer as an apology for the apparent minuteness of the detail, and the too frequent introduction of myself, the necessity that appeared to me of obviating reports which had been circulated to my disadvantage. Accused of resigning the Company's service without permission, repairing to *Delhi* in a clandestine manner, and there carrying on negotiations of a dangerous tendency, I hope the candid publick will pardon the anxiety I ought to have, to set the motives for my behaviour in a very opposite point of view.

I flatter myself, therefore, it will evidently appear, that, from the first conception of the design, through every stage, I constantly communicated the circumstances as they arose to the Company's leading servants; and that no trace of my conduct can point out a pursuit of private views, that could in any manner be construed as incompatible with the general good. Although I may greatly respect therefore the Governor and Council of *Bengal*, most of whom I know and esteem as individuals, I never can think it candid, however widely those gentlemen's political sentiments may have differed from mine, to give authority to tales which they knew to have no foundation; or to transmit to the Court of Directors a translation of the King's letter on the subject of the proposed alliance, in which passages have been introduced which his Majesty neither wrote nor conceived. Waving however all further thought on these merely personal considerations, I shall now proceed to the principal object of this publication, which is to state the advantages which must accrue to *Great Britain* in consequence of the proposed alliance; fully persuaded that if I do not carry conviction to every unprejudiced mind,

mind, it must arise from the inability of the advocate, more than from the weakness of the cause.

How far the trade to the East is advantageous or hurtful to *Europe*: how far the acquisition of territory has had a promotive or subversive tendency to the real interests of the *English East India Company*, are topicks which may amuse speculative philosophers, but can never seriously be brought into discussion with relation to any proposed arrangement of *India* affairs. We now are sovereigns in these regions, and sovereigns we must be, or slaves, or nothing. An unlooked for and singular coincidence of circumstances placed before us empire or annihilation. The genius and strength of mind of a *Clive* could not hesitate a moment; and a handful of men, who to-day had nothing but hostile ground on which to tread, in the course of a few revolving suns saw provinces subdued and princes suing for protection. To secure therefore such important acquisitions, which now we cannot lose without shaking the pillars of the *British* state, is certainly an object which merits the attention of every man who boasts the smallest spark of patriotism; there being hardly an individual in his Majesty's kingdoms who is not immediately or remotely interested in the event.

On such principles, therefore, let the system be justly weighed, and not hastily condemned, though it may not reach perfection. Should the positive advantages be great, the contingent ones probable; should honour demand it, safety require it, humanity call loudly for it; should the whole be in a train to be carried into execution, unattended by immediate or eventual expence, and the greatest and most permanent benefits be the undoubted consequence,

consequence, without a consideration in the estimation of a scruple to throw into the opposite scale, I must think that it claims the highest attention from the candour and good sense of my countrymen.

I now proceed therefore to state the proposals which I am empowered by *Shah Allum* the *Great Mogul* to offer as the basis of an alliance with his Majesty the king of *Great Britain*, and shall afterwards deduce the consequences which may rationally be expected to follow the ratification of the treaty.

1st, *Shah Allum* proposes immediately to invest his *Britannick* Majesty, his heirs and successors, with the absolute sovereignty of the kingdom of *Bengal*, and the provinces of *Behar* and *Orissa*.

2dly, He proposes also eventually to invest his Majesty with the sovereignty of part of the *Decan*, and the *Concan*, which will unite in one great compact body the *British* settlements in *Hindustan*.

3dly, He will give the *English East India* Company permission to establish factories in any part of his empire, which, when tranquillity is restored, in consequence of the proposed treaty, must not only promote a vast consumption of *British* commodities in *Hindustan*, but also supply the caravans from *Candabar*, *Cachemire*, *Tibet*, and other places in *Persia* and *Tartary*, with Woollen Cloths, and other *European* articles, which are well adapted for those northern latitudes.

4thly, *Shah Allum*, in return, wishes only for the friendship of the King of *Great Britain*, and a certain number of *British* officers to discipline and command his troops, with a proper supply from the Company of all kinds of military stores, in lieu of the arrears of his revenue as settled by the treaty of 1765.

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From

From the above ground-works, and the consequent arrangements, the most salutary effects must soon be experienced, flowing chiefly from that greatest and most inestimable of blessings, Peace.

Almost ever since the *Persian* invasion, this paradise of the world, as it is justly called, has been torn to pieces by the ambition and jarring interests of the great men; the want of power and authority in the head, annihilating all subordination and obedience in the members of the state.

In the general confusion, at the same time, arising from the intrigues of the Omrahs, numbers of low-born adventurers have started up, whose only object has been plunder and devastation. Not to mention hundreds of inferior note, we find an *Abmet Abdallah*, a menial servant of *Nadir Shah*, collecting by degrees a numerous army of banditti, and possessing himself of the kingdom of *Ghisni*, lying between *Persia* and *Hindustan*: we behold an *AliverdyKhan* (grand uncle to *Suraja ul Dowla*) from a *Hookardar* or pipe-bearer to the Souba of *Bengal*, usurping at length the sovereign power; we see a *Seifdar Jung* (father to *Suja ul Dowla*) a fugitive from *Persia*, became Nabob of *Oud*; and a *Hyder Naig*, from the mean rank of Corporal of *French* Sepoys, striking terror into our settlements on the *Coromandel* coast, forcing at last the Presidency of *Madras* to subscribe a most inglorious treaty, and now enjoying the usurped dominion of some of the finest provinces in *Hindustan*.

In the course, however, of those strides to power, murder, rapine, famine, horror of every kind, have overspread the face of the whole country. To enumerate descriptions of slaughter cannot please; a single specimen only I shall beg leave to introduce from Colonel *Dow's History of Hindustan*,
which

which strikingly shows to what degree of barbarous depravity mankind can descend, when uncurbed by authority, and impelled by avarice and a thirst for power.

“ These factions proved fatal to the unhappy
 “ *Delbians*. *Abdallah* laid the city under heavy
 “ contributions, and enforced the collection with
 “ such rigor and cruelty, that the unfortunate
 “ inhabitants, driven to despair, took up arms.
 “ The *Persian* ordered a general massacre, which,
 “ without intermission, lasted for seven days. The
 “ relentless *Dourannies* * were not even then glutted
 “ with slaughter, but the stench of the dead bodies
 “ drove them out of the city. A great part of the
 “ buildings were, at the same time, reduced to
 “ ashes, and many thousands, who had escaped
 “ the sword, suffered a lingering death by famine,
 “ sitting upon the smoking ruins of their own
 “ houses. Thus the imperial city of *Delbi*, which,
 “ in the days of its glory, extended itself seventeen
 “ crores in length, and was said to contain two
 “ millions of people, became almost a heap of
 “ rubbish.

“ The miseries of the unfortunate *Delbians* were
 “ not yet at an end. The *Mabrattors*, who now,
 “ without intermission, traversed the empire for
 “ plunder, advanced to partake of the spoils of
 “ *Delbi* with *Abdallah*. *Jincow* and *Malbarrow*
 “ accordingly occupied the environs of the city.
 “ The *Persian* marched out against them, and
 “ both armies joined battle at a place called *Mu-*
 “ *genu Tuckia*, two crores from the depopulated
 “ capital. The *Mabrattors* were defeated, and

* The tribe, of which *Abdallah* is Chief, are distinguished by that name.

“ pursued two hundred and fifty crores from the
 “ field: but they, in the mean time, gave *Abdallah*
 “ the slip, turned his rear, and set out in full
 “ march for *Delhi*. The *Dourannies*, however, were
 “ so close to their heels, that, before they could
 “ attempt any thing against the city, they were a
 “ second time obliged to retreat.

“ In the mean time news arrived, that the *Mab-*
 “ *rattor* Chiefs were advancing with another very
 “ numerous army from the *Decan*, with a professed
 “ design to re-establish the ancient *Hindoo* govern-
 “ ment. *Bisswass Raw*, *Baow*, and *Ibrahim Chan*
 “ *Ghardi*, commanded this force, which, indepen-
 “ dent of the army of *Mabrattors*, whom *Ab-*
 “ *dallah* had already defeated, consisted of one
 “ hundred thousand horse. The *Mahommedans*
 “ were struck with terror; they thought it neces-
 “ sary to join *Abdallah*, to support the faith; *Suja*
 “ *ul Dowla*, who had succeeded his father, the
 “ infamous *Seifdar Jung*, in the province of *Oud*,
 “ *Abmed Chan Bunguish*, Chief of the *Patans* and
 “ all the petty Chieftains of the *Rebillas*, hastened
 “ with their forces to *Delhi*.

“ The *Mabrattors* had now entered the terri-
 “ tories of the *Jates*, and summoned *Raja Sou-*
 “ *rage Mull* to join them. Though *Sourage Mull*,
 “ as a *Hindoo*; wished for the extirpation of *Ma-*
 “ *hommedism* in *India*, he was too jealous of the
 “ power of the *Mabrattors*, to obey their orders,
 “ Enraged at his obstinacy, they carried fire and
 “ sword through his dominions, and compelled
 “ him at last to join them with fifty thousand men.

“ The *Mabrattors* now consisted of two hundred
 “ thousand horse, and the *Mahommedans*, whom
 “ *Abmet Abdallah* commanded in chief, of near one
 “ hundred and fifty thousand. The eyes of all
 “ *India*

“ *India* were now turned towards the event of
 “ a war, upon which depended, whether the
 “ supreme power should remain with the *Ma-*
 “ *bommedans*, or revert again to the *Hindoos*.
 “ Upon the approach of the *Mabrattors*, *Abdallab*
 “ evacuated *Delbi*, and, having crossed the *Jumna*,
 “ encamped on the opposite bank.

“ The *Mabrattors* immediately entered the city,
 “ and filled every quarter of it with devastation
 “ and death. Not content with robbing the mise-
 “ rable remains of *Abdallab*’s cruelty of everything
 “ they possessed, they stripped all the males and
 “ females quite naked, and wantonly whipped
 “ them before them along the streets. Many now
 “ prayed for death, as the greatest blessing, and
 “ thanked the hand which inflicted the wound.—
 “ Famine begun to rage among the unfortunate
 “ citizens to such a degree, that men fled from
 “ their dearest friends, as from beasts of prey, for
 “ fear of their being devoured. Many women
 “ devoured their own children, while some mo-
 “ thers, of more humanity, were seen dead in the
 “ streets, with infants still sucking at their breasts.
 “ —But now let us draw a veil over this scene of
 “ horror.”

Such therefore being the melancholy situation
 of those distressed people, alternately the victims
 of the avarice and brutal fury of those tygers
 in human shape, no wonder that they pant after
 tranquillity, and anxiously wish for one sove-
 reign lord to protect them against a million of ty-
 rants.

The idea of the *British* power has made a strong
 impression on the minds of the inhabitants of *Hin-*
dostan. The servants of the Company they consi-
 der

der as so many princes †, that Company which can rule such princes they look up to with awe and terror; but the King of *Great Britain*, the sovereign ruler of such rulers, they conceive to be some being superior to human nature.

The mere reputation therefore of an alliance between his *Britannick* Majesty and the *Great Mogul* (and I could stake my head on the event) would operate like an electrical shock, fly like lightning from the most northern dependency on the throne of *Delhi* to *Cape Comorin*, and awe the proudest chief into obedience and subjection. The little *Rajas*, whose dominions are now laid waste by the greater robbers, and the various tribes of unhappy exiles, who, hunted from place to place by cruel marauders, cannot find a spot on which to rest their weary limbs, would all flock to the royal standard, and unite in crushing that destructive anarchy which has unhinged all government, and deluged their country with blood. One compact body, thus moving with dignity and firmness, would soon establish an authority which the most undoubted right unsupported by power can never effectuate; in *Hindustan* especially, where principles of honour and patriotism being but little known, and despotism the system of rule adapted to the genius of the people, fear becomes the only security for obedience.

Here it may not be improper to bring into one point of view the various certain and probable advantages which may be expected from the pro-

† “ I met the *British*” (says *Mahommed Ali Khan*, the Nabob of the *Carnatic*) “ with that openness which they love; “ and it is my honour as well as my security to be the ally “ of a nation composed of Princes.”

posed arrangements, and then endeavour to support the whole by undoubted facts and obvious reasonings.

1. That an alliance with some great power in *Hindustan* seems absolutely necessary to create that balance of power which alone can establish tranquillity, and give a breathing-time to the labourer and manufacturer, without which the commerce of the Company must soon inevitably be ruined.

2. That none can promise more in point of present safety and advantage, or future stability and prosperity, than that which is now proposed with the lawful and acknowledged head of the empire.

3. That it will operate reciprocally in throwing strength, authority, and riches into the hands of the contracting powers.

4. That the firmness it will give to the sovereignty of the *Great Mogul* will bring the tributary Soubas, Rajas, and other states, into the old channel of obedience.

5. That the revenue arising from these tributes will enable *Shah Allum* to keep a great army constantly on foot, which, by being commanded by *British* officers only, must be considered in every respect as a *British* army in the *Mogul's* pay.

6. That this army will be ready at all times, on application from the *British* Governor-general, to furnish detachments, should our settlements be attacked either by foreigners or natives.

7. That the clothing and other *European* necessities for this army will immediately amount to above 200,000 l. and may soon exceed 500,000 l. *per annum*, to be furnished by the Company.

8. That an increase of revenue to the *Mogul* might soon enable him to give up the twenty-six lacks payable from the Dewannee of *Bengal*, which must

must otherwise be constantly remitted to him, or *Great Britain* forfeit her honour by trampling on the law of nations.

9. That the Company will be allowed to establish factories, with high privileges, wherever they choose, and to trade duty-free in his *Mogul* Majesty's dominions; whilst the immediate trade to *Delhi* must open a vent for *British* commodities to an immense amount, with the certainty of an annual increase, when peace and the easy collection of the Shah's revenue shall promote commerce, and a circulation of cash.

10. That an extension of trade to the eastern and northern provinces of *Persia* and the southern states of *Tartary*, through the *Mogul's* dominions and the *Indus*, amounts to a probability bordering upon certainty, and must prove highly beneficial.

11. That the Company will immediately get rid of that claim which the *Mabrattors* insist they have a right to, called the *Chout*, or fourth part of the revenues of their territorial acquisitions, and which will ever furnish those restless marauders with a pretence, supported by the appearance of legality, to plunder and distress their settlements.

12. That the Company will in every respect be placed in perfect security from their determined and irreconcilable enemies, the *Mabrattors*, *Hyder Ali*, and the *Nizam* of the *Decan*.

13. That *Bombay*, which now depends even on those *Mabrattors* for provisions, and upon *Bengal* for money, would, in consequence of the acquisition of the *Concan*, and the uninterrupted trade of the *Indus*, become one of their most flourishing settlements, instead of at present proving a dead weight on the Company of at least 200,000 l. *per annum*.

14. That

14. That in place of being considered as invaders of *Hindostan*, this alliance would convey to his Majesty a legal, just, and undisputed title to several of the noblest provinces in the empire, and give a new spring to the trade and internal happiness of that wide-extended empire.

15. That it will, at the same time, put an entire stop to *French* intrigues in *Hindostan*, from which sooner or later much danger may otherwise arise. *Suja ul Dowla* is at best but a forced friend; self-preservation keeps him for the present in quiet, but his chief favourites and leaders are *Gentil*, *Chevalier*, and other natives of *France*, who only watch a favourable moment to recover their lost dominion, and annihilate the *British* power in *India*.

16. That it will bring above two millions yearly into the treasury of *Great Britain*, without taking a single rupee in cash out of *Hindostan*, by which administration will be enabled to make great progress in sinking the national debt, and relieving the subject of the taxes most oppressive to the manufacturing poor.

17. That it will give new vigour to the declining manufactures of *Britain*, but in a particular manner to those of the clothing counties, as well as to *Birmingham*, *Manchester*, *Sheffield*, *Norwich*, &c.

18. That the Company having then nothing to attend to but a steady application to commerce, and the ruinous expence of a military establishment being then no longer necessary, their debts would in consequence be soon extinguished; and their own dividends, instead of dwindling to nothing, would on the most solid principles exceed in a few years the most flourishing period of their own or any foreign stock.

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19. That

19. That the whole can be arranged upon the most simple as well as the most equitable principles, and the particular advantages to Government and the Company be entirely compatible with universal good; whilst the system of *India* government (which like the *Gordian* knot is at present too difficult to be unloosed) would be put upon such a solid basis as to render the management as easy as that of our *West India* islands.

20. That no undue severity will be exercised against any of the country princes, nor any act of power put in force which the general safety of the whole does not appear to require. *Hyder* is an usurper; he must be stripped of *Bangalore*, the sea-port of *Mangalore*, and some other important places, of which he has robbed the lawful owners; to whom, in order to preserve a proper balance, they might either be restored on certain conditions, or, if the possession would be of greater importance to us, an equivalent given them in some other district. The power of the *Nizam*, and the aristocracy of the *Mahrattors*, being also circumscribed, and all of them obliged regularly to pay tribute for the territories they are allowed to hold either from the King of *Great Britain* or the *Mogul*, there would not then remain in *Hindustan* a prince of power sufficient to disturb the general tranquillity; and the smaller states having then nothing to dread, the armies they are now under the necessity of supporting for their safety, which drains their treasuries, and drives them to oppressive extortions, would then of course be disbanded; they would become rich; their tribute they could pay with ease; their people would return to their labour and manufactures, and the contrast which they must soon perceive between misery and happiness

piness would attach them in the strongest manner to the contracting powers; whilst individuals, finding that certain fixed unalterable laws became the guardians of their property, they would bless the influence which had dispelled that inhuman anarchy, and made the arts of peace to rise up from among the horrors of war.

Lastly, That as *Shah Allum* in his present situation must ever remain a dangerous, though involuntary engine in the hands of our foes, necessity, sound policy, every regard to present safety and future prosperity call loudly for an experiment, which can be attended with neither danger nor expence; without enlarging upon the humane idea of giving permanent peace to perhaps fifty millions of people.

Having in the foregoing articles given the principal heads of the beneficial consequences, which may be hoped for from the proposed alliance, I shall now endeavour to illustrate such of them as may appear to require a more complete investigation.

Peace, that first and most important consideration to a trading country, and to a body whose only object ought to be an extensive commerce, undisturbed by attention to politicks and war, can never be hoped for, circumstanced as the *India Company* has been, and must continue to be, unless a manly and a radical remedy is immediately applied. The changes may be run upon the names of their Chiefs, from Governors and Councils to Select Committees, from these to Supervisors, and from Supervisors to Councils-general; but measures, not men, must be the object, or *worse and worse* must be the Company's motto.

The principles of every Government ought to rest upon the simplest and the broadest basis. They ought to be such as men of moderate abilities can conduct with ease, and which, even knaves and fools, when raised to rule, cannot greatly injure; for men of superior parts appear but seldom, and men of integrity are not always to be found. Mankind we must take as we find them, not as we might wish them to be; and every arrangement which looks forward to stability, must be adapted to the level of the million, not to the genius of the few.

Is the present system of *India* government established on such a foundation? Can it raise its head, amidst the almost unavoidable jarring of factions, and the dissensions of injured individuals? Can it restore the affairs of *Hindustan*, should one half of the Company's servants counteract the efforts of the rest? Are all the actors men of superior parts, severe integrity, devoid of passions, jealousies, and private views? Have they no fortunes to make, no dependents to promote? Have they no unjust preferences to give, no supercessions in their train to sow the seeds of disunion and resentment? Have they the intrepidity of a *Clive*, the address of a *Vansittart*, the active vigilance of a *Pigot*? Or can they, amidst all the luxury of the East, breathe nothing but *Spartan* patriotism, abstinence, and self-denial? —Such men, if such men have been found, may for a season prop the tottering fabric, till bending under the unweildy load, one rude blast involves the whole in ruin.

To be completely convinced that the above is not merely declamation, let us take a slight view of the destructive system which has prevailed ever since a commercial Company became metamorphosed

phosed into that triple-headed monster, a sovereign-military-merchant.

Madras, for near thirty years, has hardly ever been twelve months together at peace; *Calcutta*, since the overthrow of *Suraja ul Dowla*, has considerably improved upon her example; *Bombay* to the best of her abilities has shewn a willingness not to be behind hand with her sister-settlements; and could *Bencoolen* any how have contrived to follow such shining patterns, she undoubtedly would not have been the only exception to the general rule.

Now what have been the consequences of these military movements? Have they all been founded on necessity? Has the Company's preservation, immediately or contingently, been the constant motives for these wars; or have any of them been wantonly created to satisfy the ambition or avarice of individuals? One of these positions must certainly be true, and either of them will sufficiently demonstrate the danger of persevering in such a pernicious system. If the Company has constantly been and still remains exposed to the attacks of numerous foes, it becomes surely highly necessary now to look around for some general and permanent security. Whilst, on the other hand, if the Company's safety and advantage have been often but secondary objects to the views of private men, the reason is equally forcible to remove instantly every cause that may in future have a tendency to produce such baneful effects: for what has invariably been the system will ever so continue while the same defects remain, and the same principles operate. The stronger *Indian* Princes, while unawed by superior authority, will ever crush the weaker, whilst those who are more upon a level will court *European* powers to enable them to de-

stroy

stroy their rivals. Splendid bribes will be hung out, which our leaders may not always have virtue enough to resist, and the Company's real interests be too often sent headlong to ruin, to aggrandize ambitious individuals. Where so many independent powers exist therefore uncontrouled by any other law than their own short-sighted views, how impossible must it be to expect tranquillity! their fears, their avarice, their contests for superiority must keep them ever in alarm; armies upon armies must be perpetually in motion, laying the country waste; the labourer to avoid destruction must turn soldier; manufactures must droop; revenues decline; treasuries be drained; necessity then will urge to war, and the plunder which rewards the conqueror give him only a thirst for more.

To keep the Company's servants unconcerned during such commotions is absolutely impossible. Threatnings upon threatnings may be hung out *in terrorem* by the Court of Directors; but experience has clearly shewn that it is their inferior, their poorer dependents only who tremble at their frowns; whilst those in the higher lines have not scrupled to set their mandates at defiance: yet such are the charms of Affluence, that punishment, nay even censure, will ever shrink at her approach.

The late manœuvres on the *Coromandel* coast and at *Allahabad* I am not sufficiently informed about to judge of with precision; report however says that the taking of *Tanjour* has already produced a misunderstanding between us and our old and hitherto faithful ally the Nabob of *Arcot*; and the surrender to *Suja ul Dowla* of *Allahabad* and the *Cora* province (ceded and guarantied by us to the King) is not only another blow to the law of nations, but adds fresh strength to one of our
most

most dangerous and most powerful neighbours. A few lacks of rupees indeed, as the Company's proportion, have been hung out to amuse the Stockholders at home, whilst every sword that is drawn, every wanton deviation from that steady justice which alone can make us really great, is cutting down the tree to gather the fruit, and must prove fatal forerunners to still more fatal consequences.

But let us hide for a moment from our eyes the naked sword which, suspended by a hair, hangs over the Company's head: let us view only the most chearful side of the landscape, and let us fancy the happiest effects which can possibly be expected from the gentlemen now appointed to the superintendency of the Company's affairs in the East; let them have all the virtues I have already figured them to be possess of; let the gentlemen already there (many of whom by the supercession of the Council-general and their suite are now cut off from every hope of independence) not only throw no opposition in their way, but, looking with indifference on their own private interest, co-operate in every measure for the benefit of the Company, the utmost possible good that can be hoped for even from this great ultimatum can only be felt in the Company's own districts, which, if properly reflected upon, must be after all a poor, an unimportant, and a transitory consideration.

The trade of every country can flourish only in proportion to the situation of those states which surround it. The riches and commerce of one nation derives their principal supplies from the riches and commerce of their neighbours; and no people can ever carry their trade and industry very far, where the adjacent districts are the scenes of barbarism, plunder, and carnage.

Bengal,

Bengal, Behar, and Orissa are possessed of no mines; their former riches therefore flowed entirely from their trade with the surrounding and more distant provinces of the Empire; it was this trade which enabled *Bengal* alone before the *Persian* invasion to remit to the Emperor's treasury a tribute of 100 lacks, besides the immense sums the Soubas and Dewans reserved for themselves; and to the loss of this trade, together with the other never-failing attendants upon anarchy and war, is it owing that the revenues are now hastening fast to a total decline.

It is evident, therefore, that even the profoundest peace, and the most salutary regulations in the Company's provinces alone, never can recover that wealth and that trade which they have lost, unless the same tranquillity is extended to every corner of the empire: for should *Great Britain* still look on with an eye of indifference, whilst *Hyder Ali* is destroying a number of little states on the *Malabar* coast, whilst the *Mabrattors* and *Abdallah* are either laying waste or threatening with desolation the provinces to the north and west, all external commerce but that to *Europe* must totally cease; and the trade being then confined entirely to internal barter, so far from offering a probability of advantage to the Company, must throw the balance so much against them, as evidently to make it in a little while too ruinous to support.

Can any thing more strikingly confirm the foregoing observations than a slight view of the decline of the revenues from the year 1766 to 1771, with the immense increase during that period of the Company's expence? Mr. Sykes, in his letters to the Select Committee, reports the revenue to amount to 199 lacks of rupees; taking this therefore

fore as the standard, which undoubtedly in times of tranquillity and good order, the provinces could easily yield, observe the progress of the revenue and expence in the inverse proportion.

REVENUE.				LACKS.	DISBURSEMENTS in Bengal, civil, military, &c. LACKS.			
1766	to	1767	—	196	1766	to	1767	— 99
1767	—	1768	—	181	1767	—	1768	— 108
1768	—	1769	—	192	1768	—	1769	— 126
1769	—	1770	—	161	1769	—	1770	— 130
1770	—	1771	—	154	1770	—	1771	— 134

What conclusions must we draw from the above! in the year 1766 we observe that the revenue exceeded the expence nearly in 100 lacks (about 1,250,000 l.) whilst in 1771 this excess we find dwindled down to a fifth part, or about 250,000 l. What further decrease may have happened since that time I cannot precisely say, having seen no regular account; but, from information which has probability to support it, the revenue at the last balance had suffered another diminution of twenty-five lacks more; so that even including the twenty-six lacks, which has been unwarrantably stopped from *Shah Allum*, the Company then had only a surplus of twenty-one lacks, or 262,500 l. (at 2 s. 6 d. the rupee) to defray the investments, to remit for the deficiencies of the other settlements (that of *Bombay* alone exceeding at a medium 200,000 l. yearly) to pay the interest of the bond debt (amounting by the last accounts to 1,271,250 l. † which at the rate of 8 per cent. is above 100,000 l.) to answer the additional expence of the Council-general and Judges (about 100,000 l. more) and various other smaller incidents, with

† Exclusive of near 1,000,000 l. of arrears now due to the *Mogul*.

which it is unnecessary to swell the account; a sum so totally inadequate, that the unavoidable consequence must be an increase of the bond debt, till the surplus revenue not being equal even to defraying the interest, it is easy for common sense to draw the fatal conclusion.

The Courts of Direction and Proprietary may in the mean time amuse themselves about the reduction of some pounds in their freight-account, and discuss a few such problematical questions as, whether the private trade of their sea-servants is or is not detrimental to the Company's interest? but, tho' a proper attention to œconomy is in many cases certainly laudable, pence and farthings are, after all, but sorry considerations, when millions are perishing, and their very existence is at stake. Confined ideas ought never to govern great bodies; an individual, whose hour upon the stage of life is circumscribed, must adapt his operations to his time, his views, and his abilities; but a great body ought to look forward, and never sacrifice important, certain, though remoter advantages, to the investigation of trifles, or the indolent gratification of the present hour.

Before the malady therefore is past all power of art, let Parliament and the Direction join their skill; the remedy at present is easy, but delay must ruin all. Let therefore all puerile apprehensions and little jealousies give way to manly confidence; the times demand it, the object is great, and will well reward their pains. Let not therefore the Direction hang out their paltry parchment when such a game is at stake. A charter granted to a Commercial Company must virtually lose its being, when that Company, having become sovereigns, are found unequal to the weight of government. Factionous declaimers and speculative reasoners will ever display to the people that
bug-bear,

bug-bear, the power of the crown; but the indispensable consideration (and I am supported in my opinion by Colonel *Dow*, Mr. *Smith* *, and every able writer on *India* affairs) rests now entirely on this point, whether, in the dread of a remote and improbable contingency, we shall rush upon our ruin? or, which is the same thing, governed by irresolution and procrastination, lay supinely by, till destruction is at the door, and nothing remains but unavailing complaints, and wishes for the recovery of lost opportunity?

From the whole therefore the following short axioms may be clearly deduced.

1st, That the *English East India* Company cannot exist under the present system of government.

2dly, That the establishment of a general tranquillity only can restore the commerce of *Hindustan*, and give permanency to the *British* trade.

3dly, That a great alliance is the only possible measure that can accomplish this important end.

4thly, That no alliance can promise any lasting advantage, or give a real legality to our proceedings, excepting that with the *Great Mogul*.

On this ground I shall, therefore, with great de-

† *Nathaniel Smith*, Esq; now one of the Directors of the *India* Company, the author (if am not misinformed) of three judicious publications, intituled, *Observations on the present state of the East India Company; Measures to be pursued in India; and General Remarks on the system of government in India*; in which a variety of important matter is discussed with a depth of knowledge, a solidity of reasoning, and a perspicuity of stile, which does that gentleman much honour. They are printed for *Nourse* in the *Strand*, and ought to be read by every man who considers *India* affairs as of interesting consequence to his country.

ference, submit the following great lines of a plan for this important purpose, leaving it for amendment to men of better parts, should the general idea engage, as it ought, the attention of the nation.

1. That an alliance offensive and defensive be entered into between his *Britannick* majesty and *Shah Allum* upon the principles formerly laid down, with such alterations as the wisdom of Parliament and his Majesty's Councils may judge necessary.

2. That a new charter be granted to the *East India* Company, confining their attention to commerce alone.

3. That the revenue, the civil, political, and military departments, be entirely under the controul of a Viceroy and a Council of sixteen, to be appointed by the Crown, and accountable to Parliament for their conduct.

4. That they be interdicted by the severest penalties from all concern directly or indirectly in trade.

5. That their salaries be ample and fixed, with an allowance of so much *per cent.* upon the surplus, when the revenues should exceed a certain determined sum; this would give them a stronger interest in the encouragement of agriculture, freedom of trade, and every measure that might honourably tend to an increase of revenue.

6. That the Viceroy's residence may at first be at *Morshedabad*, to be removed hereafter, if necessary, nearer to the centre, when the provinces of the *Decan* and the *Concan* are added to the *British* dominions.

7. That the Viceroy should have the whole executive power; but the revenue and every new deliberative

deliberative measure to fall under the consideration of the Viceroy and Council.

8. That six of the Council remain always with the Viceroy; three to reside at *Calcutta*, three at *Madras*, three at *Bombay*, and one as Envoy at the Court of the *Great Mogul*.

9. That there be also sixteen junior counsellors, to supply vacancies in case of death or resignation; out of which body residents, if thought necessary, might be appointed to different subordinates.

10. That every thing of a judicial nature be left entirely to *English* and *Indian* Judges; except in cases of appeal to the Viceroy and Council.

11. That such Zemindars as may act as Judges shall have no concern, as at present, in the collection of the revenues; but other officers be appointed to that department.

12. That Nabobs, Rajas, and Foujdars shall preside over provinces and districts, with certain executive and collective powers; to account regularly for the tribute to the Viceroy and Council for these territories which hold of the Crown of *Great Britain*, and to the Mogul's treasury for such as hold under that Prince.

13. That the Viceroy and Council, as a supreme criminal court, should have the power of calling to account Generals, Judges, and other great officers when guilty of oppression, perversion of justice, or any other dangerous crime.

14. That the lands should be let in lots either for life or a certain term of years, at a fixed moderate rent; which would tend greatly to promote the industry of the farmer, upon his seeing a certain prospect of reward for his labour, and a security for his property when he has acquired it.

15. That

15. That strict attention be paid to the collectors, and ready redress be given to every well founded complaint.

16. That every kind of security for person and property should be proclaimed abroad, and religiously observed; particularly with regard to merchants from *Persia*, *Tartary*, and other distant countries.

17. That great endeavours be used by premiums and advance of money to improve the manufacture of fine goods, which has declined greatly, in consequence of the distractions of the country.

18. That the Company in their commercial line be subject to no controul, except when evidently transgressing their limits; and that powers of appeal to the King and Council be lodged with the Governors of the respective presidencies, when the least impediment is thrown in their way by the servants of the Crown.

19. That Government agree to pay the Company, by appraisement, for all their forts, stores, and military apparatus, to be made good by yearly instalments out of the revenues.

20. That all Government remittances be transacted by the Company, and be paid into the treasuries of the respective Presidencies seven or eight months before the goods are brought from the manufactories to the Company's warehouses, which would enable them to go to market on the best terms by advancing money to the Aurongs or manufacturing villages: whilst, at the same time, the remittances, thus passing through the Company's hands would operate as a check on the Crown servants in the management of the revenue; as a deficiency would soon be discovered, and if it appeared to proceed from speculation, negligence,
or

or oppression, immediate punishment would follow.

21. That all cloths, and other *European* commodities, for the consumption of the *British* and *Mogul* armies, should also pass entirely through the hands of the Company, at certain fixed rates or contracts, as might from time to time be entered into with the Courts of *London* and *Delhi*.

22. That, as a fleet would be always necessary, ships be contracted for by the Viceroy and Council, and built by the Company of teek-wood, which is extremely durable, and would prove an immense saving to *Great Britain*; these ships might be manned partly with *British* seamen, and partly by *Lascars* and *Malays*, who, if bred young, would make excellent sailors.

23. That all the natives of the East, with such *Europeans* as may have the Company's licence, be protected in an uninterrupted commerce, subject to such duties as may, as nearly as possible, enable every trader to go to market on equal terms, the advantages being always, though not too highly, in favour of the subjects of *Great Britain*; otherwise monopolies will still continue to distress the empire, and deter the natives of remoter countries from visiting our provinces.

I would not in the above sketch (to which many other important articles might be added) wish to be considered as dictating to Administration or Direction in their great arrangements: their superior opportunities for knowledge will no doubt suggest to them many improvements; my design is only to point out to the public at large, in the general and great line, the ease with which a plan of this nature might be carried into execution, without

out any of these dangers, difficulties, or expences, which, at the first blush, might alarm the uninformed.

Most of the advantages to be expected from the proposed alliance and the consequent arrangements appear to be self-evident; but as some of them, and those of high importance, require a completer investigation, I shall speak to them a little more fully, and then, with some general inferences, conclude the whole.

And first, with regard to the revenue, which clear of all charges, civil and military, would then flow into the treasury of *Great Britain* (and which might be allotted entirely for the discharging of the national debt) it would soon amount to full two millions *per annum*. In this estimate I neither include the revenues of the *Concan* and the *Decan* (of which in less than two years we should dispossess the *Mabrattors* and the *Nizam*, or render them tributary, almost without drawing a sword) nor those of the *Bednure* and *Sunda* provinces, usurped by *Hyder Ali*, and of which the *Rajas*, the rightful owners, would gladly acknowledge us superiors, with a certain annual tribute, and put us in possession at the same time of *Bangalore*, *Mangalore*, *Carwar*, and other places of importance; whereby we might not only have the entire command of all imports and exports, but cut off *Hyder* from all communication with the sea. The *Mabrattors* draw at present from the *Concan* above 800,000 l. yearly; the *Decan* is rich, and much more extensive, and the revenues of *Bednure* and *Sunda* yield near 1,400,000 l. one half of which the *Rajas* would thankfully give up to enjoy the other without future dread of the oppressive and merciless *Hyder*. These, therefore, allowing
all

all the tributary Soubas and Rajas to enjoy, in security, a much greater revenue than they do at present, would bring in above *two millions* more, and, at the same time, command the whole trade in cottons, peppers, cardamums, and other valuable commodities. The whole of this revenue government could receive in *England* without draining *Hindustan* of their current silver, which would, especially at present, be a most pernicious system, and soon tend to the destruction of all trade: for, in a country where no paper credit exists, money becoming the only symbol of trade, unless a due medium is preserved between the symbol and the commodity, commerce must proportionably be hurt. The scarcity of circulating cash at present in *Hindustan* is one great cause of the stagnation of trade, whilst that stagnation of trade operates, as it ever must, in a reciprocal ratio upon the circulating cash. The custom too, originating from the turbulence and despotism of those eastern governments, of people of property burying one third of their fortune, investing another in jewels, and reserving only a third part for trade and the means of living, joined to the sums sent to *China*, and those accumulated by the *Mahrattors*, *Heyder*, *Cossim Ali*, and other public robbers, have altogether contributed to render this already an evil of too alarming a nature not to be immediately and effectually checked. The idea of a national bank in *India*, adopted by Mr. *Smith*, might indeed apply a salutary remedy, but however plausible it may appear, it must be the consideration of a distant day; for all or most of the arrangements here proposed must have taken effect, and universal security and tranquillity have prevailed, before a speculative point of such consequence can be seriously attended to.

To make the reader, however, perfectly comprehend the manner in which government may conduct the whole system of their revenue and remittances, and the Company regulate their investments, I shall take the liberty of giving an extract from one of the publications I have formerly mentioned, intituled, *Measures to be pursued in India*; in the consideration of which Mr. *Smith* appears, by uniting the philosopher and the gentleman with the man of business, to have connected theory with practice, without which every speculative discussion must be vague and indecisive.

“ The government, holding the revenues, will have to pay for all the civil and military charges, the expence of building ships of war, and all the different stores brought from *Europe*; and the Company carrying out all the articles for the navy, and all the cloathing and ammunition for the army, will be repaid in *India* by the Crown, at a price equivalent to the risk and expence: in short every expence on the side of government for whatever was sent from *England*, being paid for in like manner to the Company, whatever the Crown received from *India* would, in this case, be a clear gain; and the additional articles sent from this country will, so far as their value extends, become of equal advantage to it with the exports to *America*, or elsewhere.

“ The money government had to spare from their various expences abroad, being lent to the Company on bills of exchange (payable in *England* on the sale of the cargoes) and by them invested in the manufactures and growths of the countries wherein it was collected, and the money that government paid them from the different stores brought from *England* being also invested in the
same

same manner, none of the specie could be carried out of the country, but would circulate again among the natives to greater advantage than ever it did from the treasuries of their Soubas. The Company will trade upon this principle with such superior advantage as will enable them to under-sell all other nations; for in this case a considerable part of the cargoes would not be paid for by the Company until they were sold in *England*, and they would also receive a proper allowance on their risk and expence for the stores carried out for the use of government.

“ The Company’s returning cargoes from *Bengal* amount to near ninety lacks, or about one million sterling or upwards; those from *Madras*, before the last *Carnatic* war, amounted to two hundred thousand pounds; this is the most beneficial branch of all, a great part consisting of goods that are afterwards manufactured in *England*.

“ The investments from the *Malabar* coast consist of coarse piece-goods, cardamums, pepper, and some few other articles; every other year a cargoe of coffee comes home from *Mocha*; of late years all these together have seldom exceeded two hundred thousand pounds; this makes the investments from the bay and the two coasts amount altogether to one million four hundred thousand pounds, or thereabouts.

“ If the plan I have laid down for the *Malabar* coast is ever carried into execution, the annual investments from that side would equal five hundred thousand pounds; and if the *Carnatic* remains at rest, the investments from thence will soon amount to three hundred thousand pounds. This would make the whole from the three settlements one million eight hundred thousand pounds; and is an in-

crease on the present annual amount of four hundred thousand pounds. The Company's annual exports to India from hence cost them about three hundred thousand pounds, and generally produce there three hundred and eighty thousand pounds.

“ Let the additional articles to be carried yearly for the Crown be set at three hundred thousand pounds, these paid for on their arrival in *India* at thirty *per cent.* upon their cost, would produce the Company an annual sum in *India* of about seven hundred and sixty thousand pounds, which would be ready for the purchase of the home investments. The present investments amount to about one million four hundred thousand pounds, there then remains for the government to lend the Company not less than seven hundred thousand pounds; and with the proposed increase, which may easily be obtained, the government's annual remittance from the three settlements would amount to one million one hundred thousand pounds. On the above seven hundred and sixty thousand pounds produced from goods and stores, one hundred and fifty thousand pounds is profit, so that the Company would only risk about five hundred and seventy thousand pounds, from home every year, for the returns of one million eight hundred thousand pounds, at the first cost abroad.—Let us suppose the Company, after paying the freight and other charges of the ships, the duties, warehouse-room, &c. to receive only a neat profit of twenty-five *per cent.* which would be much below what other nations could afford to sell at; this, joined to the one hundred and fifty thousand pounds gained outwards, would produce the Company a profit of six hundred thousand pounds yearly, on a risk of only five hundred and seventy thousand pounds of their own capital.

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“ The investments brought annually from *China* amount on an average, when raw silk is procureable, to upwards of six hundred thousand pounds prime cost—we will take them at six hundred thousand pounds. The investment sent annually to *China* in cloth and lead doth not amount to two hundred thousand pounds, the Company lose on the first article, but gain on the other. The goods sent to *China* from different parts of *India*, together with the sums belonging to private gentlemen paid into the Company's treasury there, may be set, one year with another, at about one hundred and seventy thousand pounds; so that a supply of about two hundred and forty thousand pounds in silver must be sent from home (if no other method can be found) to complete the annual *China* investment. On the above three hundred and seventy thousand pounds, I suppose about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds may be set off to profits on the goods carried to *China*, and the remittances of private property through the treasury of that factory: this brings the cost of the goods carried to *China* to about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds; therefore, the *China* trade will demand from *Europe* yearly four hundred thousand pounds or upwards, in goods and money. I imagine great part of the silver, if not all, might hereafter be supplied by a channel that would considerably increase the government remittances.—*China* cargoes have fallen considerably of late years in their value; but at this time they produce about fifty *per cent.* profit, after paying the freight, commissions to supra-cargoes, duties, and all other expences. This profit arising from the sale of the *China* cargoes, joined to that gained on the goods carried to *China*, together with the profits on the

Bencoolen

Bencoolen pepper brought to *Europe*, makes this branch of the trade produce a yearly profit of about four hundred thousand pounds : hence on a risk every year to *India* and *China* of about nine hundred and seventy thousand pounds, a gain will be produced of near one million on the balance ; for which not one third of the capital is hazarded.

“ The Company’s capital amounts to three million two hundred thousand pounds ; the dividend at ten *per cent.* is three hundred and twenty thousand pounds ; and the interest on bonds and annuities, setting them at six millions at three *per cent.* amounts to one hundred and eighty thousand pounds ; these together make the sum of five hundred thousand pounds to pay in interest† ; and leave a yearly surplus of near five hundred thousand pounds more for different accidents, to defray extraordinary expences, to reduce their debts, and then to farther enriching themselves.

“ These benefits to the nation in general, and the Company in particular, cannot fail, if some wise plan is properly followed. The Company will enjoy much more security and advantage, from the commercial part alone, than they do from their present splendid situation.

“ The *Malabar* coast is in a wretched state, depending wholly on *Bengal* for support ; *Bencoolen* is at this time rather a losing settlement ; and *St. Helena* is a dead rent-charge of about eighteen thousand pounds a year.

“ If every expence of government was paid out of the revenues abroad (the principle set out upon)

† Government pays one hundred and sixty thousand pounds to the Company annually, for the interest on the loans advanced at their establishment.

no charge, so long as those revenues remained to the nation, could arise here at home. The remittances, joined to the present duties, would bring into the king's treasury here in *England* a yearly income of near two millions and an half; and there would be an increase in the exports from *England* of near three hundred thousand pounds, and most of them articles manufactured in the kingdom; and this to support an army, and a naval force, which, without a shilling expence to the nation, would defend us against the attacks of any *European* powers whatever.

“ I have proposed, in this plan, an increase of four hundred thousand pounds in the investment from *India*; this increase is founded on speculation, and is of course subject to contradiction; for it is on this surmise, the remittances home to Government, amounting yearly to one million, depends. Suppose the Crown took the revenues as they stand at present, the advantage to the Company would be the same as on the proposed plan; the difference would only be to the Crown, in the means of remittance, and the security of the possessions; for Government at the present amount of the investment will be able to remit home six hundred thousand pounds a year; and if the equipment of the fleet in *India* was laid aside, the three hundred thousand pounds allotted to be sent out for that purpose in stores, together with its premium, would be lent out of the revenues of the Crown in *India*, to the agents of the Company, for bills of exchange payable at home, and thereby increase the Crown's remittance, on the present annual investment, to the amount of one million; the same as on the proposed plan.

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“ The surplus revenue, after all the annual demands are paid at *Bengal*, is now one million and an half. I hope it will be allowed, that the servants of the Crown could act with equal spirit, vigilance, and œconomy, with servants of the Company.

“ There would be a fair prospect of supplying *China* with silver from *Manilla*. A ship comes there annually from *New Spain*, and brings chiefly silver to purchase a cargo consisting of the manufactures of *India*; great part of them the piece-goods made at *Bengal*, and along the coast of *Coromandel*.

“ Private merchants residing at *Madras* have had concerns in this trade with the *Moors* and *Armenians*, who principally carry it on—and I have not a doubt, but a great part of the silver for the *China* market, to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, or two hundred thousand pounds, might be supplied in exchange for calicoes and other goods, the produce of *Madras* and *Bengal*, and the Government be enabled thereby to increase their remittances home by all that sum.

“ Besides the usual course in which this trade is carried on at present, many other channels of advantageous appearance offer themselves to our view, *Arabia* and *Persia* call for very large investments in the silk and cotton manufactories; in return for which, gold and silver, with some pearls, are brought back from the gulphs of *Mocha* and *Bassora*. This branch of the commerce is also chiefly in the hands of the *Armenians* and *Moors*.

“ On the east side of the bay of *Bengal*, only frequented by us for timber, many valuable improvements may be made: the *Philippine* islands, many of them are quite unfrequented and unknown to commerce. In short, such an influence, as this kingdom

kingdom may acquire in *India*, would enable us to strike out many useful branches of commerce, not thought of at present; there is nothing industry can effect, that may not be obtained, under such advantages as these new regulations would produce."

The above observations, from this gentleman's experience and extensive knowledge of the *India* trade, I have not a doubt are exceedingly well founded; and I have rather chosen to give them in his own words, as they must have deservedly much more weight with the public than if delivered as the ideas of a military-man. I have only to remark, that when a writer of such judgment could, in the year 1772, before the disclosure of the Company's dreadful situation, predict the ruinous consequences which would follow a perseverance in the old system of government, how much more forcibly must these arguments strike now that the pompous glare is dispelled, which for some years has dazzled and imposed upon of the world*.

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* This gentleman coincides entirely in the opinion, that an alliance with some great power in *India* is absolutely necessary for our present security and future prosperity in that country; but whatever deference I may pay to his sentiments in almost every other circumstance he has advanced, that which he proposes with the *Mahrattors* must, in comparison of this with the King, be vague, temporary, and unprofitable. The *Mahrattor* government is an absolute aristocracy, ruled by a number of chiefs, more jealous all of them of one another than of any other power in *Hindustan*; an alliance therefore with them must be at best but a partial one, as what *Jonajee* might embrace, *Modabrow* or *Rajaboy* would reject, and a connection with one tribe might perhaps serve only to involve us in war with another. Besides, what sovereignty could those marauders offer to his *Britannick Majesty*? what legal powers could they give our Crown to any dominions in *India*, without which his Majesty's subjects

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must

Among other regulations which appear to me of beneficial tendency, but which from their magnitude must be the subject of future and more mature consideration, when the previous arrangements have properly paved the way, few appear more important than the sale of lands to the natives of *Hindostan*, under certain reservations and restrictions, modified as nearly as possible to the tenure of *Gavel-kind*, which would prevent accumulation and many other fancied inconveniencies: hitherto no such thing as landed property has been known in those countries; and an impossibility therefore of investing their money with security has ever been one great inducement to the rich to bury great part of their wealth, which, in the case of sudden death, as they generally conceal the place where they have deposited their hoard even from their children, becomes often a total loss to the public. This measure therefore would be so extremely popular, that as soon as it was proclaimed abroad that his *Britannick* Majesty had taken those fine provinces un-

must still appear no better than invaders? what privileges or extension of trade could they offer, or what security should we have to carry it on with the least degree of safety? would they share with us their wealth or their territories, or would they allow *British* officers alone to discipline and command their troops? In a word, what circumstance of moment could possibly arise from so precarious, so dangerous, so mean an alliance, that could induce his Majesty of *England*, or even the Company, to court their friendship, when one so honourable and so pregnant with advantages now sues for his Majesty's most gracious approbation? As Mr. *Smith*, however, when he published his thoughts on *India* affairs, could not possibly foresee this important event, I flatter myself, from his extensive knowledge of the politicks of that country, he will easily perceive that this and this alone can render complete, or give a permanency to the otherwise judicious and salutary regulations he has proposed.

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der his protection, and meant to give the buyers a perpetual property in their lands, the richest subjects in *Hindostan* would flock from the neighbouring districts to make purchases; immense tracts of excellent ground, now entirely waste, would then be cultivated; and famine, that too frequent visitor of those naturally fertile provinces, be then known only by the name; whilst a sum of between eight and ten millions sterling would, in the course of a few years be brought into the Exchequer, and an annual rent be reserved superior to any thing the Company has ever hitherto received; but as this is a measure of too high consequence to be either hastily adopted or rejected, I have here only slightly glanced upon it, leaving the more accurate investigation till after-times, should an opening then be made by the alliance now proposed.

The next object of importance to be considered is the vast increase of internal and external trade, which must open to the Company in consequence of the above arrangements; the easy introduction of all kinds of *English* broad and narrow cloths, together with the manufactures of *Manchester, Norwich, Yorkshire, Birmingham, &c.* into every province of *Hindostan*, will naturally lead to an immense consumption; whilst the kingdom of *Ghisni*, the northern provinces of *Persia*, and many of the finest countries in *Tartary*, will eagerly seek our manufactures, as soon as peace and good government can give security to the Caravans.

The *Persians* are so remarkably fond of the woollen cloths of *Europe*, that according to Mr. *Elton*, who in the year 1739 planned the trade to *Persia* through *Russia*, “The *Persians* from the highest
“ to the lowest prefer woollen cloths to their own
“ cheaper silken manufactures, insomuch that

“ they never wear hose of any sort but such as are
 “ made of woollen cloth.”

As Mr. *Elton*, in his memorial, points out the many advantages of this trade to *Persia*, which, with the substitution only of *Delhi* or *Labore* for *Mesched*, are entirely in point with regard to the present plan, I shall transcribe one or two passages, and refer the more curious reader to Mr. *Hanway's Travels* † for the full account of this trade.

“ Whoever considers the great extent of both the
 “ *Bokharas*, the kingdoms of *Tangut* and *Tibet*,
 “ together with the vast tracts of land that border
 “ upon them, must at the same time see that they
 “ contain many great and populous cities; even
 “ their uncultivated lands are inhabited by millions
 “ of people, who are fond of *European* commodi-
 “ ties: from whence we must conclude, that a very
 “ advantageous trade might be carried on with
 “ them through *Mesched*. Caravans come to
 “ this place from all the cities in the *Great* and *Little*
 “ *Bokhara*, and from several of the eastern cities
 “ of *Persia*, also from *Cabul*, *Candabar*, and the
 “ northern frontiers of *India*. And without all
 “ question, when those cities are certain of finding
 “ at *Mesched* plenty of all the sorts of *European*
 “ goods that they want, and at the same time an
 “ increased demand for their own commodities,
 “ their caravans must quickly become more rich
 “ and numerous; by which means alone the *Bri-*
 “ *tish* merchants, without carrying their goods far-
 “ ther than *Mesched*, will be able to push their com-
 “ merce to the utmost limits of the extensive coun-
 “ tries above-mentioned.

“ With regard to the trade to the *Bokharas*, it is

† Vol. I. p. 23.

“ a most favourable circumstance that *Mesched*
 “ stands so very commodiously with respect to the
 “ provinces of *Gbilan* and *Shirvan*, from whence
 “ the returns for goods sold at *Mesched* may be
 “ made in raw silk, to the amount of almost any
 “ sum. Nor can it be doubted, but that when
 “ our merchants come to be acquainted with the
 “ *Bokharas*, and the cities to the eastward, they will
 “ find other valuable commodities there, such as
 “ gold, precious stones, bezoar, musk, &c. in
 “ which they may invest their returns, in case the
 “ produce of the northern provinces of *Persia*
 “ should prove insufficient. Hence it will follow,
 “ that after they have established themselves at
 “ *Mesched*, they will obtain the cloathing of the
 “ whole *Persian* army, by contracting with the
 “ Shah’s principal merchant, and supply all those
 “ vast and populous countries above-mentioned
 “ with woollen goods ; and this because no nation,
 “ but the people of *Great Britain*, can supply them
 “ with woollens of such plenty, or at so easy a rate,
 “ and at the same time afford to give so good a
 “ price for their raw silk and other commodities
 “ with which that country abounds.”

The beneficial consequences of this new trade appeared to the nation at that time so striking, that an act of Parliament was passed in the year 1741, allowing the *Russian* Company to trade to *Persia* through *Russia*, by the *Volga* and the *Caspian* sea; and it was accordingly immediately embarked in ; but, partly from the misconduct of Mr. *Elton*, who though a man of parts and enterprize, was not possessed of the solidity necessary for a mercantile chief, partly from the jealousy and intrigues of the *Russians*, but chiefly from the civil wars which desolated the country after the assassination of *Nadir Shah*, it declined

clined fast from the year 1745, and was at length totally lost to this country in the year 1748. Notwithstanding, however, almost every disadvantage of situation and management, the prime cost of the woollen cloths alone exported to *Persia* during the years 1742, 3, 4, and 5 amounted to about 200,000*l*. but under proper conduct, and a happier state of public affairs, it must soon have greatly exceeded that value; and by this time might perhaps have required a supply of twenty times the amount.

But the advantages under the present idea must be greatly superior to the trade by the *Caspian*. We shall be nearer *Tartary*, and the northern provinces of *Persia*, where they will principally have occasion for our cloths; whilst, the *Mogul* army being commanded only by *British* officers, we shall be in the countries of friends, or more properly in our own dominions; the Company's factories therefore can neither excite the jealousy, nor be under the controul, of such a formidable *European* power as the *Russians* (through whose dominions the *Caspian* adventurers and their merchandize were under the necessity of passing) neither will they be exposed to rapine, as was often the case in a country distracted by civil commotions; but subordinates being once established at *Delhi*, *Lahore*, *Moultan*, or any other more commodious situations the Company might approve of, immense quantities of *British* goods would be taken off by the Caravans from *Cachemire*, *Samarcand*, *Bokhara*, *Candabar*, *Caboul*, *Tibet*, and other great cities in *Persia* and *Tartary*, in exchange for gold, gems, raw-silk, cotton, fine wool, bezoar, borax, musk, lapis lazuli, and other precious commodities of those countries.

With regard then to *Bombay*, which has hitherto
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been and ever must remain a dead weight on the Company, unless a total change of measures shall take place, it must soon, by pursuing steadily the rational plans here proposed, become one of the most flourishing of the Company's settlements. The *Concan* country, which extends along the *Malabar* coast from *Goa* to *Surat*, and is separated from the *Decan* by a ridge of almost impassable hills, yields at present to the *Mahrattors* a revenue of 800,000 l. a year, exclusive of the islands in the neighbourhood of *Bombay*, called *Basseen*, *Salset*, and *Carwar*, which, with other districts, pay annually about 330,000 l. more. As the *Mahrattors* possess this country by no other title than that of the sword, the *Great Mogul* proposes to invest his *Britannick* Majesty with the full and unlimited sovereignty, which would not only produce, as before-mentioned, a vast accession of revenue, but place in perfect security *Bombay*, which depends upon it even for subsistence; presenting at the same time great openings for an extensive trade, and weakening our richest and most powerful foes †.

† Many of my readers may think that the humbling of the power of the *Mahrattors* might be attended with much greater difficulty and danger than what I have all along described; but from the observations which I have every where made nothing appears more easy than, with 20,000 well disciplined Sepoys, and 10,000 horse, commanded by *British* officers, to reduce them to any limits that prudence may prescribe. Their armies are entirely composed of horse, and so absurdly irregular in their mode of fighting, that in every engagement they kill always a great many more of their own troops than they do of the enemy or the enemy of them; whilst at the same time they are so obstinately wedded to their old system of war, that it is scarcely probable that any consideration will ever induce them to attempt an introduction of the discipline of *Europe*.

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But this is by no means the greatest benefits which *Bombay* would reap in consequence of the proposed alliance: the navigation of the *Indus* promises advantages still more important. In former times the several countries extending along this noble river were supplied with *European* cloths and other commodities to a great amount; but in proportion as the power of the *Mogul* government declined, the princes who commanded the mouths and banks of the *Indus*, uncontrouled by superior authority, not only saddled this commerce with enormous duties, but, by repeated acts of robbery and oppression, at length totally ruined the trade. The reputation however, supported by solid power, which *Shah Allum* must acquire in consequence of the proposed alliance, would soon convince those little chiefs, that their only safety lay in their obedience, and the navigation of the *Indus*, in consequence, become in a little time as secure as that of the *Thames*. Factories being then established at *Diul*, *Tatta*, *Buckor*, and other convenient stations, all kinds of *European* manufactures might, by an easy water-carriage, be sent from *Bombay* up to *Moultan*, *Atok*, *Labore*, *Cachemire*, *Caboul*, and several other of the noblest cities of *Persia*, *Gbisni*, *Tartary*, and *Hindostan*, in exchange for the valuable returns I have mentioned when speaking on the *Persian* trade *.

As I could wish to set every thing which occurs to me on the subject of this alliance in the clearest point of view, and obviate doubts which may have weight

* The profits upon this trade must at the same time be extremely high, if a judgment is to be formed from what I observed at *Delhi*, where almost every article from *Calcutta* bore from fifty to one hundred *per cent.* or from one to two, or even three hundred *per cent.* above the *European* price.

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with those who have not had such opportunities of information, before I conclude I shall beg leave to make some observations on the trade in arms, which for a considerable time has been carried on by the *Europeans* with the *Indian* states.

To have prevented those princes from acquiring any knowledge of our art of war, or from having supplies of *European* arms, would undoubtedly have been prudent, had it been practicable; but such are speculative points, which can only be possible in theory. You must divest traders of all thirst for gain, otherwise the utmost severity of penal laws can never deter them from grasping at enormous profits. Were the legislature of *Britain* even to make it treason, and could we suppose, what the experience of every day denies, that even this rigorous statute would operate in its fullest latitude with regard to his Majesty's subjects, what weight would it have with the *French*, the *Dutch*, the *Danes*, the *Portuguese*. But to go still further, should every *European* Company concur in the same measure, it is now by much too late; many of the *Indian* powers already found their own cannon, and forge with skill fire-arms of every kind. *Suja ul Dowla* has cast a fine train of artillery, and brought this art to such perfection, that *Sir Robert Barker* having made him a present of a brace of pistols, which in *England* cost about 120 guineas, the Nabob soon after showed him another pair of so exact an imitation, that, when compared, it was difficult to distinguish the *Indian* from the *English* manufacture. The supplying the *Mogul* therefore with arms is not only preserving to the Company a valuable branch of trade, but preventing him from conceiving the idea of establishing a foundery of his own.

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But the quantity of arms spread over the whole country is already immense, which in some measure may appear from the list inserted in the notes *, great part of which I saw myself, and my authorities

* *List of arms in the possession of various Indian states.*

<i>Suja ul Dowla</i> has got 1960 <i>English</i> arms, viz.	
In the battalion commanded by <i>Bahader Beg</i> ,	400
In <i>Hesfin's</i> battalion, commanded by <i>Bussen junior</i> ,	600
Bought of the <i>English</i> at <i>Fysabad</i> ,	400
New firelocks brought by <i>Meer Alleer</i> , when he entered into <i>Suja's</i> service,	60
Bought by him at different times,	200
Dispersed through his other battalions,	300
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The above account I had from Commandant *Bunda Ra-beem Beg*, formerly in the Nabob's service.

Nabob *Nujuff Khan* told me that he had amongst his artillery five pieces of *English* cannon, and 500 carbines. One of them I took out of one of his *Moguls* hands, it was made by *Wilson* 1764, and was as good as when it came out of the maker's hands. The cannon I saw in the *Serray* of *Setterram*, about two corse, or near four miles from *Delhi*—they consisted of two three and one six pounder, brass, and two nines, iron.

Nabob *Hessumuddy Khan's* battalion is entirely armed with *English* muskets.

Nabob *Naseer*, *Meer Allish*, and *Raja Ramnat* have the Company's locks to all their arms, and most of the barrels are *English*.

The King's guards are armed with *English* pieces, most of them his *Britannick Majesty's* old firelocks, which were given to the Company when the King's troops left *India*.

Hyder Ali has above 10,000 stand of arms, most of them *English*; my informer saw also above twenty pieces of *English* cannon, but could not say how many more he might have.

There is under the command of *M. Seffier* a *Frenchman*, in the service of *Bazala Jung*, a Nabob in the *Decan*, at *Ardones*, one troop of 100 *European* cavalry, armed with carbines and pistols; one company of 80 *European* infantry,

authorities for the rest I have no reason to question; so that to pretend to put a stop to a trade so long and so firmly fixed, would be like turning the tide of a mighty river; and it never now can have a period but with the annihilation of every species of *European* commerce with *Hindostan*. The immense quantities of arms, which, by this list, appear dispersed over that country, exclusive of vast

try, with *English* arms; one company of 90 *European* artillery; 2000 *Topasses*, and 6000 *Sepoys*, all armed with *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* arms. His artillery are *French*, sent him from *Pondicherry*; but the Nabob with whom he serves has fifteen pieces of *English* cannon, mostly ship guns, of three, six, nine, and twelve pounders. Under the command of another *Frenchman* called M. Maddie, lately in the service of the *Jate*, a *Hindoo* prince, but now gone over to the *Mogul*, there are two battalions of *Sepoys*, with a few horse, all armed with firelocks, together with six cannon and one mortar.

Under *Somero* the *German* (who massacred our gentlemen at *Patna*) in the service of the *Jate*, there are 4000 men all armed with muskets, and three pieces of cannon. He has also arms for 2000 more.

With M. *Jose*, another *Frenchman*, there are 200 men armed, together with four pieces of cannon.

Under the command of Capt. *Lorrain*, a *Portuguese*, at *Nockpore*, in the service of *Jonajee*, a *Mahrattor* chief, there are 100 firelocks, with four pieces of cannon.

At *Bongueer*, under the command of a *Messee*, in the service of *Raja Rana*, there are 1000 firelocks and two pieces of cannon.

At *Puna*, which belongs to *Madabrow*, another *Mahrattor* chief, there are 2000 firelocks and twenty pieces of cannon.

At *Caleno*, belonging to *Raja Ramsunder*, there are 400 firelocks, ten pieces of cannon, and two mortars.

At *Hydrabad*, belonging to the Nabob of that place, there are 3000 firelocks and fifty pieces of cannon.

And lastly, *Nizam Ali*, Souba of the *Decan*, has a battalion of 1000 men completely armed, together with fifty pieces of *English* cannon.

numbers of which I could have no opportunity of gaining intelligence, leads us at the same time to another reflection, as it shews how dangerously the Company is circumstanced, should *Sujaul Dowla*, *Hyder Ali*, or the *Mahrattors*, stimulated by *French* intrigues, collect together the various *French*, *German*, *Portuguese*, and other *European* military adventurers, swarming thus over *India*, (whom the hopes of plunder would easily engage) and, joining in one great body, fall at once upon the Company's provinces, and precipitate the catastrophe which now we so much dread. To whichever quarter therefore we turn our eyes, whether we consider the internal consumption, or the danger from without, ruin appears already in view, and nothing but immediate and decisive steps can possibly divert its course.

From the whole therefore of the foregoing facts and observations, it appears evident, that the *India* Company have been driving headlong down the tide of perdition ever since they became sovereigns.

That, during a period of five years, at the opening of which they set out with a surplus of territorial revenue, amounting to about 1,250,000 l. *per annum*, they have not only entirely sunk this surplus, but, at home and abroad together, have contracted (over and above) a debt of at least 3,000,000 l. the mere simple interest of which, and of their other bond debts, under their present circumstances, there is hardly a probability of their being able to pay.

That it must now be impossible, then, notwithstanding every oeconomic regulation, to prevent this

this vast debt from accumulating, when, in place of so great a surplus, they will be under the necessity of making good a considerable deficiency from their commercial funds; which, from the late reduction of their shipping, and the general decline of their trade, they are now still less able to afford.

That whilst the *Dutch*, the *Danish*, and the *Swedish* Companies, whose profits arise entirely from Commerce, divide from *ten to twelve and a half per cent.* the *English*, borne down by their territorial acquisitions, with a trade far more extensive than the two last-mentioned companies, cannot at present afford to pay even a single shilling of dividend, without plunging head over ears in debt, to provide funds for this and other necessary purposes.

That the want of ready cash therefore which, without a miracle, must be felt ere long, to purchase their investments, answer their bills, discharge the interests, pay their customs, excise, and other engagements to government, and support their various establishments, cannot fail to stagger their credit at home; whilst their inability perhaps to pay their troops abroad, may excite a general revolt of the Sepoys, and give the signal for the *French*, and their other foes, to crush that power they have so long hated, dreaded, and envied.

That the stopping the *Mogul's* revenue (which the Company have no more right to withhold than they have to refuse payment of their other lawful debts) must appear in the eyes of the Country Powers to flow either from Injustice or Necessity; in consequence of which they must draw one of two conclusions, either that they have no principles of good faith, and will not pay, or, being no longer rich, cannot: the first must naturally lead to fu-
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ture distrust, the latter to immediate contempt; and both must evidently have a most ruinous tendency.

That the proposed alliance not only offers a certainty of relief from all their difficulties, but an increase of commerce and wealth beyond any comparison with former times; and consequently, instead of another reduction of their shipping (as at present under contemplation, and already so sensibly felt) promises an increase of perhaps double the tonnage they have ever yet freighted during the most splendid years of their trade.

That in place, as at present, of the Company's considering, as a hardship, the necessity they are under of exporting annually to the value (as I am informed) of 380,000 l. in *British* manufactures (great part of which, they say, are now rotting in their warehouses abroad) they will then without compulsion, find their advantage in doubling immediately those exports, and eventually increasing them to a far greater amount.

That the proceeds of the sale of their forts and military stores to Government (estimated at near 3,000,000 l.†) would go a great way in discharging of their debts; whilst the profits of their commerce alone would, in all probability, soon create a fund for augmenting the dividend, upon solid rational

† As it is to the object at large, that I would endeavour to call the attention of the nation, I have avoided, in general, entering into the minuteness of calculation, which would, at present, only tend to swell the publication to an unnecessary length, without being of the least importance, as things are now circumstanced. If therefore in the larger sums there may prove to be a difference of eight or ten per cent. more or less, it ought to have no weight, as those may with ease be more accurately adjusted, should the general idea be judged expedient.

grounds

grounds to perhaps 20 *per cent.* or upwards; especially when we consider, that before their expensive wars and territorial revenues, they divided 8 *per cent.* notwithstanding that the charge of the military establishments they were then under the necessity of maintaining, and which would, in this event, be entirely saved, amounted to from 5 to 6 *per cent.* on their capital.

That the consequences of rejecting the *Mogul's* proffered friendship may, at the same time, in another point of view, be highly and immediately alarming, as necessity must then force him either implicitly to follow out the views of the *Mahrattors*, or to throw himself into the arms of the *French*†, whom he

† To point out in some measure how much the *French* have been alarmed at the flying reports which have at different times appeared in the news-papers with regard to this proposed alliance, I shall beg leave to insert an extract of a letter from a gentleman in *France* to his friend in *London*.

It is dated *October* 18th 1773; but not having the honour of being known either to the writer or to the gentleman to whom it was addressed, I had not an opportunity of seeing it till above four months afterwards.

“ Some time ago all the public papers of *Europe* gave
 “ notice that Major *Morrison* had arrived in *London*, in the
 “ character of Ambassador from *Shah Allum*, as *Mogul*, with
 “ offers of a cession of his right to all *Indostan* in favour of
 “ *Britain*. What may be real in the matter I can by no
 “ means judge, but it made a greater noise all over *Europe*,
 “ and among all foreigners, than any occurrence that hap-
 “ pened during my observation, particularly in *Paris*, where
 “ people of speculation and of understanding in politicks
 “ from all countries generally meet. I had frequent occa-
 “ sions to be among them, and to witness their jealous rea-
 “ sonings on the subject: from the first moment they con-
 “ sidered the object so important, that they have not hitherto
 “ entertained the least doubt of *Britain's* accepting and car-
 “ rying it into execution. Therefore their apprehensions
 “ are extreme of the power and influence which *Britain* may
 “ thereby

he might invest with the Soubadary of the Company's provinces; a step big with danger, especially should they be joined, as before observed, by the *European* adventurers, who rove through the empire, with no other view than that of selling their services to the highest bidder.

That the stability and solid dignity of regal government must have infinitely greater weight with *Asiatick* princes, than the fluctuating unsteady resolves of a Company of private men; whilst the natives of *Britain*, employed in the first stations abroad, could not then hope that their weight in Elections, or influence in General Courts would screen their conduct from enquiry. They should then know that they had Administration to account to, and Parliament to dread; in consequence of which his Majesty's government in those countries would acquire a degree of authority, firmness, equity, and mildness, which the *Indians* have never hitherto had an opportunity of experiencing; for, although many men of great integrity have filled the chief offices in *India*, yet, in a system of universal corruption, the strictest honesty of a few can never stem the torrent; nor is it possible to expect fidelity in the body at large, where there is no coercive power to enforce obedience, nor adequate authority to punish a contrary conduct.

That the *British* treasury, in consequence of this alliance, would soon have an accession of revenue from *Hindustan*, after defraying all charges, of at least

“ thereby obtain.—And I have good grounds to be persuaded that the jealousies and apprehensions of different courts, whose interests it may concern, are in no degree less alarmed than those of the speculative politicians. But they conceal their fears from a certainty that they cannot prevent the event.”

1,500,000 l.

1,500,000 l. (with a high probability of its amounting in a few years to four or five millions *per annum*) exclusive of the advance in the Customs and Excise, which must necessarily follow the Company's increasing trade; whilst, as things remain in their present state, Government not only runs the risk of being embarrassed with the 1,400,000 l. lately advanced, but of suffering a great diminution if not a total failure in the Company's duties; a possible blow, which all the address of the Minister, the ablest, and at the same time the most patriotic that ever conducted the affairs of this or perhaps any other nation, could hardly prevent from being immediately attended by the most dreadful effects.

That not only the Company then, but the State, the Bank, the Stockholders in every fund, the Landed, the Monied, the Manufacturing, the Trading interests of every denomination, appear evidently to be in the deepest manner concerned in the resolutions which may now be adopted with regard to the proposed alliance and regulations, and strongly challenges therefore the warmest and the most serious consideration of the whole nation; but more particularly of the Direction and the Proprietary of the *India* Company, who without delay ought to lay aside every trifling discussion, and join with Government in applying an immediate and an effectual remedy.

In great arrangements, however, I am perfectly sensible, that much difficulty must be encountered from the presuming vanity of the half-informed, the hood-winked obstinacy of the ignorant, and the darker and more malignant views of the ambitious and self-interested; but, in my humble apprehension, there does not exist, in the proposals

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now held out, the least circumstance of weight that can possibly furnish matter of objection, unless to these only who regard every thing through the medium of stubborn prejudice, or have other views at heart than those for the publick good.

The short-sighted and the irresolute, at the same time, may consider the danger as still distant; private interests may give false colourings to real situations; and disappointment and resentment may place every obstacle in the way of general good; but no measure, I will be bold to say, can ever throw a greater lustre on his Majesty's reign, nor more essentially tend to promote the welfare of the nation in general, than the entering with dignity into the alliance now solicited by the descendant of those princes, to whom his Majesty's predecessors thought it no derogation to send Ambassadors, to sue for friendship and commercial protection.

Having now touched, in the great and general line, upon such points as appeared most worthy of observation, the corollaries to be drawn from the whole appear extremely simple, unquestionable, and clear; and surely a more important consideration never engaged the attention of a thinking people. When we see the greatest commercial body recorded in the annals of time tottering under a system of government, the jarring ingredients of which the utmost effort human wisdom can never reconcile; when we see them in the short period of five years declining from a situation of the highest apparent prosperity to the verge of destruction; when we consider how dreadful must be their fall; how destructive to individuals, how fatal to the state; when we perceive the striking, the absolute impossibility of recovery under any modification of
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the present idea of commercial-sovereignty, and contrast the whole with the great, the immediate, the honourable advantages of the proposed arrangements, and the easy, the safe, the unexpensive mode of accomplishing the whole; to shrink from the investigation of such important objects, must bear a strong resemblance to the silly Ostrich, who, when pursued by the hunters, instead of endeavouring to escape, thrusts his head into a bush, and fancies himself in safety, because he shuts his eyes against destruction.

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POSTSCRIPT.

[To the Advantages of an Alliance with the GREAT MOGUL.]

TO suppose perfection in any human system is to expect what human ability cannot accomplish; but to hope for general approbation, even to the most unquestionable principles, is still more chimerical than perfection itself.

To have dreamt therefore that the plans proposed in the foregoing sheets could admit of no objection would have been to the highest degree visionary and presuming. As I could not therefore, for a moment, harbour such an idea, I have endeavoured, to the best of my opportunities, to pay the greatest attention to every opinion that has been hazarded, not only of those who were intitled to form a judgment, but even of those who were not; for I must say, singular as it may appear, that I have heard some declaiming against the whole, who were under the necessity of owning, at the same time, that they had not read a line of the book.

Those Objections, however, which have appeared to wear the least appearance of reason, I shall here beg leave to state, with such answers as, in my humble apprehension, may, with the unprejudiced, obviate every doubt.

OBJECTION I. That the object, in the general, is too great and extensive.

ANSWER. It promises the establishment of a fixed and durable tranquillity over the whole Empire of *Hindustan*; it promises a considerable accession of revenue to *Great Britain*, a great extension of the Company's trade, and a vast consumption of our declining manufactures: it promises, on

the principles of justice and humanity, a speedy period to bloodshed, rapine, breach of faith, extravagance, and destruction; and the substitution of security and wealth for accumulating danger and ruin: whilst, at the same time, these advantages, inestimable as they are, may be obtained by means neither complicated nor hazardous; the component parts of the system being so disposed, that the leading points may be first accomplished, without a necessity for engaging in the others, till the ground may be sufficiently prepared to secure success without danger.

The first point then is the alliance with the *Mogul*, from which most assuredly no injury can arise either now or hereafter. Can it be any injury to prefer the friendship of the first Prince in *Hindustan* to his enmity, should his offers be treated with neglect? Can it injure the nation or the *East India* Company, that his *Britannick* Majesty should become the acknowledged superior of the Company's territorial acquisitions, in place of the *Mogul*, the *Mahrattors*, the *French*, or any other Nabob whom he may invest with the *Soubadary*, in case of our refusal? Can the clothing of the *Mogul's* troops, together with numbers of his subjects (to the amount perhaps of half a million *per annum*) prove any injury to the Company who must provide such clothing, or to our manufacturers who must furnish them with it*? Can there be any injury to our *Birmingham*, *Manchester*, and *Norwich* fabrics, that great quantities of hardwares and stuffs (probably to the value of 300,000 l. yearly) shall be in con-

* At present every soldier clothes himself with a kind of coarse cotton stuff the fabric of that country, but in the event of this alliance, the *Mogul* will clothe them all at his own expence in *British* manufactures.

stant demand? Can it injure many of our smaller manufacturers, saddlers, amongst others, for example, that to the amount of above 60,000 l. in horse furniture should be immediately wanted, with a constant annual supply for tear and wear? Can it be any injury to many of our gallant half-pay officers, who are now obliged to live or rather starve upon their slender pittance, to accept of considerable certain emoluments, with the eventual chance of acquiring an independency? or can even any injury arise to the Exchequer in saving the half-pay of such officers as might be inclined to engage in this line?

As to the arrangements between Government and the Company, with regard to the revenues and other important matters, there is no occasion to precipitate the adjustment of them, till every circumstance is maturely and completely weighed. There is no immediate necessity to assume the sovereignty of the *Concan* and other districts, the cession of which is offered. There is no absolute occasion to push the *Persian* trade by the *Indus*, or that into *Tartary* and the remoter provinces of *Hindustan*, till tranquillity, being firmly established, shall make the success and advantages no longer doubtful. In a word, this preliminary step draws along with it no obligation to embark in any of the subsequent measures, till experience and sound sense shall convince us of their expediency and utility. At no other expence therefore than of an act of justice we hereby secure the friendship of the lawful head of the Empire, which will not only give a legality to all our proceedings, but disconcert the views of our enemies, and put it in the Company's power to extend by degrees their trade, as far as in prudence and policy they may judge proper. Were even then none of the subsequent measures to

be pursued, were the Company still to remain possessed of the Dewanee as at present, the alliance proposed could not possibly prove detrimental, but on the contrary highly beneficial to them, as, in their political capacity, the *Mogul* must ever prove a faithful and a powerful ally, whilst, in the way of trade, he must open various markets for the continual consumption of *British* commodities.

OBJECTION II. That the climate of *India* is so sultry, that it is difficult to conceive how the consumption of woollen cloths can ever be so considerable as I have represented.

ANSWER. The *Moguls*, the *Afghans*, the *Cachemeriens*, and other nations between 28 and 40 degrees of northern latitude, some of which countries are often for many months in the winter covered with snow, wear generally woollen cloths for their coats, trowsers, and stockings, when they can possibly procure them; whilst the poorer sort are happy when they can purchase a piece of woollen about three yards long, which they call a *Putta*, and which they wrap round their shoulders in the winter season. The same idea prevails likewise with them as among the *Indians* of *Bengal*, and on the Coasts, of covering their elephants, their camels, their saddles, bridles, and even stirrup-leathers with scarlet cloth, when they can get it; so that the mere clothing of the *Mogul's* troops, though considerable, would, in all probability, bear but a small proportion to the demand that must arise from the natives at large.

OBJECTION III. That the power which this alliance would give the *Mogul* might, by him or his successors, be turned against ourselves.

ANSWER. Were his troops to be commanded by any but *British* officers, there might be good grounds for such an apprehension; but, with this proviso, it
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can have no weight. The Sepoys have been ever faithful to *European* commanders; they have a higher opinion of their abilities, and are certain of more regular pay. The thoughtless pomp and extravagance of *Asiatic* princes often drains their treasuries of the sums which ought to be allotted for the payment of their troops; from whence it happens that they may be twelve months or more in arrear to their armies: mutinies in consequence are frequent, which, after creating much disturbance, end generally in their receiving nine, six, nay sometimes only three months pay for a whole year, for which they give a receipt in full. The *Europeans*, on the contrary, from an opposite conduct, experience no such difficulties; and *their* Sepoys would at any time much sooner attack the *Indian* princes, if led on by their commanders, than, by any intrigues of these princes, desert their *European* leaders. Can any arguments afford stronger proofs of this fidelity than the various little armies now in *India* commanded by *Somero*, *Madie*, *Sesfier*, and other mean adventurers (as mentioned p. 90, 91.) who keep their troops under the most despotic subjection, without the most distant apprehension of a revolt. In a word, we have hitherto had no instances, nor have we the least well founded reason to suppose any such event in future. The first object with an eastern prince is his own personal security; to which, if you add money sufficient to procure him a perpetual round of luxury and parade, he wishes for nothing more; fill but his Haram, and dazzle him with magnificence, he is the most ductile of human beings; and his native indolence will make him then shun every idea of enterprize, the success of which could not add to his enjoyments, whilst a failure might involve him in ruin.

OBJECTION IV. That in the event of the present *Mogul's* death, the whole of the proposed arrangements would be entirely disconcerted.

ANSWER. The death of the *Mogul* could make no alteration with regard to the treaty, as he has a number of sons, above twelve of whom I saw; the eldest, *Jewan Bukht*, is about thirty years of age, and equally desirous of the alliance as his father; which indeed it must ever unquestionably be highly for the interest of the reigning *Mogul* to cherish with care.

OBJECTION V. That the *Mabrattors*, should they once suspect the *Mogul's* design of allying himself with his *Britannick* Majesty, and understood the full extent of what is now proposed, would never stand tamely looking on, whilst he was raising and disciplining an army sufficient to make head against them, but crush the enterprize in its infancy.

ANSWER. Gentlemen who have been in *India* must know that the political views of those people seldom extend beyond the present hour, and that they may be almost literally said to take no thought for to-morrow *. For my own part, so perfectly am I acquainted with their character and manners, that I could, without the least apprehension of personal danger, proceed immediately to

* A remarkable instance of their indifference with regard to distant danger happened whilst I was at *Delhi*. *Nujuff Khan* informed me, when he was augmenting his army (on receiving an additional Jaguirc from the *Mogul* of eleven lacks of rupees) that he intended to attack the *Mabrattors* as soon as he was able. He made no secret of his design; it was the general conversation, and perfectly well known to all their chiefs; yet they offered him no interruption: he gave them battle accordingly, and beat them from the field, but being dangerously wounded, his army carried him off towards *Delhi*; which the *Mabrattors* observing, they returned to the charge, and, attacking his disordered troops, gained, by this accident, an easy victory.

Delhi,

Delhi, and discipline the troops under their eye, till I was able to command their obedience. Having resolved, however to leave nothing to hazard, which could be secured by caution, I had proposed raising about 10,000 men in the *Cora* province, training them for a few months, and then proceeding at their head for *Delhi*; which force would prove fully sufficient, if properly led on by *British* officers, to meet any *Indian* army (unsupported by *Europeans*) that could possibly be brought into the field*.

* General *Carnac*, Sir *Robert Fletcher*, and Sir *Robert Barker* have all of them commanded smaller bodies of men, yet the *Mahrattors* constantly fled before them, and never could be brought to hazard an engagement. The armies of those people, at the same time, as has been before observed, consisting entirely of horse, it is easy to conceive (however difficult it may be to bring them to a general engagement) will ever be formidable to the Company, not only by ravaging their unguarded districts, but by harassing and wearying out (without coming to action) the troops that may at any time be sent against them from our provinces. Nothing therefore can ever over-awe them, but an army constantly stationed near their own frontiers, as at *Delhi*, which would have infinitely greater weight, than the occasional marching up of ten times the number from *Bengal* or *Behar*. Our armies, they sufficiently know, must ever be maintained at too great an expence to be allowed to remain long at such a distance; they will therefore always keep out of our way till they know we must retreat, and then will insult and ravage our territories in return. It is evident therefore, that, as things are now circumstanced, the Company must ever be at war with the *Mahrattors*, or at least in perpetual dread of one, which is almost equally ruinous; for the prodigious consequent expence of their war establishment must (I am told now actually does) swallow up every shilling of their territorial revenue. Whence then must arise the funds for the enormous expence of their civil establishments, the interest of their debts at home and abroad, the completion of their fortifications, the deficiencies of *Bombay* and other settlements, their dividends and every extra charge?—Can these be all defrayed by the commercial profits of *fourteen ships*?

OBJECTION VI. That the Company cannot be in the danger I have represented, as the late regulations and saving plans may in time restore their finances.

ANSWER. The savings ought to be considered under two heads; first as they affect the Company, next the Nation. When we reason upon future contingencies, we must be guided by experience, and not allow ourselves to be buoyed up with visionary hopes and wishes. Now the simple question, on this head, is, whether the savings now made in the Company's expence are equal to the diminution of their territorial revenue, the loss of profits by circumscribing of their trade, the increase of interest, the additional expence of their Council-general, Judges, and other less important incidents.

<i>Their savings in England are</i>	<i>per annum.</i>
1. From government	400,000
2. Six and a half <i>per cent.</i> dividend on their capital of 3,200,000, to avoid fractions, say	200,000
3. Freight (which many judicious people suppose will prove no saving in the end) say	
4. Remission of tea indemnity, &c. say	100,000
Total savings in England	800,000

Failures of funds and increased expences.

In 1766 the nett territorial revenue was	562,500
199 lacks; in 1771 it had sunk to	
154; annual deficiency 45 lacks of rupees, or	
Carried over	562,500
	Further

	<i>per annum.</i>
Brought over	562,500
Further yearly failure since 1771 according to general belief, but which the Company's books only can confirm or confute, at least 25 lacks more, or	312,500
Interest on increase of bond debt in <i>India</i> , from 1766 to 1772, being 452,095, at 8 <i>per cent.</i> about	36,200
Interest on 603,750 l. borrowed in <i>India</i> since 1772, also at 8 <i>per cent.</i>	48,000
Interest on 1,400,000 borrowed 1773 on government security at 4 <i>per cent.</i>	56,000
Increased annual expence in <i>India</i> , from 1766 to 1771, 35 lacks, or	442,500
Increase of appointments to Council-general and Judges, at least,	100,000
	<hr/>
Deduct savings in <i>England</i>	1,557,700
	800,000
	<hr/>
Excess of expence	757,700

It appears evidently therefore, that, even with these savings, they cannot possibly put themselves in a situation any thing equal to that in which they found themselves in the year 1766; and when they could not then keep their ground with a surplus revenue of 1,250,000 l. a comparatively small debt, and a flourishing commerce, but on the contrary have run near 4,000,000 l. more into debt, how can they now prevent their burthens from accumulating, when they have nothing to substitute for the above-mentioned annual failure of 1,558,000 l. but savings, so hurtful to the national revenue, and so distressing to many individuals, that we cannot help

help lamenting the necessity that gave rise to them †.

As to any justifiable savings abroad, I believe it will be a matter of no small difficulty to make them amount to any considerable sum. Their civil establishment is already increased; their military, surrounded as they are by enemies, they cannot reduce with the least regard to safety; and they must proceed with their unfinished fortifications, or otherwise lose in a great measure the benefit of the immense sums they have already expended*.

The Governor and Council at *Bengal*, it is true, have lately made very strenuous endeavours to raise some ready money; they have stopped the *Mogul's* revenue; they have diminished that of the Nabob; they have deducted a considerable sum from the allowances stipulated to *Mahomed Reza Khan*, and

† The 400,000l. stipulated to be paid to Government (had the Company's situation enabled them to continue it, and to which the nation in such case had a very just claim, as a compensation for the expence they had sustained in recovering and extending the Company's possessions) would have been always a great fund towards enabling administration to sink the national debt, and prevented the necessity of imposing fresh taxes on the subject, at some future period, to make up the deficiency. The diminution of the dividend is just so much taken out of the pockets of the proprietors. And the supposed saving on their shipping proves not only hurtful to our nursery of seamen, but to the highest degree severe upon the commanders, officers, ship-builders, and tradesmen of every kind, who lived by them alone, many of whom are now involved in the deepest distress: whilst the circumscribing of their trade, at the same time, from thirty-four ships, as in 1770, to fourteen, as in 1773, proves not only detrimental to so many industrious men, their families and dependents, but must also sensibly affect the national supplies, to which the Company's duties have ever greatly contributed.

* I am informed that the redans of the fort at *Calcutta*, next the water, have lately tumbled down, which will cost a considerable sum to repair.

Raja

Raja Shetabroy the Superintendants of the *Dewannee*; and they have sold *Allahabad* and the *Cora* provinces to *Suja ul Dowla* for less than two years purchase of their revenues: yet with all these efforts, so ruinous in every respect to the Company's true interest, they have not been able to prevent an addition to their enormous bond-debt in *Bengal* of eighteen lacks, or 225,000 l. which they have been obliged to borrow to purchase their investment homeward bound this season†: whilst such repeated instances of breach of faith with the country princes must inevitably fall with accumulated vengeance on our heads, whenever the further decline of the Company's revenue and power shall present to them a favourable opportunity.

OBJECTION VII. That we ought to wait the consequences of the regulations sent out with the Council-general before any further alteration is made in the Company's affairs.

ANSWER. It is unnecessary to repeat what I have already observed (p. 63, &c.) that as all *their* operations must be merely confined to the Company's territories, without adding a shilling to the exports of *England*, or promoting the trade of *Bengal* with the other provinces of the empire, their greatest, their most successful endeavours must be equally unimportant as the regulating of the trade of *Yorkshire* without paying any regard to the other counties of *Britain*, or attempting to make *Holland* flourish by confining her commerce within her Seven Provinces.

OBJECTION VIII. That even supposing what is now predicted should befall the Company, Government, at the worst, might then step in, adopt some-

† The total of their bond-debt in *Bengal*, as I am told, amounts now to 150 lacks, or 1,875,000 l. which is, as before observed, 603,750 l. higher than in 1772.

thing like the measures now proposed, and either erect a new Company or throw the trade open.

ANSWER. This is so dreadful an idea that one should imagine it could not deserve a serious answer; and yet, if the general coolness and indifference with regard to *East India* matters can admit of interpretation, those who think in this manner are far from being few in number. But let us for a moment seriously reflect on the situation of *England*, should the distresses of the Company proceed in the same rapid proportion they have pursued for these last six or seven years, and the weight at last prove too insupportable even for the shoulders of the state, what ruin must then universally overspread the country! How many people now in affluence would then be involved in misery! What a blow to general credit! and how difficult in such a crisis, with the funds tumbling about our ears, must it be for Government to equip such armaments, as, in that event, must be necessary to recover what would then be over-run by the enemies of *England*! It appears to be like expecting the functions of health from a man in the height of a fever; and nothing but the most genuine ignorance, and the most lethargic languor of mind, could even for a moment entertain a thought of such unfeeling absurdity.

OBJECT. IX. That ministry, when the late regulations of *India* affairs were under the consideration of Parliament, declared, that Government had *then* no intention of assuming the territorial acquisitions; and that it might be considered as a breach of engagement with the Company to depart from that declaration.

ANSWER. How far such confined ideas in matters of high consequence ought to have the least weight I leave entirely to theoretical casuists; after
only

only observing, that every declaration, where the public interest is deeply concerned, ought ever to imply a saving clause, that circumstances of moment taking place, which could not then be foreseen (such as in the present case the proposed alliance and the growing distress of the *India Company*) must virtually set aside the whole; more especially when such deviation appears highly necessary and advantageous to the parties chiefly interested in the event. For my part I can form no conception upon what principles those proceed who are perpetually for making a wide distinction between the interests of the Nation and those of the Company; a distinction which I think neither does nor ought to exist; for, both in their individual and corporate capacities, their real interests are so intimately involved, that nothing can materially affect the one, without having a very great influence on the other. To put it therefore entirely out of the power of discontented minds unjustly to upbraid administration with unconstitutional views of extending the power of the Crown, the application would undoubtedly come with more propriety from the Company themselves for an unprejudiced enquiry into the validity of the facts and deductions upon which the proffered alliance is founded.

OBJECTION X. That the proposed arrangements would convey too great an accession of power to the Crown.

ANSWER, I beg leave to differ entirely from such an idea, as I cannot help thinking that the weight which ministry must ever *necessarily* have in *India* affairs, under the present system, will be fully as great in the *indirect* way, as it can ever possibly be, under the proposed arrangements, in the *open, legal, and responsible* manner. The Parliament
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have already appointed the Council-general and the Judges, and could there be any thing so extremely alarming in giving them the appointment of perhaps a few more Counsellors? As things are now circumstanced, it stands to common sense that Government must unavoidably be at the bottom of every measure of consequence, and have the behind-the-curtain patronage to every office of importance. Was it the Company, I appeal to every man's reason, that appointed General *Clavering* Commander in Chief, or General *Monson* to the succession? Was it the Company that framed the instructions to the Council-general? or can it ever be the Company that will carry into execution any resolution of moment?—No!—Nor whilst their political affairs are so intimately blended with the dearest concerns of the nation, is it fitting they should; for I will not hesitate to say, that the minister who, in such a situation, should, without interference, permit the Company to adopt schemes, which might involve the nation in inextricable difficulties, must be criminal in the supreme degree. The resolves of the Company are by no means the resolves of private merchants; they must have necessarily a great and universal effect; and as the Minister, under the King, must always be considered as the guardian of the whole Empire, he ought never to allow one body obviously to injure the community in general. In a word, whatever shallow thinkers may suppose, and the interested give out, it is equally as absurd to imagine, that the business of the Admiralty should be regulated by the Commissioners of the Dock-yards, as that the Court of Directors should ever hereafter, without controul, have the conduct of the Company's political affairs. The only difference, therefore, that ever can exist, under the present system, is, that administration must have recourse to arts, which only necessity can justify,
instead

instead of having every thing, agreeably to the proposed idea, conducted with dignity, stripped of mystery and intrigue, and open to the investigation of the Parliament and of the whole nation.

The government appointments would then be made in an open above-board manner, and the deliberations of the Company, being confined to trade alone, must leave the Directors, with more real importance, in the full patronage of their commercial servants; in which ministry would probably then no more think of interfering than they do now with those of the *Hudson's Bay* Company. Whilst, as these things go on in the present channel, there will hardly be a solicitor for their civil, military, or naval preferments, who will not endeavour to provide himself with a mandamus from the West end of the town; and the nominal appointments of the Direction be of course put nearly on a footing with the *Congé d'elires* to a Dean and Chapter.

And now, having no further intention of repeating my addresses to the publick, I shall only further observe, that had my own private interest been the only object of my pursuits in this arduous undertaking, I had many and most inviting opportunities of making a splendid fortune, could I only have separated my own from what I then thought, and ever must think, the interest of my country; but being clearly convinced that the proffered arrangements would soon render the Company the chief pillar of the State, instead of being a mill-stone about its neck, I refused a settlement of 60,000 l. *per annum*, with the sole view of promoting a measure which I had good grounds to believe would, and ought to be eagerly embraced.

F I N I S.